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1882-4.

TRANSACTIONS

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—

OBITUARY. DR. JOHN MUIR, MR. HENRY NICOL.

ONE by one the older members of our Society are leaving us for "the other side." Last year I had to chronicle the death of our original Honorary Secretary, Dr. E. Guest.

To-night I have to announce the loss of a very distinguished member of our Society, Dr. John Muir, an eminent Sanscritist. Dr. Muir, living in Edinburgh, was very seldom present at our meetings, but he always took an interest in our proceedings, and frequently allowed himself to be added to the members of our Council. He was born in Glasgow in 1810, and entered the Civil Service in India in 1828, remaining the usual 25 years. He obtained great proficiency both in reading and writing Sanscrit, in which he was able to compose poetry that could bear Pundit criticism, and his great work, "Original Sanscrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions," in 5 volumes, made him thoroughly well known to all Oriental scholars, who greatly appreciated his labours and worth, as was well evinced by the reception given to him by the Congress of Orientalists at Florence in 1878. Nor were his efforts in support of Sanscrit studies confined to literary work alone; he actually founded, and contributed largely to the endowment of the professorial chair of Sanscrit in Edinburgh, and in every way—by giving prizes and by words of encouragement—promoted the study of that language in Great Britain. In his later years Dr. Muir wrote many English poetical translations of Sanscrit texts, which he printed for private circulation only. We must all lament that our Society has been deprived of such an eminent member.

In addition to the notice of Mr. Nicol in my last year's address, you will, I am sure, be pleased to hear the tribute to his memory by M. Gaston Paris in his presidential address to the *Société des Anciens Textes Français* on 21 Dec. 1881, published in the *Bulletin* of that Society for 1881, No. 3, p. 82. After having spoken of Littré's loss, M. Gaston Paris said:

"Pendant que Littré partait plein de jours, laissant derrière lui, avec bien d'autres ouvrages, ce monument du *Dictionnaire* qui immortalisera son nom, un jeune savant, qui avait entrepis, sur une partie de l'histoire de notre ancienne langue, les travaux les plus importants et les mieux

conçus, Henry Nicol, presque le seul qui, en Angleterre, fît de l'Anglo-normand une étude vraiment scientifique, s'éteignait à Alger, sans même avoir tracé le plan complet de son œuvre, mais non sans avoir fait connaître des échantillons qui permettent d'en apprécier le mérite et la solide préparation."

The Work of the Philological Society.

The *Monthly Proceedings*, under the able editorship of Mr. Sweet, give such a complete account of what has taken place at every meeting of the Society, that it is only necessary here to classify the papers, reports, and statements succinctly.

Since our last anniversary on 20 May 1881 we have had, exclusive of to-day, 14 meetings, of which one on 24 June, 1881, was an extra meeting convened to hear a paper from Mr. Marshall, which illness unfortunately prevented him from presenting, nor has he been able to bring it forward during the remainder of our session. Illness also prevented me from attending to my duties as president during the month of February.

On 2 Dec. 1881 Mr. Cust presented the report of himself and Prof. Sayce, the deputation from the Society to the Congress of Orientalists at Berlin.

On 3 February, 1882, after a paper by Mr. Vogin, of Holland, had been read on the Partial Corrections of English Spelling, which occupied us so much during the previous session, Mr. Sweet made proposals, which were adopted, to endeavour to agree with the Committee of the American Philological Association on the subject.

Mr. Walter R. Browne gave us a paper on 17 June, 1881, on the distribution of place-names in the Scottish Lowlands, in continuation of his former paper relating to the same in England. And on the same day Mr. H. M. Baynes read a paper on the application of the Psychological Method to Language.

Our treasurer Mr. Dawson gave us two important papers, which we printed and distributed at once with the *Monthly Proceedings*, namely, on the treatment of the indefinite article *a*, *an* in the authorised and newly revised versions of the New Testament (18 Nov. 1881), and on translations of the New Testament (17 Feb. 1882), shewing in what great need of revision the new revision stood.

Grammar occupied us for several evenings. There is a growing feeling that the old Latin grammars are unsuitable for setting the norm for grammars of modern languages and for non-Aryan languages, and rather eager discussions took place upon some of the points raised. Mr. Sweet's papers were read on 16 Dec. 1881, and 3 Feb. 1882, and Mr. Brandreth's on 5 May, 1882. These must be distinguished from the special paper on some points in Old-English Grammar read by Mr. James Platt, junior, on 2 Dec. 1881. Mr. Platt on the same evening read a paper on the novel but interesting subject of Old-English "pet-names."

In this connection I may name Mr. Sweet's notes on some English Etymologies on 3 June, 1881, and his Old English contributions on 3 March, 1882, dealing in the first part with the influence of stress in sound-changes of Old English, and in the second part with the progress of his work on the "Oldest English Texts."

Phonetics occupied a large part of our time. A knowledge of the sounds of languages and their relations, as standing behind the written symbols and alone giving them life and value, is becoming daily more and more appreciated, and it may now be said to be recognised that no one can be an etymologist if he is not also somewhat of a phonologist. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte read his exhaustive paper on living Slavonic sounds as compared with those of the principal Neo-Latin and Germano-Scandinavian sounds on 4 and 18 Nov. 1881. Mr. Sweet on 24 June, 1881, and Mr. Cayley on 17 Feb. 1882, dealt with particular points of ancient Greek Pronunciation. On 3 June, 1881, Mr. Sweet gave us Part III. of his History of English Sounds, and on 16 Dec.

1881, he read us Mr. Powel's paper on English words adopted into the Welsh of West Brecknockshire and East Cardiganshire, shewing their phonetic changes. Finally, on 21 April, 1882, I read my paper on the Dialects of the Midland and Eastern Counties, proposing a strictly phonetic classification, and forming the second stage of preparation for my Phonology of Existing English Dialects.

The great work of the Dictionary of the Philological Society naturally occupied several evenings. Dr. Murray gave an account on 24 June, 1881, of his interview with the delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and consulted the Society on various points of detail; on 2 Dec. 1881, he gave from his slips the history and explanations of several words under A, and on 20 Jan. 1882, he devoted an evening to explaining the actual work on the dictionary in preparation for going to press with Part I. in March; and on 5 May he was able to show us some first trial proofs. On 17 March, in consequence of a letter from an outsider to the Society, Dr. Murray was invited to explain his proposed method of marking pronunciation in the dictionary, to meet what he considered the necessities of the case. And he will now read a short report upon the present state of this great undertaking.

Report on the Present State of the Dictionary of the Philological Society. By Dr. Murray, Editor, Vice-President (formerly President).

"I had intended on the present occasion to give a somewhat detailed account of the results of the work for the Dictionary during the past three years. This is, however, not now practicable. Although the period which I considered requisite for completing the reading and examination of books expired in March last, the full results have not yet reached me, or only so lately that I have not had time to examine and tabulate them, which I hope to be able to do before the date of another Presidential Address. That will also be the

fitting opportunity for acknowledging the help of the many hundred Readers, who have worked so generously and ungrudgingly to supply both general and special quotations to illustrate the history of words. The most distinguished of these have already been referred to in former annual reports, and to all I can for the present only express my own thanks and those of the Philological Society for the signal help which they have given us. The great fact, which will be much more interesting to our members and friends, is, that the Dictionary is now at last really launched, and that some forty pages are in type; of which forty-eight columns have reached me in 'proof.' There have arisen, as was to be expected, innumerable questions of form, editorial and typographical, which have had to be settled over these early pages, necessitating much recasting, and involving considerable delay; but I am glad to say that these have nearly all been settled, and that we have now a fair prospect of proceeding uninterruptedly, and of bringing out our first part during the present year. At the same time the daily labour involved in seeing the work through the press is enormously heavy—indeed we cannot yet estimate its actual amount, and the rate of progress is therefore necessarily still an unknown quantity. I have, however, the pleasure of laying upon the table specimens of the work in all its stages, and I trust that the members will find that it realizes their expectations of what the Dictionary ought to be. I need only add that though part of letter A is in the printers' hands, it is not too late to send us anything of value, either for that or later letters. Many valuable additions will, I trust, still be made to our materials, which even now are far from complete in reference to the history and use even of common words. Thus, in sending to press the articles About and Above, I have been painfully disappointed to find how poorly the meanings and constructions of these words are illustrated from modern English writers, so that after spending hours of precious time—when I really had not moments to spare—in trying to find them, I have been in too many instances obliged to concoct sentences and phrases as illustrations.

This is very unsatisfactory, and I fear that what is true of these words will be found to hold good of prepositions, conjunctions, and 'particles' generally; and no more important help could now be rendered to the Dictionary than by the collection of modern instances of all uses and constructions of these little words, which Readers are so apt to neglect unless they are specially looking for them.

"I have also specially to remind the members of the Society that the time has now come when their help is urgently desired in the arrangement and preparation of the materials in hand, and in doing everything that they can to accelerate the final work of editing. In response to my former appeal, several friends have undertaken parts of letters, but there is still room for much more help of this kind, and I earnestly ask every one who has the time to take at least a small portion of the slips to arrange and classify."

Report on Stanford's Dictionary of Anglicised Foreign Words and Phrases.

In connection with Dr. Murray's labours on the Philological Society's Dictionary, I may mention the bequest of the late Mr. John Frederick Stanford, M.A., F.R.S., of Christ's College, Cambridge, to his University. This consists of a mass of papers which were to form the nucleus of a dictionary of foreign words used in English, and £5000 for the purpose of editing and printing it.

Some of our older members may recollect that several years ago Mr. Stanford was introduced to our Society by Mr. H. B. Wheatley, and read a paper before it. He was anxious that the Philological Society should take over his collection of slips, and either work them into its dictionary or make them the foundation of a new one. But Mr. Furnivall, who was at that time Editor of the Dictionary, reported that most of Mr. Stanford's slips were extracts with no date or record of their source, and as Mr. Stanford did not propose to pay the

expenses of a searcher for their identification, the Society declined doing anything in the matter. Mr. Stanford's bequest of £5000, however, for the completion of his material, entirely altered the complexion of affairs, and made it possible to produce a dictionary similar to what he desired. Nevertheless the first Syndicate appointed by the University of Cambridge to report on Mr. Stanford's bequest, advised that it should be refused, as they considered it impossible to comply with the conditions of the will. On a day being appointed for a discussion of this report in the Senate, Mr. Furnivall went to Cambridge, to lead the opposition to its confirmation, and shew in what way, in compliance with Mr. Stanford's will, a valuable dictionary of Anglian and Foreign terms and phrases could be compiled, which would present a complete picture of English social life from the time of Charles II. Our members, Prof. Postgate and Mr. Henry Bradshaw, and all the best authorities, were of the same opinion as Mr. Furnivall, and when the Grace for confirming the Report, advising the University to refuse the bequest, was submitted to the Congregation, it was rejected by the extraordinary majority of 100 to 2.

The University then appointed a second Syndicate to examine the papers and will, and consider whether the bequest could be accepted, taking counsel's opinion if necessary. This Syndicate reported on 26 Nov. 1881, that they found the papers to consist mainly of undated cuttings from unnamed newspapers, alphabetically arranged, and almost useless as a contribution to lexicography, but that having regard to the wording of the will itself, they were of opinion that Mr. Stanford's intentions could be substantially carried out by publishing a Dictionary to be called "The Stanford Etymological Dictionary of Anglicised Foreign Words and Phrases," any material collected by Mr. Stanford being properly distinguished by a mark.

This Dictionary, while excluding purely technical terms, would embrace:

(1) All Anglicised non-European words and phrases found in English literature.

(2) All Latin and Greek words which retain their orginal form, and all Latin and Greek phrases in use in English literature.

(3) All Anglicised words and phrases borrowed directly from modern European languages, excepting French.

(4) All words and phrases borrowed from French which retain the French pronunciation.

(5) All words borrowed from French, Latin, and Greek, since the accession of Henry VII., but imperfectly naturalised and now obsolete.

This report was confirmed by a Grace of the Senate on 8 Dec. 1881, and another Syndicate appointed to prepare a scheme to carry it out. This Syndicate on 30 March, 1882, recommended the appointment of an Editor, paid as the Press Syndicate should determine, with power to appoint paid assistants; that the dictionary should be completed within a reasonable time, and an annual report issued, and that £500 should be reserved beyond the expenses for the first edition, for supplements. Thus we are likely to have a very complete account of the foreign words which we were or are in the habit of using to supplement our own tongue, although from a desire not to interfere with dictionaries now in the market, the full list of importations introduced since the Revolution, as suggested by Mr. Furnivall, and the consequent picture of social life which he desired, will not be given. You will, I am sure, be anxious to acknowledge the exertions of our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Furnivall, in this matter. He is always to the fore when the interests of philology and especially of the history of our language and social life are to be served.

On 13 Feb. 1871, on p. xii of the "Notice" prefixed to the third part of my *Early English Pronunciation*, I said, "It is highly desirable that a complete account of our existing English language should occupy the attention of an English Dialect Society," and in my address of 16 May,

1873, I had the great pleasure of announcing that the Rev. W. W. Skeat (since then appointed to be Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge) had actually started a society under the name which I had proposed. Eight years have now elapsed, and Prof. Skeat has been good enough to prepare the following report on what this Society has accomplished. He is no longer in charge of it, but he still takes the greatest interest in its proceedings, and was manifestly the proper man to render an account of its work. Even those who, unaware perhaps of practical difficulties, think that the Society could have done more, and more scientific work in the time, must admit that what has been accomplished is a distinct gain to the knowledge of our language as it exists. The subject is very large and very difficult, and to gain the indispensable support, it had necessarily to be treated in the way with which word-collectors have been mainly familiar. I trust that what has been done will be of great service to the scientific dialectologist of the future, although it may not be all he desires.

Report on the English Dialect Society by the Rev. Professor W. W. Skeat.

"The necessity for the establishment of an English Dialect Society had been urged, both by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Aldis Wright, for some time before the Society came into actual existence. It was generally felt that, whilst we were waiting, the dialects were perishing. As it became daily clearer that 'something must be done,' whilst it was at the same time not clear whose business it was to do it, the writer of this report resolved to take it upon himself to become the Honorary Secretary and Director, and to see what could be done in the way of finding out editors and materials. This involved, at the first, a good deal of correspondence; but the trouble was amply compensated by the discovery that a sufficient quantity of work and workers could be obtained in order to keep the printers employed for some years. This was in the month of May, 1873; and it was not long

before the Society numbered two hundred subscribers at half a guinea each. Subsequent experience shewed that the subscription was fixed too low, and that it could be safely increased to a pound without the loss of many subscribers; but the low rate originally fixed was a gain, at the outset, to secure a considerable number of supporters. As it was highly desirable that a start should be made as soon as possible, and that something at least should be printed by the end of the year, I resolved to undertake the superintendence of the reprinting of some of the most curious and scarce glossaries published during the last century or at the beginning of the present; more especially as the works containing them are, for the most part, expensive. It was not uncommonly the case that writers introduced into their works provincial glossaries that had, apparently, not much to do with their main subject, and the separation of the glossaries from their other work has been a distinct gain. No better example of this can be given than that which I have already pointed out in the introduction to Part II. of the Reprinted Glossaries, p. viii.

"Professor Mayor actually took the trouble to extract, for our benefit, the provincial words which are to be found in the Glossaries made by Thomas Hearne to his editions of Robert of Gloucester and Robert of Brunne's translation of Peter Langtoft. These Glossaries fill 304 pages, closely printed in double columns; yet our reprint, containing all that for our purposes is required, occupies only four pages, and at the same time disposes of Hearne's four volumes, now becoming extremely scarce.

"The very first glossary reprinted for the Society, from the curious old book called 'A Tour to the Caves,' is one of considerable interest; and I have since pointed out (in the Introduction to our reprint of William de Worfat's 'Bran New Wark') that its author, the Rev. John Hutton, vicar of Burton-in-Kendal, certainly afforded assistance (either by correspondence or by means of his printed glossary) to William de Worfat, that is, William of Overthwaite in Westmoreland, whose family name was Hutton likewise.

These two publications were printed by the same Kendal printer, in 1781 and 1784 respectively.

"William Humphrey Marshall, the author of several works on agriculture, was a great word-collector. His real design was, as he himself tells us, 'to confine himself merely to such words as relate more especially to rural affairs;' but his love for old words was, fortunately, sufficiently strong to enable him to go beyond his prescribed limits in numerous instances. Otherwise, he would hardly have described for us the old custom of riding the stang, which 'is used as a reproof to the man who beats his wife; or (when it happens) to the wife who beats her husband;' and again, he describes the *barguest* as being 'a hobgoblin of the highest order, terrible in aspect, and loaded with chains of tremendous rattle.' From his various works we have collected glossaries of East Yorkshire, East Norfolk, the Vale of Gloucester, the neighbourhood of Leicester, and of West Devonshire. It was my misfortune, in reprinting the provincialisms of East Yorkshire, to follow the edition of 1788, in ignorance of the fact that the later edition of 1796 contained a considerable number of additional words. By way of making some amends for this oversight, the additional words were reprinted separately, in Glossary No. 22 of the Series of Reprints. Whilst speaking of words specially relating to rural affairs, I must not forget to record our gratitude to Mr. Britten for his excellent collection of 'Old Country and Farming Words,' gleaned from no less than five treatises on agriculture (ranging in date from 1681 to 1863), which was printed for the Society in 1880.

"Amongst our reprints we have also included Dr. Willan's collection of words used in the West Riding (1811); Lewis's Isle of Thanet words (1736); Duncumb's Herefordshire words (1804); Duncan's Lowland-Scottish words (1595); Kennett's collection of words from various dialects (1695); Britton's Wiltshire words (1825), from which Akerman's Wiltshire glossary was practically copied, with a few additions which have been duly recorded; Spurdens's supplement to Forby, with its singular revelation of the fact that

Forby's well-known glossary of East-Anglian words was merely compiled, and somewhat mutilated and spoilt in the editing, from the MS. collection made by Mr. Spurdens and Mr. Deere; and Sir J. Cullum's list of Hawsted words (1813).

"But the most important of this set of books is the reprint of the collections of the famous John Ray, who was not only the first to gather together our provincial words, but in some respects has never been surpassed. I have been much impressed, in the course of my work, with the general usefulness of Ray's collections; and few things have ever given me greater satisfaction than the pleasure of succeeding in reducing his *eight* alphabetical lists to *two*, preserving no other distinction than the fundamental one of dividing words of the North Country from those of the South; whilst the addition of an index again reduces these two alphabets to *one*, and enables us to say, at a glance, whether Ray has recorded or omitted any given words; and, at the same time, what additions were made by Thoresby in 1703.

"Besides the works which are strictly provincial, we have also reprinted some lists which partake of a technical character, viz. Manlove's 'Customs of the Derbyshire Lead-miners, with a glossary of Lead-mining terms' (1653); and the lists of Derbyshire mining terms made by T. Houghton (1681), and J. Mawe (1802). We are looking forward to a more complete collection of mining terms, which has been undertaken by Mr. Britten.

"In planning the works to be edited for the Society, our first need was to compile a Bibliographical List of all that had been done heretofore. Though the list is not very extensive, it was nevertheless a work of some difficulty, owing to the merely local circulation and, not unfrequently, the extremely trivial and even contemptible nature of some of the so-called works 'in dialect.' Fortunately, a good beginning had been made by Mr. John Russell Smith, who printed his 'Bibliographical List of the works . . . . illustrating the Provincial Dialects of England' in 1839; and by Mr. Wheatley, who compiled his 'Chronological Notices

of the Dictionaries of the English Language' for the Philological Society in 1865. But many of the counties could only be dealt with, bibliographically, by persons extremely familiar with the literature of their respective counties; and the names of those who gave us much valuable assistance in this matter are entitled to our particular regard. They are as follows, viz. Mr. J. Russell Smith, who allowed us to include the whole of his list; Mr. Wheatley and Mr. Aldis Wright, who added several articles; H. I. H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, who gave us access to his valuable collection of books; and, for various special contributions, Mr. Axon, Mr. Briscoe, Mr. C. C. Robinson, Mr. Shelley, Messrs. Boase and Courtney, the Rev. W. Barnes, Mr. E. R. Morris, Mr. J. P. Morris, Mr. R. White, and the Rev. C. Wordsworth. Many others contributed various useful titles to the list, which was at first begun by myself, and subsequently continued and completed by Mr. Nodal, with help from Dr. Murray, Mr. W. Doig, Mr. W. Lawson, and Mr. C. W. Sutton. An index was supplied by Mr. Axon. All this is worthy of record; for it is probable that cases are extremely rare in which a small volume of 201 pages has been compiled by the hearty collaboration of so many workers, free from all dissension; and it shews how well Englishmen can 'pull together,' when they are so minded.

"The reprinting of old glossaries and the compilation of a bibliographical list were necessary and useful, but only humble labours. All this was but preliminary skirmishing; the real battle began when we had to venture upon original work. Here many things combined to put considerable difficulties in the way. We had, in fact, to find persons competent for the work; and it is no less true than strange that a really *good* word-collector and glossary-compiler cannot possibly be made; he must be, like a poet, born to it. How else can he be really familiar with the speech which he professes to illustrate? How is he to discern between words which are thought to be classical and words certainly provincial, and to recognize the fine distinction between dialect and slang? I am convinced that the difficulties of

word-collecting have been greatly under-rated; it has even been suggested to us that we should employ word-collectors, as if we could find them forth-coming upon a mere cursory search. We have also received, from some quarters, much good advice on the subject of glossary-making, which it has been our wisdom steadily and persistently to disregard. There is a constant and irreconcileable opposition between those who advise us to register everything we can in every county, and those who tell us we must register nothing as being peculiar to one county which can possibly be heard in another. On both sides there is some danger, but we must either cast in our lot with the former class of advisers, or else stultify ourselves and perish. As to those who tell us to publish only what is *peculiar* to each county, it is but charitable to suppose that they do not know what impracticable folly they are talking. Such talk is the speculation of a theorist, who wants the work done by some one else; and it is not the talk of a practical man who condescends to consider how he would set about such a work himself. No proof of these things need be offered; for we have overwhelming evidence before us, if we will examine practical results. Only *one* method has ever been pursued hitherto by every worker who has ever printed a glossary for the last two hundred years; and it will be time to consider how we are to make a list of words really *peculiar* to a county, when it can be pointed out that any such phenomenal list has ever yet been printed. Those who require evidence may read over our Bibliographical List, and see if they can find such a publication as, to their narrowed ideas, is immaculate.

"To return to sober and common-sense considerations, we can only produce glossaries similar to such as have been produced already in the past; and even to do this is sufficiently difficult. We have not only to find word-collectors who are, as I have said, fitted for the work by birth, training, and long experience, but we have to find them ready to work for nothing, and willing to sacrifice their time, in the most literal sense, for the good of their country. It is to the

credit of England that several such have been found; and that, of the numerous glossaries which have been so generously contributed, most of them are fairly useful, and some of them excellent. I may at once mention some which, to say the least, are creditable, and which I believe will be found extremely useful to students when many years have passed by, and when true provincial dialects have become almost indistinguishable.

"Mr. F. K. Robinson has given us a list of words in use in the neighbourhood of Whitby. He had previously printed a similar collection in 1855; but the work which he so generously gave to the Dialect Society is a great improvement upon the original one, as may well be understood when we notice that he continued to add to and revise his former work during a space of 21 years. We must all regret the recent news of his death, which took place at a good old age. I remember reading the proofs of this book with great interest; it is a very full list, with terse definitions, and eminently free from etymological speculation.

"Messrs. Milner and Nodal have just completed the vocabulary of their Lancashire glossary, after several years. It happens that I have not yet seen the last published part of the work (another is to follow in 1883, containing a chapter on the Literature, Grammar and Pronunciation of the Dialect, with an Appendix of omitted words), but the great importance of the Lancashire dialect has always been recognised, and the celebrated Tim Bobbin is, amongst writers of dialect, a sort of classic.

"Mr. C. C. Robinson has given us a glossary of words in use in Mid-Yorkshire, abounding with illustrations of country talk, every one of which is rendered into 'glossic' for the use of phoneticians, and is also given in a 'nomic' spelling for the use of the general reader. Prefixed to it is an Outline Grammar of the dialect, and a discussion and explanation of the sounds. Surely this is a thorough book.

"A fitting companion volume to the two just mentioned, and one which deals with the same county, is the Holderness

glossary, compiled by Mr. F. Ross, Mr. R. Stead, and Mr. T. Holderness. The compilers tell us that 'they have been careful to admit no words except such as can be considered genuinely dialectal; technical trade terms, slang, and exotics having been avoided, excepting where they are peculiar to the district; and such words as differ but slightly from ordinary English have been relegated to the Introduction. The Glossic of Mr. A. J. Ellis has been used to indicate the pronunciation, and the illustrations are taken from the every-day speech of the people.' This is a good description of what a glossary should be; our experience has already shewn that the way to deal with words which are merely ordinary English with a peculiar pronunciation, is to give a list of them in the preface (where they serve to illustrate varieties of pronunciation), but to exclude them from the main list, the value of which they simply dilute.

"Mr. Peacock's Glossary of 'Words used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire,' is not only a good collection, but abounds with quaint illustrations of real speech. The trouble and time required for making such a book as this may be gathered from the author's statement that he collected materials for it for upwards of a quarter of a century, and had, at the same time, been assisted by many friends. The truth of the illustrations is refreshing; when he explains that to *boon* a highway is to repair it, we can almost see the expression of settled disgust on the face of the marsh-man who said—'I'd hev all cheches pull'd doon to boon the roads wi', an' parsons kill'd to muck the land.' It is a consolation to an English clergyman to know that he can still be put to some use, even after he has ceased to live.

"One of the most complete books on any dialect is that on the dialect of Leicestershire by Dr. Sebastian Evans, in compiling which he had the great advantage of having been preceded by his father, though upon a smaller scale, in 1848. The introduction contains 86 pages, and is full of information.

"The list of original glossaries is too long to be dwelt upon. I can only notice here the names of other counties and districts which have so far received attention. We have Cumberland words, by Mr. Dickinson, with two supplements; Swaledale words, by Captain Harland; West Cornwall, by Miss Courtney; East Cornwall, by Mr. Couch; Antrim and Down, by Mr. Patterson; Sussex, by Mr. Parish; Kent, by Dr. Pegge, written in 1735, but published by us for the first time from his MS.; Surrey, by G. Leveson Gower, Esq.; Oxfordshire, by Mrs. Parker, with a supplement; South Warwickshire, by Mrs. Francis; a supplement to Mr. Atkinson's well-known glossary of the Cleveland dialect; Isle of Wight, by the late Major Henry Smith and Mr. Roach Smith; North Lincoln (distinct from Mr. Peacock's district), by Mr. Sutton; Radnorshire, by the Rev. W. E. T. Morgan; as well as the valuable book on English Plant-names by Messrs. Britten and Holland.

"The extra Series of Miscellaneous Works, illustrative of dialects, is also well worthy of mention. In this we have works of such high phonetic value as Mr. Sweet's History of English Sounds and the remarks on the dialect of West Somerset by Mr. Elworthy; a new Classification of the English Dialects, with two maps, by Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte; an Early English Hymn, with a very curious phonetic copy of it made by a Welshman, edited by Mr. Furnivall and Mr. Ellis; and, finally, some notes on the antiquity of many dialectal words and on George Eliot's use of Dialect, by Dr. Morris and Mr. Axon respectively. By way of textual illustration, we have also published an edition of Tusser's Husbandry, and reprints of the 'Exmoor Scolding' and 'A Bran New Wark.'

"This account of work done up to the present time has, I regret to say, been given in a dry and tedious manner, and consists of little more than the titles of books; but I trust it may be accepted as evidence that, if we have not done much, we have done something; and that, if all has not been done as well as it might have been done (and my experience is that reviewers of glossaries are often rather hard to please),

we have yet collected a good deal that may be turned to a better account hereafter.

"We think that we begin to discern an end to our labours; and that five or six years more may really enable us to print most of what is valuable for our purpose.[1] It must be remembered that the work of the Society is, to a considerable extent, supplementary. Some of the ground has been traversed already; we are not likely to add much to some of the old existing glossaries; or, at any rate, we shall not supersede them. We have Forby's East-Anglian collection, Major Moor's Suffolk words, Atkinson's Cleveland glossary, Miss Baker's Northamptonshire, and many others. And quite lately we have had the Shropshire glossary by Miss Jackson, which, considered as a whole, may be taken to be the best of the whole series, whether printed by the Society or out of it, and may conveniently be taken as a model by any one who aspires to add to the number of our county glossaries.

"I cannot conclude this notice without remarking that all experience has shewn the general wisdom of the rule which was adopted at the outset, and which has, to a great extent, been adhered to throughout, viz. that we should abstain, as far as in us lay, from interfering with the business of the Etymologist. We have thus been spared perversions of definition, intended to lead up to a supposed false derivation; we have saved some trouble to the printers; we have left fewer blots for the attack of reviewers; and earned, as I hope, the fervent thanks of students who shall work at philology in a more enlightened age, when the value of vowel-sounds shall at last receive that attention which the present age grudges to give them.

"Further particulars concerning the proceedings of the Society may be gathered from the Annual Reports. I may remark that the Reports for 1873, 1874, and 1875, were mainly written by myself, and that most of the business of the Society was managed by me during those years. It was

[1] But see the remarks of Mr. Lundell, quoted in Mr. Sweet's Report on *Germanic and English Philology* below, p. 117.—A.J.E.

not desirable that, when the materials and names of workers had once been collected, the business should long remain entrusted to one person only. Hence in the year 1876, a Committee of management was appointed, and, at the same time, Mr. Nodal was kind enough to undertake the duties of Honorary Secretary, which he has punctually fulfilled up to the present time.

"It is highly important to mention the formation of the English Dialect Society's Library. After some negotiation, the Central Public Library of Manchester undertook to make proper provision for the due preservation of our books, and kindly consented to our earnest request that they might be kept together in one place, instead of being distributed over various parts of the building. Our Seventh Report, for the year 1879, contains a complete catalogue of our books, up to that date, compiled by the Librarian, Mr. C. W. Sutton. The collection is doubtless incomplete, but can now be easily filled up at leisure by occasional purchases and by donations. And it is to be hoped that those who can afford to give us books will not hesitate to do so, now that there is a permanent home for our library, under proper and efficient care."

On Dialect, Language, Orthoepy and Dr. G. Wenker's German Speech-Atlas.

The notice of my own paper on English Dialects, together with Prof. Skeat's Report on the English Dialect Society, naturally leads me to consider the difference between Dialect and Language. After frequent and anxious consideration I am unable to find any definite line which can be drawn to distinguish one from the other. A word is merely a speech-sound, to which (approximatively) a definite signification is attached by speaker and hearer. Change the sound, and intelligence ceases between say the two first, but exists possibly again between two others, or the first speaker and another listener. Has not the language changed? Do the words *dahn*, *doon*, *down*, belong to the same language, all having the same signification? It seems to me that these

words are as distinct as words can be, the first two containing clear, definite vowels, one in the middle and the other at the extremity of the vowel series, with no phonetic relation to each other, and the third having a diphthong (approximatively) composed of the other two. It is not perhaps till we find that *dahn* is used by the peasants in the neighbourhood of Leeds, *doon* in the neighbourhood of York, and *down*, or rather (dáun),[1] in the neighbourhood of Doncaster (all in Yorkshire), that we say they are dialectal forms of the received *down*—which most assuredly they are not, the original form being *doon*, from which the generation of the others can now be traced with a fair amount of certainty. But was *doon* a dialectal form? If there are dialects at all, as distinct from languages, then I think we may fairly say that it is and was, that is, that it was a local word, with a distinct district, and that the form varied in other districts.

I have referred merely to a sound. Let me take a construction. Are (ɜ'*i* bi gwóin *u*'m, aaz gaan háam), both meaning *I am going home*, different languages? The words and construction are utterly different. There is scarcely any greater difference in English and French. But when we are told that the first may be heard in North Wiltshire (near Chippenham), and the second in North-west Yorkshire (near Hawes in Wensleydale), we are content to call them dialectal expressions, phrases, or forms. Formerly we spoke of the original of the first as Wessex, and that of the second as Northumbrian, and considered them to be at least as much different languages as English and Dutch. Why not now? I can conceive no reason but that there has grown up to be a received language, chiefly written, and having an artificial and by no means settled corresponding pronunciation, which is different from, yet manifestly related to, all the others, and of which its merely ignorant users consider the others to be "corruptions." Of course this is a most glaring error, for the elder cannot possibly be a corruption of the younger. Yet there is no doubt that received literary English, such as I am

[1] Phonetically written words inclosed in ( ) are in my palaeotype.

using at the present moment, is considered the English language pure and simple, and the other forms used in England are considered to be its dialects. It is convenient to say so, and to be generally intelligible, I adopt the expression — under protest, however. But the distinction between language and dialect, if real, must have existed from the first, long before any sort or kind of received language grew up, and very long before there was such a thing conceivable as a literary language.

This received literary language is a very strange phenomenon. What does it mean, and how did it grow? Originally, I believe, it was a mere matter of domination by one tribe over another. The conquerors, savages, would not think of acquiring the language of the conquered. Why should they? It was the business of the beaten to make themselves intelligible to the beaters. In subsequent times of course the conquerors, being few in number, often did not succeed in imposing their language on the conquered, whose *vis inertiæ* was too much for them, though they tried hard; and in England, for example, the Normans did not relinquish the attempt for some centuries. But to return to more primitive times, the language of the conquerors, who were after all generally only speakers of one particular dialect, as we should now say, became the language of government, of the powerful, of the wealthy, and was considered *the* language of all the regions they dominated, the other poor fellows speaking generally dialects, if their languages were constructed on the same principle, or if on totally different principles (as in the case of Celt and Saxon), different but decidedly "inferior" languages.

Now this insulting stigmatisation of "inferiority" came in time, after writing was invented, to have a real significance. There grew up a language of refinement, a language of literature, and as time went on a language of knowledge, which could not from want of opportunity grow up in the dialects and crushed nationalities. And thus there came to be a received literary language so far as writing was concerned, or nearly so. But for some time at least the writers

living in districts with very deficient means of communication preserved their local colour. For some time, therefore, it is only by forcing the meaning of words that we can say there was one written language. Indeed, I do not know if we can strictly say so now. In a novel by a Scotch lady, a very practised writer, published this year, one of the characters, supposed to be an English lady, is made to say: "If you read that paper, *I will die.*" In the mouth of an English lady these words could only imply a suicidal intention. All the writer meant however was "*I shall die,*" that is, "it will kill me." These *shalls* and *wills* are still shibboleths.

But if we turn from the written language to speech—I mean the speech of highly educated people, moving more or less in the "best" society—I think it requires a still greater forcing of the meaning of words to say there is one English language. Personally I do not know any two people who speak every written English word they have in common in the same way. Where there is a difference, which is "right"? and upon what principle is this "right" determined? and when an orthoepist decides, is his judgment explícable or éxplicable? The question of orthoepy is a burning one at present, when people wish to write phonetically. Some sort of notion should be obtained of some sort of principles on which it should be founded. Now to me orthoepy is the speech of the governing and educated classes, and embraces every variety of pronunciation which the people forming those classes habitually and intentionally use.[1] The limits

[1] "L'autorité, en langage, comme en tout le reste, s'attache au prestige social et politique. Les plus puissants passent aussi d'ordinaire pour ceux qui parlent le mieux. Il est naturel que Paris, qui était le siège du gouvernement, ait fait, pour le langage, la loi à la province, moins exclusivement au xvie siècle, sans contestation aux xviie et xviiie siècles, et que dans la capital même la cour ait partagé la suprématie avec la magistrature au xvie siècle, l'ait eue seule au xviie, et l'ait de nouveau partagée avec la société parisienne au xviiie siècle. . . . Depuis la révolution de 1789 et surtout depuis celle de 1848, il est difficile de déterminer ce qu'il faut entendre par le bon usage, particulièrement en matière de prononciation. . . . Aujourd'hui les *honnêtes gens* de la capitale, à définir le mot comme l'a fait Dumarsais ['j'entends les personnes que la condition, la fortune ou le mérite élèvent au dessus du vulgaire, et qui ont l'esprit cultivé par la lecture, par la réflexion et par le commerce avec d'autres personnes qui ont ces avantages'] sont tellement nombreux et partagés en groupes si isolés entre eux, qu'il ne peut pas se former un usage commun qui serve de type."—*Charles Thurot*, De la pro-

are very distinct and not very wide, and there are some pronunciations which at once stamp a man as illiterate or "below the line." Now the business of orthoepists is to observe—not dictate. They have to learn what the setters of the fashion of speech say, not imagine what it would be "elegant" or "proper" for them to say, or even what they should "aim at" saying. Few orthoepists come up, either wholly or partially, to this ideal. But "to this complexion must they come at last," for what educated speaker would adopt on the mere *ipse dixit* of comparatively obscure scholars, such as the best of our orthoepists certainly are, a recommendation for him to entirely change the pronunciation that he has been accustomed to use from childhood? They say, mentally or orally, of the orthoepist, "Who's he? Where was he born? Oh, he was a Scot (Buchanan, Fulton and Knight), an Irishman (Sheridan, and Knowles), an American (Worcester, Goodrich), what does he know of English? Or he was a poor scholar (Walker) who never mixed in the society whose speech he presumes to regulate. Thank you for nothing." Such is the instantaneous judgment passed. It is only where a word is totally beyond the range of polite conversation, that people will look, if at all, to a pronouncing dictionary. And then a habit is growing up (arising from such words being generally "book-words," leaving a visible and not an audible impression on the mind) to pronounce in such a way as to recall the letters

nonciation Française depuis le commencement du xvie siècle d'après les témoignages des grammairiens, pp. lxxxvii, ciii, and civ. I had not seen this book till after the text was written. The passages intermediate to these quotations shew the various authorities for what the author says, in France. Yet France is but a particular example of a general fact. Only the first volume of this admirable book has appeared (in 1881), and the author (as will be seen by Prof. Stengel's Report below) is already dead. The book was intended to do completely, what I did very cursorily in my Early English Pronunciation (part iii. pp. 819-838) for French of the 16th century only. It is also curious that M. Thurot had to cite my E. E. P. (pp. 804-814) for his oldest authority, Barcley, which I have there reprinted, and only knew Erondel, which the late Prof. Payne had lent me, by my citations (E. E. P. pp. 226-8 notes). M. Thurot's work was evidently partly modelled on mine, and attempted to determine for French much more minutely than I had done for English, what has been the pronunciation from the 16th century, as well as can be gathered from the grammarians. It is greatly to be wished that M. Thurot left his second volume in a state fit for publication.

of which it is composed—such at least seems the practice of most of our men of science with the new words they invent or come across.

To sum up these brief remarks, dialects and languages do not differ in kind, but only in degree. It is very hard to make English and Dutch two languages, and not dialects of a common Low German. But the difference in degree is one of great importance, and when it is moderate, groups of these sublanguages may be, for practical convenience, distinguished as dialects of that particular form which has become most prominent, and struggled into an acknowledged literary existence. And this received literary form has, *at any given time*, an orthoepy, not settling the exact pronunciation of every word, but the limits within which the pronunciation may vary. So that this language itself cannot be represented, at any one time, by one single phonetic spelling, but must have several. Thus, the word *chance* may be called (tʃaans, tʃans, tʃaahns, tʃahns, tʃæens, tʃæns), but must not be called (tʃ*aa*ns, tʃAAns).

Now the above observations, which arose from my own studies, are in fact preliminary to an account which I wish to give you of Dr. G. Wenker's Herculean undertaking, his *Sprach-Atlas von Nord- und Mitteldeutschland, auf Grund von systematisch mit Hülfe der Volksschullehrer gesammeltem Material aus circa* 30,000 *Orten bearbeitet, entworfen und gezeichnet* (Speech-Atlas of North and Middle Germany, based, designed and drawn from materials systematically collected by the help of elementary school teachers from about 30,000 places). Nobody but a German could have conceived the idea or have had the courage to attempt the work. And an organisation of elementary instruction like that in Germany was necessary to enable him to obtain information from 30,000 school-masters, who were ordered by the various governments to answer his circulars. Dr. Wenker, like myself, found it necessary to do away with old conceptions, and the assumed areas of dialects ancient and modern, and to turn to the speakers themselves, registering what they said. But how? It was obviously

impossible for him to visit these 30,000 places. It was therefore necessary to collect the information by writing. To do so he gave up all very precise phonetics, in fact everything which could not be readily expressed by the High German alphabet. This alphabet of course has a great advantage over the English, because each writer was at once able to express with very fair correctness the sounds used. In this respect his attempt falls short of mine, because I aim at the utmost possible phonetic exactness, and indeed by the help of so many whom I have personally examined, and so much excellent work done for me by Messrs. Goodchild, Hallam, and many others, I have in very numerous cases been able to give a remarkably accurate account of peasant speech in different places. My attention, in short, was directed principally to the sounds, and in a very subordinate way to the construction.

The mode of obtaining information was also different, and I own that Dr. Wenker's seems to have been much better than mine. With the help of Dr. Murray, I wrote some years ago a comparative specimen, containing a continuous narrative, supposed to be related by one countryman to another, about some fellow who was found drunk at his own door by his wife. In this I endeavoured to insert turns of phrase and words which would if properly rendered be of excellent service. But, alas! almost every one, no matter from what part of the country he hailed, complained that his countrymen would not tell a story in that way or use such words, and the friends who helped me often showed a marvellous aptitude for substituting a word I didn't want for one I did. Nevertheless I have much more than a hundred translations, some exceeding good, some absolutely worthless, of this lengthy specimen. To supplement the result I issued a number of word lists (arranged according to the Wessex vowels). About 1700 were sent out. I never heard anything of a 1000 of them, and perhaps 200 of the rest are good. Then I tried a smaller paragraph, but still unfortunately a story, of about 70 words, introducing the chief points I wanted information about. This was a better

success, but it was often most inefficiently and carelessly translated. Still I got some good things. Then I tried, in isolated quarters, short unconnected sentences. These have generally done good service, but not unless I could get to the informants myself or through Mr. Hallam and others. Our clergy and their schoolmasters and educated men generally are so supremely ignorant of phonetics, and seem so incapable of beating any notion of it into their brains, that I have often been in utter despair, till I could catch a native. Now Dr. Wenker could not do this, but the German alphabet and the *Lautir-Methode*, or phonic method of teaching to read, which is universal in Germany, seems to have stood him in good stead, and to have enabled the 30,000 elementary schoolmasters to give him satisfactory information. He gave up word lists at once, and concocted a series of 40 short unconnected sentences, of which I give the first two and last two:

1. *Im Winter fliegen die trocknen Blätter durch die Luft herum.* (In winter dry leaves fly about through the air.)

2. *Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.* (It will stop snowing directly, and then the weather will be better again.)

39. *Geh nur, der braune Hund thut dir nichts.* (Go on, the brown dog will do nothing to you.)

40. *Ich bin mit den Leuten da hinten über die Wiese ins Korn gefahren.* (I went [or drove] with the people behind there, over the meadow into the corn.)

Then he made an alphabetical verbal index, referring each word as it stood to its sentence. Next he made a systematic index of 274 points which these sentences would illustrate. This index is most important for shewing the scope of his work, and hence must be described at some length.

I. Stem syllables. 1. Initial consonants (as *b-*, *br-*, *bl-*, *pf-*, *f-*, *v-*, etc., Nos. 1–34). 2. Medial and final consonants (as *-b*, *-rb*, *-lb*, *-pf*, etc., Nos. 35–85). 3. Vowels, under which he includes, as well known to his elementary schoolmasters, in high German, *a* Apfel, *ä* Aepfelchen, *e* Bett, *á* Abend, *ae* Schäfchen, *ú* genug, *ue* müde; *i* Blickchen, *ë*

sprechen, *ei* (o.h.g. *î*) bleib, *ei* (o.h.g. *ei, ai*) Seife, *é* mehr; *u* luft, *ü* zurück, *o* trocken, *ö* könnt, *eu* euch, *ie* liebes, *au* (o.h.g. *û*) auf, *äu* Häuser, *au* (o.h.g, *ou*) glaube, *äu* Bäumchen, *ô* Brod, *oe* höher, from which it is evident what a much greater store of phonetic knowledge he had to draw on than would be possible in England (Nos. 86–109).

II. Prefixes and affixes (as *be-*, *ge-*, *er-*, *-ig*, *-ei*, *-e*, etc., Nos. 110–122).

III. Verbal flexion (Nos. 123–169). a. Regular verbs, present, preterite, past participle. b. Praeterite-praesentia (as *will*, *musst*, *darfst*, etc.). c. The verbs *stehen*, *gehen*, *thun* (stand, go, do), present, imperative, infinitive, preterite, participle. d. The verb *sein* (be), present, imperative, preterite, participle. a. The verb *haben* (have), present, infinitive, preterite.

IV. Inflections of nouns (Nos. 170–192). 1. Declension of substantives. a. strong masculine, b. strong and weak feminine, c. strong neuter, d. weak masculine, e. weak neuter. 2. Declension of adjectives and pronominal adjectives (Nos. 193–216). a. strong declension, b. weak declension, c. uninflected adjectives, d. comparative, e. superlative. 3. Pronouns (Nos. 217–265). a. sexless personal pronoun, b. possessive, c. sexed personal pronoun, d. demonstrative, e. article (*der*, *die*, *das*), f. interrogative, g. other pronouns (*solche*, *man*, *ein-*).

V. Numerals (only *zwei*, *drei*, *vier*, *fünf*, *sechs*, *neun*, *zwölf*= 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, Nos. 266–272).

VI. Adverbs and conjunctions (No. 273).

VII. Prepositions (No. 274).

Each of these 274 cases is illustrated by words out of the 40 sentences, and the sentences in which they occur are found at once by the alphabetic index. If, then, Dr. Wenker is fortunate enough to get each word or construction reduced to its local form, each answer from each of the 30,000 places would supply him with 274 facts. But how to make this enormous mass of information available was an extremely difficult question, which Dr. Wenker solved in one word—*graphically*. This, however, required a number of expedients.

The plan, so far as I have been able to understand it from the small specimen I possess, which I lay on the table for your inspection, is this.

The whole of North and Middle Germany was divided arbitrarily into 13 divisions of nearly equal size, containing about 3° of longitude by $1\frac{1}{3}$° of latitude. Each division is to have about 36 maps, so that on the whole there will be about 468 maps when the work is complete, which the prospectus promises will be certainly (*bestimmt*) in 5 or 6 years —10 or 12 years will be a short time.[1] Each division is to be sold separately, with maps, text, and portfolio, at 50 marks, or £2 10*s*., making the complete price £32 10*s*.—a wonderful price for any complete German work. But then any division is to be sold separately, so that persons are intended to be able to possess their own districts only. The publication began last October. Wishing to give you an account of this wonderful work, I subscribed for the first division in February, and obtained only one part of it, containing sheets 1, 2, 18, 19, 27, 28. Referring to the systematic index, sheet 1 deals with initial consonants Nos. 1–34; sheet 2 with medial and final consonants Nos. 35–44; sheet 18 with the verb *sein* (to be) Nos. 151–152; sheet 19 with the same Nos. 150, 153, 154; sheet 27 with the pronouns Nos. 223–226; sheet 28 with the same Nos. 227, 228, 235. Thus this part gives a general idea of the construction of the work.[2]

Each sheet comprises the same district and set of names. The rivers, especially the Rhine, are drawn boldly, all the principal names are written in, and the host of small villages are reduced to their initial letters, explained in a separate printed sheet referring to the rectangles of 10′ longitude and 5′ latitude into which the map is divided. (Remember that

[1] It has been calculated that if Dr. Wenker took 3 seconds for every entry from his documents, and worked 9 hours a day, it would take him 32 years to complete the work! Hence he will have to obtain much skilled assistance.

[2] On referring to the German publishers, Messrs. Karl Trübner, in Strassburg, I find that unforeseen difficulties have prevented the appearance of more parts as yet, but that negotiations are going on with the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, for giving Dr. Wenker an office there with a sufficient staff of assistants to complete the work. It is very desirable that something of this kind should be done, and I much hope that the Berlin Academy will see their way to give this necessary help.

the longitude is east from Ferro, and apparently about 17° 40′ greater than our longitude east from Greenwich.) The map of this first division pursues the Rhine from Worms, through Mainz, Coblenz, Andernach, to Remagem, with a wide district to the east (including Franckfurt, Hanau, Giessen, and Schlitz in Darmstadt) and to the west (including Saarbrücken, Trier, and Malmedy). The maps being thus arranged, coloured lines are drawn on them marking boundaries, which sometimes unite and form islands. Thus, sheet 1 gives the boundaries (always initial) between No. 4 *p-* and *pf-*; No. 8 *w-* and *b-* in *wer*, *was*, *wem*, *wie*, *wo*; No. 9 *j-* and *g-* (with an island in which they are mixed); No. 12 *j-* and *k-* in *kein*; No. 18 *d-* and *t-*; No. 19 *dr-* and *tr-* (the two last boundaries are by no means the same); No. 28 *schw-* and *s-* (in *Schwester*); No. 33 *m-* and *b-* (in *mit*); or eight different boundaries, which cross one another in various directions, but are clear enough. The numbers refer to the systematic index.

In sheet 2 the results relate to medial and final consonants, and are not quite so easy to seize. Thus No. 35 between *-vv-* and *w* in *über*, *aber*, *oben*, *Abend*, *geblieben* (which words have different boundaries), an island of *-m-* for *-b-* in *Abend*, between *-f* and *-b* (with islands of *-w* and -†, which I suppose means entire omission), No. 36 between *-rf* and *-rb* in *Korb*; No. 38 between *-p* and *-f*, *-ft* and *-f* in *Affe*, and between *-p* and *-f* in *auf*; No. 40 between *-rf* and *-rp* in *Dorf*, and No. 41 between *-w-* and *-f-* in *Ofen* with an island of the entire omission of *f*. This suffices to shew the kind of phonetic boundaries aimed at, which resemble those which I have drawn between (səm, sum) and (hə'us, huus) in England.

When we come to grammatical points in sheets 18 and 19 the confusion of the boundaries and the number of islands greatly increases. The number of shades of the same colour in different senses is also an especial cause of difficulty. In sheet 18, for No. 151 *bist*, the forms *seist*, *seis* and *wist*, *west*, *we*^{a}*st* are distinguished, and the boundaries between *-s* and *-st*; *-s*, *-st* and *-scht*; *-scht* and *-sch* for the final consonants. For No. 152 *ist*, the finals *-s* and *-sh* and *-r* before vowels, are

marked off. Then an attempt is made, which to my eye is very confusing, to distinguish the vowels in *bist*, *ist* or both, as *i*, *e*, e^a, *e* together with *ö*, *ö* alone, *o*, *a*.

This is sufficient to give a notion of Dr. Wenker's Graphic Method. He endeavours to draw the line sharply between different usages, as the translations of his 40 sentences given by the elementary schoolmasters indicate. But when he has gone through his 36 sheets in this way, unless he gives in his text some of these translations for typical places, the reader will not know much of the actual speech of the place.[1] As it is, to find the usages for any one particular place, we have to pursue it through all the maps, and note within what limits it exists for every case required. This is very laborious, and might easily lead to error. I have here endeavoured to determine the language used at Andernach, a well-known place on the Rhine, a little below (that is, north-west of) Coblenz, so far as the six maps which I possess will allow. But I feel by no means certain that I may not have sometimes mistaken the side or the colour of the boundary-line. I have found the determination of every point from the map exceedingly laborious. After all, this only spells out portions of words, and to put the whole word together properly one would have to refer to the maps for all the vowels and consonants. Thus, we find below that *-pf-* in *Apfel* is called *-bb-*, but how is *a* called? do they say *abbl* or *obbl?* and so on.

High German in Roman letters, *dialect* at Andernach in Italics. The numbers refer to the points in the systematic index.

SHEET 1. Initial Consonants.

No. 4 pf-, *p-*.
No. 8 w-, *b-*, in wer, was, wem, wie, wo.
No. 9 g-, *j* and *g* mixed.
No. 12 k-, *k-* in kein.
No. 18 t-, *d-*.
No. 19 tr-, *tr-*.
No. 28 schw-, *schw-*, in Schwester.
No. 33 m-, *m-*, in mit.

SHEET 2. Medial and Final Consonants.

No. 35 -b-, *-w-*, in über, aber, oben, geblieben; -b-, *-m-*, in Abend; and -b, = *-f* (? bleib, *bleif*).
No. 36 *-rb*, *-rf*, in Korb.
No. 38 -pf-, *-bb-* (in Apfel?).
No. 39 -ff-, *-f*, in Affe; -f, *-f*, in auf.
No. 40 -rf, *-rf* in Dorf.
No. 41 -f-, *-w-* in Ofen.

[1] Since this was in type, Dr. Wenker has informed me in a private letter that this suggestion agrees fully with his own plans, and that he intends to make a personal visit to a large number of the places from which he has received information and have the respective translations written down on the spot with phonetic exactness, to be subsequently incorporated with his text.

SHEETS 18 and 19. Verb *sein*, present tense.

No. 151 -st -*s*, in bist.
No. 152 -s, -*s* in ist; -i, -*e*, in bist ist (?=*bes es*).
Nos. 150, 153, 159, sind *sein* (n pure). I cannot see whether *bin* or *ben* is indicated; I think *ben* is right, but the lines seem to have been omitted.

SHEETS 27 and 28. Pronouns.

No. 223 du, *dau dou.*
No. 224 dir, *dir*, or *der*.
No. 225 dich, *dech*.
No. 227 ihr, *ir*.
No. 227-8 euch (dat. and acc.), *eich*.
No. 235 euer, *eier*.

Of course these are but a small part (say a sixth) of the peculiarities of the local speech, and, essentially interesting as they are, they fail in giving a general view of the speech actually used. Still it is difficult to see how the enormous mass of information, applying in this one map to about 3000 places, could have been otherwise given. But I venture to suggest that many improvements are possible in drawing and colouring the boundary-lines, and determining with ease and certainty the parts they exclude and inclose.[1]

I have given a very detailed account of this wonderful book, because I consider it the greatest, the best-designed, and the best-executed attempt hitherto made to determine the peculiarities of local speech, and compare them with the artificial literary language of a country. I sincerely hope that Dr. Wenker will live to complete his gigantic undertaking.

REPORT ON THE YAAGAN LANGUAGE OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO, ARRANGED BY THE PRESIDENT FROM THE PAPERS OF THE REV. THOMAS BRIDGES, MISSIONARY AT UOSHUOEIA.

From the consideration of variations in two of the most cultivated languages of modern times, with millions of speakers, I turn to languages of a few naked savages in the New World and the Old, numbering less than 3000 speakers a piece. Yet these are distinct languages, with by no means small vocabularies or deficient in number of sounds, and both excessively complicated in grammar by the minute

[1] Dr. Wenker also informs me in the letter already mentioned that he will have particular attention paid to the drawing and colouring of the boundaries. Hitherto he has had much to contend with in the necessarily small resources of the town of Marburg, where he resides, but hopes that the negotiations now on foot will remove these among other difficulties.

differences which in cultivated languages we have come to overlook. Complication is by no means a mark of a good language. It harasses thought, and prevents proper generalisation. Earlier languages, or those of savage tribes, present complications which, to my mind, are a mark of inferiority. The languages of modern civilisation tend more and more to simplicity, to the expression of general thoughts by general terms, which are then limited by additions, and not by making these additions part of the original word, which would render generalisation impossible, just as if we had words for *to go in*, *to go out*, *to go over*, *to go by*, etc., but none for *to go* simply. The two languages with which I proceed to deal are one in Tierra del Fuego, and the other in the South Andaman Island.

Soon after the invention of the English Phonetic Alphabet by Mr. Isaac Pitman and myself in 1846 (used in printing the *Phonetic News*), the Rev. Pakenham Despard, of Redland, near Bristol, (recently deceased), started on a mission to Patagonia, and particularly to that southern archipelago known as Tierra del Fuego, or the Land of Fire. He had been much struck with the alphabet then invented, and he employed it as most convenient for teaching the natives to read. But it was both redundant and defective for his purposes. It symbolised English sounds which did not occur in Fireland, and it had not symbols for sounds which did occur there. The former was not of much consequence, as many English words, or English pronunciations of biblical names, had to be introduced by the missionaries, for which these letters were required. For the others, new signs were invented. Until last year nothing had been printed in it. But in 1880 the Rev. T. Bridges, one of the missionaries who had been living in Uoshuoeia,[1] in the midst of the pure native Yaagan race, and had translated the Gospel of Luke into their speech (which is one of the three principal but entirely unrelated Fuegian

[1] For a reason explained further on, I write all Yaagan words in Glossic explained presently. Here it should be noted that *aa* rhymes to English 'papa,' *uosh* to 'push,' and *ei* to *pie*. The name of this place is usually written *Ooshooia*, and I find even *Ushuwia*. I adopt the pronunciation furnished in the date of Maiakaul's letter at the end of this report (p. 43).

languages, *Yaagan*, *Alakuloof*, and *Auna*), came to England for the purpose of passing it through the press. This he did, and immediately returned to Tierra del Fuego. But while in England, he sent to Mr. Robert Cust, a member of our council, a brief account of some of the particulars of the language. This was to have been used in Dr. Murray's address in 1880, but it required more time to put in order than Dr. Murray had at his command. The same reason obliged me to pass it by last year. But from the language being written in an alphabet which I had a chief hand in inventing, I have cherished a kind of parental feeling towards it, and have therefore endeavoured to put Mr. Bridges's account into a suitable form. The first need was to change the alphabet, so as to avoid his new letters. The phonetic alphabet of 1846, which was the one Mr. Bridges adopted, was founded on the English vowel analogies, and though, as was proved by much printing and teaching, exceedingly well adapted for the English language, was not suitable for missionary purposes. But to preserve the character of the writing I here transliterate it into Glossic, from which any one could immediately recover the symbols used by Mr. Bridges, according to the account given below. There is also no difficulty in finding Glossic signs for the new letters, so that Mr. Bridges's paper can be duly represented.[1]

[1] The following gives the alphabet in Glossic and Yaagan as explained by Mr. Bridges in the paper given to Mr. Cust, following his order, and using his examples, the figures (1) (2), etc., representing his new letters. The examples are the italic letters in the words cited. The glossic in italics forms a separate column.

Yaagan.	Glossic.	English.
	VOWELS.	
a	*ai*	t*ai*l
e	*e*	t*e*ll
ɛ	*ee*	f*ee*l
i	*i*	f*i*ll
ɑ	*aa*	*a*sk
ɑ	*a*	*a*t
ɵ	*au*	s*aw*
o	*o*	h*o*t
ɯ	*oo*	b*oo*t
u	*uo*	b*oo*k
ɨ	*ei*	*i*ron
ɞ	*oi*	b*oy*
ɷ	*oa*	b*oa*t
u	*u*	b*u*t
ʉ	*eu*	f*ew*
ɜ	*ou*	*ou*t
	CONSONANTS.	
ç j	*ch j*	*ch*in *J*une
p b	*p b*	*p*in *b*in
c g	*k g*	*c*at *g*ot
t d	*t d*	*t*in *d*en
f v	*f v*	*f*in *v*ain
n ŋ	*n ng*	*n*o si*ng*
s z	*s z*	*s*in lie*s*
ʃ ʒ	*sh zh*	wi*sh* *j*our Fr.
ṭ ḍ	*th dh*	*th*in *th*en
l (1)	*l lh*	*l*ack *Ll*anelly We.
r (2)	*r rh*	*r*im *hrh*
y (3)	*y yh*	*y*es *hy*
w (4)	*w wh*	*w*e *wh*ite
h k	*h kh*	*h*e ic*h* Ge.
m (5)	*m nh*	*m*e *hr*

(1) *lh* is an l with a loop in the middle on left, whether it is the real Welsh *ll* or not is doubtful, it occurs in *aalheena*, Luke xiv. 29.

(2) *rh* is r with a loop in the middle and to the left of the stem; the sound may be the same as the Welsh *rh* as here assumed, the only examples given are first the letters *hrh* and next a Yaagan word *seerh*.

(3) *yh* is y with a loop in the middle and to the left of the thick stroke. The only example given is a Yaagan word *OOayhénata*.

(4) *wh* is v with a loop in the middle and to the left of the thick stroke for the capital, and an inverted A with a loop to the right in the thick stroke for the small letter.

(5) *nh* is n with a loop in the first thick stroke. But the example *hr* is perplexing. The Yaagan word given is *Ánhan*. The *nh* is quite conjectural.

In the printed Gospel of St. Luke several important changes have been made in this alphabet and its use. The letter ɯ=*oo* is abolished altogether, and is replaced by ɥ, which in Mr. Bridges's MS. = Glossic *eu*. An acute accent is used to mark the aspirate, and a grave accent to mark a preceding *y*, thus *éian óuan* for *heian houan*, and *ámana* for *yamana*; and a long mark means a *w*, as *ūoru* for *wuoru*. All these accents require new types to be cut for the new letters, and are very expensive. They also add much to the complexity of the printing, and were quite unnecessary. This alphabet is therefore not mine at all, and could not be printed with the types I had cut. One of these types ɑ, the roman modification of *a*, is not used, but in its place the italic *a* is employed, and as the letter is of frequent occurrence, the page has a disagreeable dotty look, as may be seen by a copy of the Gospel of Luke, which I lay on the table. An entirely new type is also introtroduced, looking like italic *s*, with the top hook bent round to a circle. This is used for the English sound of *er* in the English words introduced, as chap*ter*, Pet*er*, supp*er*, s*er*vant, and in Mary (quasi *me-er-i*), and also with a grave accent over it stands for the word *yeur* (ch. xiii. v. 11). The consequence is that the printed book has a different alphabet from that used for 30 years in teaching the natives. When I saw Mr. Bridges on his first coming over I told him that my alphabet was not well fitted for his purpose, but a very great mistake has been made I think in altering and patching it up in this extraordinary manner. In this report I follow the MS. exclusively. Dr. Bridges had prepared a dictionary of 30,000 words (what a wealth of language for a naked barbarous tribe now only 3000 strong!) all in the old spelling, without the *h*, *y*, *w*, accents. I have a copy of an explanation of the Yaagan alphabet left by Mr. Bridges for Miss Couty (to whom and her father, Mr. D. Couty, chairman of the Finance Committee of the South American Missionary Society, 11, Serjeant's Inn, Fleet Street, I am much indebted for valuable information), in which the old forms are used, and I have a facsimile copy of a letter from a native to Mr. Bridges written as late as 5 Aug. 1880 with the old letters. Hence the change seems to be a very unnecessary break of old associations. Mr. Bridges has just sent the MS. of his version of the Acts of the Apostles to be printed, presumably in the new way. How any one could have been so ill advised as to use accents like *á à ā* for *ha*, *ya*, *wa*, it is difficult for a philologist to conceive. To me it is an inscrutable riddle, though I have a glimmering of how the change arose in this particular case. For when ɯ was changed to ɥ, a single character was wanted for the Glossic *eu*, because it was a frequent Yaagan sound, and had been represented by the single character ɥ in the old alphabet. What was easier than to put a grave accent over the ɥ regardless of the consequences? But *y* being commonly joined to other letters the use of this grave accent had to be extended. It lessened the number of types in a word. What a great advantage! Then *w* and *h* were found to be related to *y* and followed suit. And so perhaps this great alphabetical blunder was committed. Mr. Bridges says he has used my alphabet in printing. Against this assertion I protest most earnestly and vehemently. I refuse to be mixed up with the representation of *h*, *y*, *w*, by an acute accent and a grave accent and a macron or long mark, as *á*, *à*, *ā*, for *ha*, *ya*, *wa*.

What follows is a re-arrangement and transliteration of the Rev. Thomas Bridges's paper.

The language is called Yaagan because Yaaga is a district in the centre of the land, and the dialect spoken by the people inhabiting it, is that which Mr. Bridges has learned, and which he considers to be the best standard, because it is central, and differs less from the extremes than they do from each other. The name Yaagans includes all the Yaagan-speaking people who occupy both shores of the Beagle Channel and the shores of all the islands south of it. But the natives do not use the term. They call themselves simply *Yamana* or Man, and their language *Yáman' háasha*[1] or Man's Voice. *Yámana* literally means sound, whole, healthy, well, living, and *yámanána* to live, be living, recover life or health, recover after sickness, or to heal as a wound. *weeámanána* v. tr. to make well, bring to life, heal, recover, save life, give life to, raise to life, deliver life in danger. *yámanaamoota* to be alive. *Yamanaasina*, alive, living though in a suffering state, hence not readily dying, having a strong life, not yielding quickly to the ravages of disease. *Yamanaaki*, the living one, the sound healthy one.

Doubled letters are really doubled in speech, as in English *meanness*, thus *annoo* sorry, *kín-núom* silly, *kít-tá* to creep, *áttá* to pare, *wúr-rí* to wade, *yér-rí* to flow, *ís-sá* to produce fruit or seed, *nús-sá* to chip, *múm-má* to break, rend, *úm-má* what do you say? *úl-lá* sores, *úol-lá* to come ashore, *íl-lí* to bathe, *úosh-shóo* upward, *lúk-ká* the thigh, *úk-ká!* oh dear me! *áp-pí* a paddle, *wúp-pí* to sit by a fire, etc.

M attracts *b* and *p*, *n* attracts *d* and *t*, as *cumbeibi* two, *umba* together up in the hand, *lumbi* black, *unda* to gather mussels, *tuntookoo* dust, *tekindéka* to put one's foot upon, etc.

When a word ending in *kh*, *rh*, *sh* or *f* is inflected or takes an affix beginning with a vowel, these sounds mutate 1. *kh* to *k* or *g*, 2. *rh* to *t*, 3. *sh* to *r*, 4. *f* to *p*, as—

1. *hukh* an egg, *hukaaki* with an egg, *houa haaguon* my egg, *haagoopei* for or with respect to an egg.

[1] The acute accents used in this report, imply stress only, and are employed whenever they were written in Mr. Bridges's MS.

2. *seerh* a thing, *hóua séetuon* my thing, *séetoopei* with regard to the thing.

3. *uf* a hearth, *aapuon* on the hearth, *aapoopei* into or towards the hearth or fire. *yif* narrow or ridge, *yeepuonata* to get narrow; *hakoo yeepuon* the other ridge.

Conversely when 1. *k, g,* 2. *t, d,* 3. *r* and 4. *p* are followed by a vowel, but in course of inflection become final, they mutate back to 1. *kh,* 2. *rh,* 3. *sh,* and 4. *f.* Thus (*k* or *ku* being the pronominal prefix) the infinitives 1. *táagoo* to give, *áakoo* to rake out, 2. *daatoo* to run, 3. *úra* to cry, weep, and 4. *aapoo* to pluck up, become in the 3 p. s. of perf. indic. 1. *kutáakh, kaakh,* 2. *kudáarh,* 3. *k'uosh* (where ' is simply an apostrophe denoting the omission of *u* in *ku*), 4. *kaaf.*

Prepositions. The relations usually expressed by prepositions in Aryan languages are indicated by a composition of one verb with another, as follows:

1. By suffixes: *múchi* to go or come in, *eelina* to feel (transitive), to put one's hand out; but *eeli-muchi* to put one's hand in, as into a pocket. *eiyi* to call, *éiyi-múchi* to call in. *áta* to take, *tu-múchi* to take in. *tstáagata,* to lead by the hand, *tstukh múchi,* to lead into. *dáatoo* to run, *durh-múchi* to run into.

máanaatsikuri, to go or come out, is used in the same way, as *durh-manaatsikuri,* to run out.

ookeia to go or come up. *hateiyakeidai cunjima* I called him up.

meena to go or come down. *hateiyi-meenuodai* I called down.

ootéka to put one thing, and *wusella* to put several things, out of the hand, in composition answer to the prepositions on, upon, across, over, down on. Thus, *tekila* to tread, put one's foot, *tékindéka* to put one's foot upon. *eelina* to reach out one's hand, *eelindéka* to put one's hand or finger upon. *eelaana* to build, *eelandéka* to build upon, as a house upon its site. *aaguoloo* to leap, *aaguondéka* to leap across or over and so on ad libitum. *dúpa* to take off oneself a single article of clothing, *duof-téka* to do so and also to put it down on any place, *dup'auasella* to do the same for several articles of clothing.

2. By prefixes.

múta or *mut*, to go or come in. *mut'ata* to go or come in and take. *mut'eiyi* to go or come into and call. *mut eelina* to go or come into and feel. *mútaamóotoo* to go in and sit down. *mut'eea* to go or come in and lie down, from *wéea* to lie down.

man or *manaa* to go or come out, are prefixed to these several words, thus *man'ata, maneiyi, man'eelina, manaamootoo, maneea.*

koopa, koopaa or *koop'* to go or come down, as *koopaa-tstukh-muchinna cunjima ukaatoopei* go down and lead him into the house. *hakoopatuodai sin' halichin* I went down and took your axe.

ku' or *kaag* before a vowel, to go or come up, as *ha kaag-eiyi-manaatsikurooa skeia,* I will go up and call you out. *hakaag'atuodai sin' halichin* I went up and took your axe.

These prefixes have also still more definite meanings, and with some others, indicate exactly in what direction motion takes place, as East, West, North, South, up towards the head of a creek or valley, or further out, or down from the shore or from the head of a valley or bay.

a) *ku*, or *kaag* before a vowel, implies: 1. to go or come westward, 2. to get up from a sitting or prostrate position, 3. to go out or come up, that is, higher up, as up a beach, or up further from the shore, or up-stairs, or higher up a hill, as: *kaag' at' heia hukh* go or come up (as 1. and 3.) or get up (1.) and get me the egg.

β) *mut* or *muta*, 1. to go or come eastward, 2. to go or come into a house from any direction, when the house is near, 3. to go or come home, 4. to get to do thoroughly, as *mut' at' heia hukh*, go (in any of the above meanings) and fetch me an egg.

γ) *koopa* or *koop'*, 1. to go or come down, that is, lower down as from a higher room to a lower, or down a hill or towards the sea, 2. to go or come when the direction is East, and the distance great, 3. down towards the earth. Thus *koop' at heiah hukh* go down and get me an egg.

δ) *ma, maat,* or *mei,* 1. to go or come northward, 2. to go

or come ashore to do the action stated by the verb with which it is conjoined, 3. from off the fire, and then position close to the fire. Thus *maat' at heia hukh*, go (northward) and get me an egg. Thus if there were two henhouses, one to the North and the other to the South of the house, the above phrase would very clearly state to which of the two the person sent was to go. *maatootik heia eian*, come bring my fuel and put it on the shore. *máatoomootréen héia sáuspan*, put my saucepan, which is on the fire, on the hearth by the fire.

ε) *koot* or *koota*, 1. to go or come southward, 2. to go or come towards the end or edge of any cliff, or out to the end of a yard or boom, or branch of a tree, 3. to go or come to the fireplace in the centre of wigwam from either side of the wigwam, 4. to go or come out into deeper water and further out from the shore.

ζ) *koo*, or before verbs beginning with *eu* or *y*, *kw*, 1. to go or come when the direction is west and the distance not great, 2. to go or come towards or to the door of a wigwam from the upper end, or from either side of the wigwam or room. 3. it conveys the idea of coming to an end or being spent.

η) *kaap*, 1. to go or come up towards or to the head of any creek, cove, bay from the outer parts, 2. to go or come towards the head of any valley from the lower parts of the valley, 3. to go or come from the door end of a wigwam to the upper or inner end, or to go or come from the mouth of a cave to the upper part of it in order to do any action the combined verb may declare.

Whenever we use our phrase, "go and do this or that," one or other of these prefixes must be used to indicate the nature and direction of the going, they cannot be used promiscuously. There is a proper verb answering to our verb "to go," but when "go" is conjoined to some other verb, then one or other of these seven prefixes must be used, and "these prefixes," adds Mr. Bridges, "are a source of great beauty and perfection to the language."

3. By both suffixes and prefixes.

waana to pass, used as a suffix, with *man* or *manaa* used as a prefix as in 2, thus *daatoo* to run, *durh-wáana* to run past,

mana-durhwaana to run right through. *ookoo* to shoot an arrow, *man-uok-wáana* to shoot an arrow right through and thus past.

VERBS.

Besides the peculiar mode of combining verbs to express relations of place, just explained, the Yaagan language has a series of verbs referring to a single object only, and another series referring to several objects as distinct from a single object. These are singular and plural verbs, and they save the necessity of expressing the plurality of nouns. But these verbs, whether single or plural, are also inflected to agree with a single, dual, or plural subject. Such verbs are of course transitive, but there are also neuter verbs which are inflected for the subject. Mr. Bridges seems to consider the singular verbs as rather an "inflection" of the plural, than conversely, quoting *góoloo* pl. tr. v. to pull out, as arrows from the body of a seal, but *gúolata* to pull out one (arrow e.g.). *ooseu* to pluck a bird, that is to pull out many feathers, but *oosata* to pull out one feather or one hair. *géia* to put several logs on end, *ookéia* to put a single log on end. The singular and plural forms sometimes differ materially.

EXAMPLES.

a) transitive verbs.

atúpeueen' oui put the stone on board, *wagupeueen oui* put the stones on board.

héian chkindecaua blangket we will spread the blanket (as on a bed), *héian chkiwusellana* we (more than two) will spread the blankets.

héian ikeemooa oui we (more than two) will put the stone in, *ha-teiyigooa oui* I will put the stones in.

máagoo to bear or have a child, *kumukh moota wulaiwa* she has one son, *kulushshaamoota wulaiwa* she has sons.

β) *intransitive verbs.*

hakoochidai I went abroad, *hipa-koochidai* we (two) went abroad, *heian toomupidai* we (more than two) went abroad, *toomupi* being the plural form of *koochi.*

aanan kugaarat' uoshsha there is a canoe up at the head of the creek on the water, *aanan kaal' uoshsha* there are canoes at the head of the creek on the water, from *cúna* a single object to be on the water and *aaloo* several objects to be there.

kunna kootang kunuodai what single person spoke on the water, that is when aboard the canoe, *kunnai-i kootang kunaa-pikindai* what two persons did so, *kunneian kootan-aaluoda* what three or more persons did so.

unda kaatakara did he or she go? *unda kaatakaraapei* did they (being two persons) go? *und' ootuoshura* did they (being more than two persons) go? *ootuoshoo* being the plural form of *káataka.*

wéea to lie down, sing., *oopeiashana* pl., *mótoo* to sit down, sing., *toowaagoo* pl., *múni* to stand, sing., *palána* pl., *ikimeea* to be in a thing, as a bag, sing., *teiyigoora* pl.

The Verb "To Take."

The principal form is *ata,* but this conveys the idea of taking with the hand, paw, or claw, *éuata* to take with the mouth as a dog, from *éua* to bite. *gaamata* to take something upon something else, as a joint of meat on a dish, a corpse on a stretcher, or anything in a spoon. *ikeemata* sing., *teiyeegata* pl. (from the verbs *ikeemoo* and *teiyigoo*) to take anything inclosed in something else, that is, taking both the thing and what holds it. *kusi* to stuff, *ata* to take, *kusaiata* to take anything (as grass) stuffed into a bag or pocket together with the bag or pocket. *kilina* to put boots on oneself, *kilinata* to walk off with a pair of boots, while wearing them. *maagoo* to wear round one's neck, *kumugatuodai hou uopuoshka* she took my shell necklace (not in her hand or pocket, but) by wearing it. *dúpa* to wear or put on oneself, said of any shawl, cloak, mantle, jacket, coat, blanket, etc., *cunna* who *doopatura* took away by wearing *houa meiaka* my guanaco mantle? *atéga* to paddle or row and hence to go by canoe or boat either by paddling or sailing, *tatóogata* to take away any canoe or boat by going in it and paddling it away to some other place.

To the above indications, the fragmentary character of

which is very tantalising, I am able by the kindness of Miss Couty to furnish a rather interesting specimen of the language itself. It consists of the first 13 verses of the gospel according to Luke in the original draft in the old notation, with what Mr. Bridges considered to be a literal rendering back of the same into English. This rendering follows the original draft and not the printed edition, with which therefore I shall not trouble you. As before, I transliterate into Glossic. The place of the stress is marked by an acute accent in the first 8 verses only. The Yaagan is printed in Italics. The literal rendering is added in Roman letters opposite to each verse.

LUKE, chap. i. vv. 1-13.

1. *Wúoroo yámana kookúnashtáasi-yaageidai héian ouwún toomúoshuorh-géiatakuon.*	Many persons have made plainly manifest the things which we truly have heard and received.
2. *Kookúnjita héiandnima koomúri-sinddi yundóuluom dlagoomóotashin too-mooeianúnashin yaagéiipei.*	In the selfsame manner as they revealed them to us, who from the beginning constantly saw (them) and were sent to declare them.
3. *Hei yundóuluom wul'eiaualéna-táaki hdla kúoruodai skéia lóimarh yaagéia Theeófilus ouwún makúorooa.*	I, who have from the beginning been thoroughly acquainted with all things, have desired to orderly tell thee, O Theophilus, truly beloved.
4. *Ouwún skeia hawúl'ookúnashtaa-saanaa-kúoruodai sa tóomeeaagéiashin.*	I have honestly desired to make all things plain unto thee that thou mightest believe the truth of these things which thou hast been taught.
5. *Hérad yatstóueenashin Joodéea kéiya-yámanaa-móotuodai Zakaréias, matweedagi-múni-wa, Abiandóuluoma, kietóokuon kuwdapa-móotuodai Eelizabeth Airanchee-úkan-dóuluom-kéepa.*	When Herod lived and ruled in Judea, there lived a man Zacharias, a man who was an appointed teacher (Priest or Officer) in the course of Abia, his wife was named Elizabeth, a woman of the family of Aaron.
6. *Kunddi matóokoopei kutóomooteki-píkindai Gaudnchikéia héima ouwúnaa-wáapan kuwul'-uoroomoomóotoo-pikin-dai Tóueenmóotooaakinchikeia.*	These, the man and his wife did both so live as to be seen by God to be good, they did both truly comply with all the commands of Him who lives the Ruling one (the Holy God).
7. *Kunddi keiyooal'dpisyoodapei, Eelizabeth aualeeláakin-daagia, kundái baav chila yáaruoma yámanaapei.*	They were both without children, because Elizabeth was barren; and they were no longer young persons.
8. *Zakaréias wúshtukhmúnidaara kíchina wushtáagoo keetoo toomoogdalikh-múnishin kíchina mushtdagoo-dáara.*	As (whilst) Zacharias was occupied in his duties, which had been appointed him to do, in the regular course of his duties.
9. *Kook'hakuondeian wushtukh-munishin kunjin hakuon kula gdama muchida Toueenaakinchi ukaatoopei kuon hapatuoshkooa matootoogataaki.*	Even as others fulfilled their duty, he also bore in the house of the Lord the sweet oil in a burning state (in his turn burnt the sweet oil).
10. *Kunjin tukhmunidaara kuon*	Whilst he was offering the burning

matootoogatataaki yamanandaara kutoowaaguodai asin Gaud'nchikeia kaamuoshisindai.

11. *Kutstekidai Toueenaakinchi toomooeiamimunia toomunishin kuon tstoomalukhmuni uorúgoopei.*

12. *Zakareias tekishin kunjima kushaapuoruodai kumaiakunatuodai.*

13. *Toolumeiaminaakin kunjima kukootaanuodai: oola yingganika Zakareias, sa mamuoroomunaaki sa munitaamuoshashin, sa tookuon Eelizabeth skeia ktoomukh-taagooaamuosh wulaiwa sa tstooapunauamuosh kunjima Jon.*

oil all the people were assembled without praying to God.

At this time he saw a messenger of the Lord, who was standing on the right hand side of the place (structure) where the oil was burned.

When Zacharias saw him he was dismayed (distressed), he was afraid.

He (the Messenger) who was sent said to him, Don't be afraid Zacharias, thou art one who is heard in the prayers thou art in the habit of asking, thy wife Elizabeth bearing shall give thee a son, whom thou art to name John.

While we cannot but admire the ingenuity with which Mr. Bridges has endeavoured to reduce this very difficult passage to the comprehension of savages who can have formed no conception of the usages of Jewish life at that time, yet one cannot but feel that as no native Fuegian could have thought out such a history, so no native Fuegian could have used such phrases. It is therefore gratifying to have in the letter of Stirling Maiakaul, from Uoshuoeia, 5 Aug. 1880, a native Fuegian expressing himself in his own language. I conclude this Report therefore by giving the commencement of this letter (transliterated into Glossic), with the translation, which is printed after the lithographed facsimile in my possession. The pointing follows copy. I should say that the writing would be good for an average English elementary schoolboy of twelve to fourteen, but I may easily have made some mistakes in transcribing.

Mr. Brijiz. houa tugakuoloo ooa. Hei hatoomurash abagoodadai skeia haa piz. kuonji daara sa mooeiaualanggeiata akuom. apa sin Yamalim unda haap is kundeian tuola God skeia mutawukhmuni annoo. skeia. ha chila tstekishabagoodaua hei hatannoongeiata skeia toomaa geiatoosh abagoodoopei ejaudnchi—goota hei baav ouwun eiaunla howoosi goota eekamamupei hei skeia hachisinayak woota Godnchikeipei sandaugia. mukuorooa wuoroo Yamana skeia kutai nuok. moota hei skeia hashabaguor Yeloodai kuokun hei sa Yelashin sa taa goodai heia reis, annoo hataamoonatamoodai hatiwwushtukalamoodai kunje reis hatoom ouitooatamoodai pign chi keiai kulluom hawaim

Mr. Bridges, my friend man, I am made glad by the news of your good health. At what time do you think of coming here? How are your people? Are they in good health? If God is gracious we shall have the happiness of seeing you again. I long after you, that you may rejoice us by making known to us God. I do not correctly understand how to write the language of my country. I have great comfort in your instructions concerning God, seeing you are a man worthy of love. Many persons are waiting to see you. I was grateful to you when you left us for the rice you left for me: I used it up in feeding men whom I employed to do some work for me, and some of

ou stuokgeiat a gimlit sau bag tiamaagoosee oundai Joondaara ooapig kupunoodai heiannoo hateelenatoodai see outoowuseluk ou eian swaidundai.

it I gave to my pigs. Of the things you gave me I have still gimlets, a saw, a bag, and a file. In June my male pig died. I have built a store-room for packing away my tools, and for storing fuel and swedes.

Report on Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island, Arranged by the President from the Papers of E. H. Man, Esq., Assistant Superintendent of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Lieutenant R. C. Temple, of the Bengal Staff Corps, Cantonment Magistrate at Ambála, Panjáb.

Proceeding from Sumatra northwards into the Bay of Bengal, we find first the Nicobar, and then the Andaman group of islands. The latter is composed of the North, Middle, South and Little Andamans, with numerous smaller ones adjacent. In 1858, Port Blair, an inlet on the south-east of South Andaman, was selected as a penal settlement for the Sepoy rebels, and it was there that the Indian Viceroy, Lord Mayo, was murdered by a fanatic prisoner in 1872. Mr. E. H. Man went to the Andamans officially in 1869, and in July, 1875, was put in charge of the Andamanese Homes, which threw him into immediate and close connexion with the natives, and gave him an opportunity of studying their language, habits and customs. In several most interesting communications to the Anthropological Institute this year, Mr. Man has described the physical and social condition of these tribes. I may mention in passing that the Andamanese are almost entirely naked[1] and totally uncivilised, but seem to have many good qualities, and are very moral in respect to marriage, being strictly monogamous. They are dwarfish in stature, the average height of men being 4 ft. 10¾ inches and of women 4 ft. 7¼ inches.[2] The accounts

[1] The women *always* wear an *ō·bungada* or apron, consisting of one or two leaves of the *mimusops Indica*, in front, as well as a *bō·dda* or girdle with an appendage behind like a bustle, and the men *sometimes* wear a waistbelt and girdle of shells (*Dentalium octogonum*). Both men and women also frequently paint their bodies with white and red in patterns, and tattoo themselves more or less, and wear necklaces and other ornaments.

[2] The maximum and minimum height of men are 5 ft. 4½ in., quite a giant, and 4 ft. 5¾ in. respectively. Those of women being 4 ft. 11½ in. maximum, and 4 ft. 4 in. minimum. The average weight of men is 98⅛ lbs. or 7 stone, and of women 93¼ lbs. or slightly over 6⅔ stone.

of travellers in former times were not only very meagre, but have been found to contain important inaccuracies both as respects the language and customs of the natives, (p.47, n.1).

The Andamanese have no means of writing, and no notions of religious worship. The tribes which inhabit the Andaman group are Negritos and seem to have all descended from a common source. They are entirely distinct from the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands, who are allied to the Malays. There are at least nine Andamanese tribes speaking mutually unintelligible languages, all of which are, however, formed after a common type of construction, and although in two of them an occasional resemblance in roots can be traced, the relational words and particles, postpositions, prefixes and suffixes which form the principal peculiarity of the language, are totally different for the different tribes.

Between July, 1875, and April, 1876, Mr. Man had prepared a vocabulary of from 1800 to 2000 South Andaman words, with numerous illustrative phrases, and this he had intended to incorporate with his report to Government. But before doing so, about May, 1876, Lieutenant R. C. Temple, who was at that time in the 1-21st Fusiliers, was transferred from the head-quarters of his regiment in Burmah, to do duty with a detachment then stationed at Port Blair. Mr. Temple had already worked at the Burmese language, and published a transliteration of it.[1] Hence, on becoming acquainted with Mr. Man's collections, he took the greatest

[1] Notes on the Transliteration of the Burmese Alphabet into Roman Characters, to which is attached a Note on the Vocal and Consonantal Sounds of the Peguan or Talaing Languages. By Lieutenant R. C. Temple, 21st R.N.B. Fusiliers. Rangoon, printed at the Central Jail Press, 1876; folio, pp. viii. 21. iv. In this transliteration Mr. Temple endeavours to combine "literal" with "phonetic" transcription on the basis of Sir William Jones's system for Sanscrit as modified by Dr. Hunter. But as Burmese has the sound of English *th* in *th*in, as well as the postaspirated *t* or *t'* as here written, and has a postaspirated *s* or *s'*, but not English *sh* in *sh*e, Mr. Temple employs *hk*, *ht*, *hp*, *hs* for the postaspirates, which would here be written *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, *s'*, the ' representing the Greek spiritus asper. He also uses *au* for the sound of unaccented English *au* in *au*thority, and *aw* for the accented *aw* in *aw*ful. He likewise distinguishes *e* in m*e*t, *è* in French p*è*re (which he identifies with *ai* in English p*ai*r) and *é* in French f*é*te. He also uses *ou* for the English sound of *ou* in m*ou*nd. These are his chief deviations from Dr. Hunter's Indian system, and it will be seen by a subsequent note (p. 48, n. 1) that he bases his Andamanese system upon this, although, not having a native orthography to deal with in the present case, he has modified it in part.

interest in them, and proposed an improved system of spelling, which Mr. Man adopted, and they then agreed to work together. One consequence of this was that Mr. Man translated the Lord's Prayer into South Andamanese—a natural but rather an unfortunate selection perhaps, as the Andamanese have scarcely a proper word for God,[1] and could only call prayer 'daily repetition'[2] from observing the habits of the imported Mussulmans—while Mr. Temple wrote a comment and introduction, based entirely on the facts furnished him by Mr. Man. The result was published in Calcutta and London (Trübner, 1877), in a little book of 81 pages, called "The Lord's Prayer translated into the South Andaman Language by E. H. Man, with preface, introduction, and notes by R. C. Temple." The preface is dated September, 1876, only four months after Mr. Temple had become acquainted with the language. To have written such a précis in so short a time (seriously diminished by his being engaged in studying for the higher standard examination in Hindustani, which he passed while at Port Blair) evinces great powers of appreciation and coordination in Mr. Temple. It was the first book which gave any trustworthy account of this language, the nature of which I shall endeavour to explain in this report.

Messrs. Man and Temple then determined to work together for the purpose of compiling a complete grammar of the language, Mr. Man collecting the data, and Mr. Temple

[1] *Pū·luga* (the system of spelling will be explained on p. 49) "is," says Mr. Temple, "as near an equivalent for 'God' as can be found in the language, and conveys nearly all the ideas we attach to the word 'God' likely to occur to a savage mind. *Pū·luga* is a spirit, who dwells in *mô·ro*, the sky (*Pū·luga li·a ē·rda mô·ro kōktâ·rlen*, P. of dwelling-place sky middle-in, and *Pū·luga mô·ro kōktâ·rlen pòl·ike* P. sky middle-in dwell-does); he is the Creator of all things and supreme over all, he was not born, has existed from time immemorial and cannot die; his house is of stone (*i.e.* of the most magnificent materials) and invisible; he is the cause of rain, of thunder, of natural death (*Pū·luga lī·a pai·chatek* (or *ē·rtek*) *yū·mla pâ·ke*, P. his lap-from (or house-from) rain falldoes, *Pū·luga ijirē·lke*, P. angry-is! (an exclamation used when it thunders). *Pū·luga* is distinctly the embodiment of *goodness* and *power* . . . in contradistinction to the idea of evil embodied in ,*ē·rem-chàu·gala*, the Evil Spirit of the jungles or land," (*ē·rem* jungle, *chàu·gala* ghost).—Lord's Prayer, p. 48.

[2] Hence 'the Lord s prayer' is translated as *Pū·luga lī·a à·rlalikyâ·b*, P. of daily-repetition, from *à·rla* day, *l* euphonic, *ikyâ·b* repetition, where *yâb* means speak, and *ik* or *ig* is a modifying prefix, thus *ōl yâ·bnga l'igyâ·p* that word repeat!

arranging the results. Mr. Man also endeavoured to obtain as much information as possible respecting the other tribes. On account of the narrow limits to which I must necessarily confine myself, and the fragmentary nature of these latter collections, I shall deal exclusively with the South Andaman language, at which these gentlemen principally worked. But the arrangements for joint authorship were unfortunately interfered with by Mr. Temple's being ordered off on duty to different stations in India in Oct. 1876, so that all the manuscript and all correspondence between him and Mr. Man had thus to pass through the post, entailing great delay, and preventing the possibility of personal communication, which would have been so valuable. Nevertheless, in the two years ending July, 1878, when Mr. Temple (who was then in the 1st Goorkhas) was ordered off on active service, and all papers were returned to Mr. Man, Mr. Temple contrived to put together and make a fair copy of a very copious grammar, of which a short specimen of 11 pages, containing the first section, "On Nouns," was printed for private circulation at Calcutta in 1878. On the MS. being sent back to Mr. Man, he went over it carefully, to bring it up to his advanced knowledge in a series of voluminous notes. These and the MS. were returned to Mr. Temple after the war. But he was then appointed a Cantonment magistrate in the Panjáb, and the great press of business prevented him from obtaining privilege-leave, and thus having an opportunity to correct his grammar by the help of these additional notes. In the vain hope, however, that he might find time to do so, he retained the MSS. till July, 1881, when, with great regret and reluctance, he returned them to Mr. Man, who was at the time on leave in England. The "specimen" and the "Lord's Prayer" are the only papers that they have printed on the South Andaman language. Those which Mr. Man has read before the Anthropological Institute only touch incidentally upon it.[1]

[1] It would be really more correct to say that these are the only papers that have been printed on any Andaman language. For Colebrooke's vocabulary (*Asiatic Researches*, iv. 393-4), quoted by Crawfurd, is certainly unintelligible

In January of this year Mr. Man was introduced to me through Mr. Brandreth, a member of our Council, in order to settle the alphabet before printing it in his Anthropological papers. I was then quite ignorant of the facts just detailed, and merely endeavoured to complete the alphabet on the lines which Mr. Man had used. These had been laid down, as we have seen, by Mr. Temple, and were to some extent Anglo-Indian, especially in the use of *a*, not only for *a* in *America*, but for *a*, *u*, *o* in the colloquial pronunciation of *assumption*. A minimum of change was thus produced. The alphabet was extended to the Nicobarese language, which has all the Andamanese sounds and several others, and among these a peculiar double series of nasal vowels. The following is the alphabet finally settled by Mr. Man and myself, with examples in Andamanese and Nicobarese. This scheme is found to work well, and will be employed in all Andaman words used in this report.[1] It will be observed that the South Andaman language is very rich in vowel sounds, but is totally deficient in the hisses *f*, *th*, *s*, *sh*, and the corresponding buzzes *v*, *dh*, *z*, *zh*. Of course this alphabet has been constructed solely upon Mr. Man's pronunciation of the languages, and hence the orthography might require modification on a study of the sounds as produced by the natives themselves. This refers especially to the distinctions *ä à*, *â à*, *au àu*, *o ò*, *ô*, and the two senses of *i*, *e*, according as they occur in closed or open syllables. But as the natives understand Mr. Man readily, his pronunciation cannot be far wrong.

to six of the Andaman tribes; Tickell's (*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. ii. 1864), though referring to South Andaman, is curiously incorrect, translating, for instance, '*yâd dô*' as 'much fish,' and giving separately *yâd* 'much,' *dô* 'fish,' in place of *yâd* 'fish,' *dô·gaya* 'much'; and de Röepstorff's is also full of error. See Mr. Temple's preface to "The Lord's Prayer."

[1] In the following comparative list Mr. Temple's symbols stand first (and, with one exception, are roman), those here adopted stand second (and are all in italics): a *a*, *a ā*, à *à* and *ä*, â *â* and *à*, e *e*, ê *ē* and *e*, è *ē*, i *i*, î *ī* and *i*, o *o* and *ò*, ô *ō* and *o*, ò *ò*, aw *ô*, u *u*, û *ū* and *u*, ai *ai*, au *au*, âü *àu*, oi *òi*, b *b*, ch *ch*, d *d*, g *g*, h *h*, j *j*, k *k*, l *l*, m *m*, n *n*, ng *ng ñ ñg*, p *p*, r *r* and *ṛ*, t *t*, ṭ *ṭ*', w *w*, y *y*. In Mr. Temple's writing, short *à e i o u* in open syllables were not distinguished from the long sounds, and the position of stress was rarely marked. I adopted his short *a e i o u* and made the long of them *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*. Then adopting his 'â, ò,' I made their short and long sounds respectively, *à*, *ô*, and thus got rid of the exclusively English symbol *aw*.

Alphabet for writing the South Andaman and Nicobar Languages.

SIGN.	ENGLISH, ETC.	SOUTH ANDAMAN.	NICOBAR.
		Oral Vowels and Diphthongs.	
a	idea cut	*al·aba* kind of tree	*yang* without
ā	car (with untrilled *r*)	*bā* small, *yā·ba* not	?
à	Ital. *casa*	*elà·kà* region	
â	father	*dâ·-ke* don't (imperative)	*kân* wife
ä (1)	fathom	*jär·awa* name of a tribe	*lē·ät* finished
e (2)	bed	*ē·mej* name of a tree	*enyâ·h* (*h* heard, see note 8) after (in time), *heng* day, sun
	chaotic	*pū·d-re* burn-did	*lē·bare* book
ē (3)	pair	*ē·la* pig-arrow	*lē·ang* word
i	lid	*ig-bâ·dig-re* see-did	*ifâ·* sweep
ī	police	*yâ·dī* turtle, *pid* hair	*wī* make
o	indolent	*.bòi·goli* European	*yō·kolai* bathe
ō (4)	pole	*jōb* basket	*larō·m* Pandanus Mellori
ò	pot	*pòl·i-ke* dwell-does	*òmtō·m* all
ó	awful	*tó·go* wrist, shoulder	*lô·e* cloth
ö	Germ. könig	not found	*kâtö·* remain, *dök* come
u	influence	*bú·kura* name of a tree	*kō·la-rue* landing place
ū	pool	*pū·d-re* burn-did	*hū·ya* egg
ü	Germ. über	not found	*chü·a* I
ai	bite	*dai·-ke* understand-does	*taiyâ·k* cocoanut shell cup
au	house	*chôpau·a* narrow	*karēau·* a charm
àu	Germ. haus	*chàu* body	*oàu·* vomit
òi	boil	*.bòi·goli* European	*enlòi·n* wallow
		Nasal Vowels and Diphthongs.	
aṅ	Fr. *un*	not found	*holī·aṅ* spinster, *ongī·haṅh* (5) wood
àṅ	(6)	not found	*miàṅ·* spear having prongs, *mòm-àṅ ya* two pronged spear, *ko-yàṅh·wa* guava
eṅ	Fr. *vin*	not found	*heṅ·ha* otherwise, *hinweṅh·* harpoon spear
iṅ	Port. *sim*	not found	*koiṅ·ha* scrape, *amiṅh* (5) rain
oṅ	Fr. *on*	not found	*haroṅh·* stalk game
òṅ	(6)	not found	*shin-kòṅ·-hata* knock down, *òṅh* fuel.
aiṅ	(7)	not found	*tanaiṅ·* five, *taiṅ·ya* white
òiṅ	(7)	not found	*òm-hòi·ṅ* tobacco
		Consonants.	
b	bed	*būd* hut	*lē·bare* book
ch	church	*chàk* ability, *mich·alen* why, *.rūch* Ross Island	*chakâ·* face, *raich* micturition
d	dip	*dō·ga* large	*kamin·do* rainbow
f	fen	not found	*if·ē* you (said of three or more), *fâp* thick
g	gap	*gōb* bamboo utensil	*kòg·nare* be off !
h	hay	*hē* ho ! *àweh·* (*h* sounded, see note 8) etcetera	*hū·ya* egg, *paiyū·h* married or widowed person
j	judge	*jā·bag* bad, *ē·mej* name of a tree	*chij* abstain
k	king	*kâ·gal-ke* ascend-does	*kâ·nēäl* last quarter of moon
l	lap	*lōg* navigable channel	*lē·ang* word
m	man	*mū·gu* face	*òmtō·m* all
n	nun	*nàu-ke* walk-does, *rō·pan* toad	*nōt* pig
ñ	Fr. *gagner*	*ōtñâ·ba* another, one more	*manle·ña* exorcist

SIGN.	ENGLISH, ETC.	SOUTH ANDAMAN.	NICOBAR.
ng	bri*ng*	*ngī·ji* friend, *ĕrkē·dang-ke* in-trees-search-does (14)	*yang* without
ñg (9)		*ñgâ* more	not found
p	*p*ap	*pīd* hair	*paiyū·h* (8) married or widowed person
r (10)	*r*est	*râb* necklace of netting, *râ·tà* wooden arrow	*karu·* large
ṛ (11)	to*rr*ent	*ṛâ·ta* sea water	not found
s	*s*ad	not found (12)	*sâ·la* anvil
sh	*sh*e	not found	*sho-hō·ng* west
t	*t*en	*tī* blood	*tō·ak* toddy
t'		*t'ī* tear (from the eye) (13)	not found
v	e*v*il	not found	*ben-whâ·va* ashes
w	*w*et	*wō·lo* adze, *.bal·awa* name of a tribe	*wòt* don't (imperative)
wh	*wh*et	not found	*ben-whâ·va* ashes
y	*y*olk	*yabū·* a little	*yang* without

Rules.

The syllable under stress in any word is shown by placing a turned period (·) after a long vowel, or the consonant following a short vowel, in every word of more than one syllable.

As it is not usual to find capitals cast for the accented letters, the capital at the beginning of a word is for uniformity in all cases indicated by prefixing a direct period, as *.bal·awa*.

Notes.

(1) *ä* accented before a consonant, is the English *a* in m*a*t, as distinguished from *à*, which is the short of *â* or Italian *a* in *a*nno.

(2) *e* accented in closed syllables, as in b*e*d; in open syllables unaccented as in ch*a*otic or Italian padr*e*, amor*e*.

(3) No vanishing sound of *i* as in English s*ay*.

(4) No vanishing sound of *u* as in English kn*ow*.

(5) Where *ṅh* is written, as in *aṅh*, *iṅh*, the nasal is followed by nasalised breath, remitting the voice, but retaining the position of the vocal organs.

(6) In *àṅ* the sound has more of the *à* in it, than the French *an*, and in *òṅ* it has more of the *ò* than the French *an*.

(7) In the diphthongs *aiṅ*, *òiṅ*, the nasality principally affects *a* and *ò*, but it is retained through the whole diphthong, that is, the nasal passages remain open.

(8) *h* is sounded after a vowel by continuing breath through the position of the mouth, while remitting the voice.

(9) *ñg* is a palatalised *ng*, and bears the same relation to it as *ñ* bears to *n*. To pronounce *ñ* attempt to say *n* and *y* simultaneously; to pronounce *ñg* do the same for *ng* and *y*.

(10) This *r* is soft and gentle, with no sensible ripple of the tongue, as very frequently in English, but not merely vocal.

(11) This *ṛ* is strongly trilled, as *r* in Scotch or Italian *r*, or Spanish *rr*.

(12) The Andamanese cannot hiss, and hence they substitute *ch* for *s*, thus *Rūch* for *Rūs*, the Hindī corruption of Ross.

(13) This *t'* is a post-aspirated *t*, like the Indian *th*, quite different from English *th*, and hence to prevent confusion the Greek *spiritus asper* is imitated by a turned comma. The sound *t'* is common in Irish English, and may often be heard in England.

(14) When *ng* is followed by a vowel, it must run on to that vowel only, and not be run on to the preceding vowel either as in 'finger' or in 'singer,' thus *bē·-ri-nga-da* 'good,' not *bē·-ring-a-da*, *bē·-ring-ga-da*, or *bē·-rin-ga-da*. It is only when no vowel follows that *ng* is run on to the preceding vowel.

All the papers mentioned above have been placed in my hands for the purpose of drawing up this report, and Mr. Man has also given me much personal instruction and looked over the whole of what I have written to guard against any error of fact or language. I have examined the grammar drawn up with such care and acuteness by Mr. Temple, and the vocabulary of Mr. Man, and I shall endeavour to give an account of the results at which they have arrived.

The following, written by Mr. Temple in July, 1881, on finally returning the MSS. to Mr. Man, sums up his opinion of the nature of the South and other Andaman languages:

"The Andaman languages are one group. They are like, that is, connected with no other group. They have no affinities by which we might infer their connexion with any other known group. The word-construction (the 'etymology' of the old grammarians) is two-fold, that is, they have affixes [1] and prefixes to the root, of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes, they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues. In adding their prefixes, they follow the well-defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of words (or 'syntax' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this.

[1] Mr. Temple, following the usual unetymological definition given in dictionaries, here uses *affix* in place of *suffix*. In what follows I shall adopt the practice of Prof. S. S. Haldeman in his "Affixes in their origin and application.' Philadelphia, 1865, p. 27. "*Affixes* are additions to roots, stems, and words, serving to modify their meaning and use. They are two kinds, *prefixes*, those at the beginning, and *suffixes*, those at the end of the word bases to which they are affixed. Several affixes occur in long words like *in-com-pre*-hen-*s-ib-il-it-y*, which has three prefixes and five suffixes." Affixes also include *infixes* (or, as Prof. Haldeman calls them, *interfixes*), where the modifying letter or syllable is introduced into the middle of the base, as in the Semitic and other languages.

The only way in which they affect the syntax is to render possible the frequent use of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it in another way, of long compounds which are sentences in themselves. But the construction of these words is not synthetic, but agglutinative. They are, *as words*, either compound nouns or verbs, taking their place in the sentence and having the same relation to the other words in it, as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are, of course, many peculiarities of grammar in the Andaman group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only such as are incidental to the grammar of other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that the Andaman languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words."

The South Andaman language, called by the natives *bō·jig-ngī·ji-da*,[1] consists in the first place of a series of base forms, which Mr. Temple reduces to roots. These forms may answer to any part of speech, and in particular to what we call substantives, adjectives or verbs. These forms do not vary in construction, and are not subject to inflexion proper. Hence there is nothing resembling the grammatical gender, declension or conjugation of Aryan languages; but the functions of such Aryan forms are discharged by prefixes, postpositions, and suffixes. It is only in the pronouns and pronominal adjectives that there is anything which simulates declension. And it is only by the use of the prefixes that anything like concord can be established.

The Andamanese have of course words which imply sex,

[1] The word *bō·jig* appears to mean our-make-of, according to our habits. Mr. Man only knows it in the names of the tribes *.bō jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bō·jig-yâ·b-*, our-make-of friends, our make of speech, and in such expressions as *bō·jig kâ·-rama-* our make of bows to shoot with, *bō·jig dâ·kar-* our make of buckets, *bō·jig bū·j-* our make of cooking-pots, etc. The *.bō·jig-yâ·bda* inhabit the Southern portion of Middle Andaman, and most closely resemble the South Andamanese in speech.

but they are in general quite unrelated forms; thus: *àbū·lada* man, *àpai·lda* woman; *âkàkâ·dakada* boy, *aryō·ngida* girl; *àrō·dingada* father, *àbē·tingada* mother. 'Male' and 'female' are represented even for animals by the above words for 'man' and 'woman,' without the affixes, which are usually omitted in composition,[1] as *bū·la, pail,* and when the animals are young by the names *abwâ·rada* bachelor, or *abjad·ijō·gda* spinster, rejecting the affixes as *wâ·ra, jad·ijō·g,* see letter to *Jam·bu,* p. 63, sentences 15 and 16. Even in the Aryan languages 'gender,' the Latin 'genus,' means only a 'kind,' and as it so happened that the kind with one termination included males, with another females, and with a third sexless things, the time-honoured names masculine, feminine and neuter arose. But the classification thus formed has, properly speaking, nothing to do with sex, as may be seen at once from sentinel being feminine in French (*la sentinelle*) and woman neuter in German (*das Weib*). We may see from the discussions in Grimm's grammar how difficult, or rather impossible, it is to recover the feeling which led to that grouping in German, and the same difficulty is felt in other languages. The Andamanese grouping which takes the place of gender is, on the contrary, clear enough in the main. The Andamanese consider, first, objects generally, including everything thinkable. Then these are divided into animate and inanimate. Of course the vegetable kingdom is included in the latter. The animate objects are again divided into human and non-human. Of the human objects there is a sevenfold division as to the part of the body referred to, and this division is curiously extended to the inanimate objects which affect or are considered in relation to certain parts of the body. These group distinctions are pointed out by prefixes, and by the form assumed by the pronominal adjectives. So natural and rooted are these distinctions in the minds of the Andamanese that any use of a wrong prefix or wrong possessive form occasions unintelligibility or surprise or raises a laugh, just as when we use

[1] This expression includes both prefix and suffix, see foot-note, p. 51. The suffix *-da* is occasionally retained at the end of clauses, p. 54, l. 15.

false concords in European languages. I shall give examples on p. 57, which have been drawn up for me by Mr. Man. These prefixes are added to what in our translations become substantives, adjectives, and verbs, and which for purposes of general intelligibility to an Aryan audience had better be so designated. But we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation. With this warning, that they are radically incorrect, I shall freely use inflexional terms, as Mr. Temple does throughout his grammar, meaning merely that the language uses such and such forms to express what in other languages are distinguished by the corresponding inflexional terms, which really do not apply to this.

Substantives, adjectives, and adverbs, generally end in *-da*, which is usually dropped before postpositions and in construction; hence when I write a hyphen at the end of a word, I shall mean that in its full form it has *-da*. Subs. and adj. also occasionally end in *-re* for human objects, and this *-re* is not dropped before postpositions. This same suffix *-re* is also extensively used in verbs, for our past tense active, or past participle passive. A common termination is also *-la*, which as well as *-re* implies human, and *-ola*, which is also honorific. What answers to our verbal substantives denoting either actor or action, is expressed by the suffix *-nga* added to verbal bases, both active and passive. What corresponds to the Aryan declension is carried out entirely by postpositions, as in fact it might be in English by prepositions, if we had a preposition to point out the accusative as in Spanish. In Andamanese these postpositions are generally *ia* of, or more usually *ła* of (where the *l*, as very frequently, is merely a euphonic prefix to vowels); *len*, to, in (but *len* also frequently marks out the object); *lat* to, towards; *tek* from and by; *la* by means of (instrument).

The p is expressed by the addition of *lō·ng-kâ·lak*[1] , when the distinction is considered necessary,

bably 'their,' 4th person, see Cl. 5, p. 59. *kâ·lak* is separately.

which is not often, as the plural is left to be implied by the context, or is indicated by a prefix. Abstract subst. are formed from adj. by adding *yō·ma-* quality, or property, as *lâ·pangada* long, *lâ·panga-yō·mada* length. Negative subst. are formed by adding *ba*, an abbreviation for *yā·ba*, as *ablī·gada* child, *ablī·gaba* not a child, but a boy or girl.

Active verbs use the suffixes *-ke* for our gerundial form of infinitive,[1] for our pres. part., pres. ind., and occasionally future; *-re* for past time, *-ka* imperfect, *-ngabo* for future, *-nga* for verbal subst., actor and action; with numerous auxiliaries answering to our 'may, might, shall, should, will, would.' Passive verbs use *-nga* for the gerundial infinitive, the future, and verbal substantive, *-ngaba* for pres. and imperf. indic., *-ngata* for perf. and *entô·ba—ngata* pluperf., and *-re* for past participle.[2] Certain verbs distinguish the subject and others the object, as human and non-human, by change of prefix, but no rule can be given as to when a verb does one or the

[1] In his glossary Mr. Man uses the form in *-ke* (just as we say gerundially 'to exist') to shew that he means a verbal form. He says that if you ask an Andamanese the name of any action which you shew him, he will give you the form in *-ke*. But it remains to be established that this corresponds to our gerundial infinitive, at least I have not detected it in any example which Mr. Man has furnished, nor could he recall one. In Latin dictionaries *audio*, *amo*, are Englished 'to hear, to love,' which they certainly do not mean. But as it is usual to give Latin verbs in this form, so it may be usual to give Andamanese verbs in the form in *-ke*, which would be like using *audit*, *amat* in Latin. Our gerundial or supine infinitive answers to the Latin *ad audiendum*, *auditum*. Dr. Morris prefers calling it the "dative infinitive" (Hist. Outlines of Engl. Accidence, 1872, p. 177). It is frequently used for the pure infinitive in English. The pure infinitive is properly only a verbal subst., and most nearly corresponds to one of the senses of the Andamanese form with the suffix *-nga*, but in point of fact there is nothing in Andamanese identical with the Aryan infinitive.

[2] Mr. Man 'conjugates' a verb thus, using the inflexional names. I translate the suffixes *-ke* do, does, *-ka* -ing -was, *-re* did, etc., as the nearest inflexional representatives, but they do not give the true feeling of the original, to which we have nothing which corresponds in English.

Active. Inf. *mâ·mi-ke* sleep-to. Pres. *dōl mâ·mi-ke* I sleep-do. Imperf. *dōl mâ·mi-ka* I sleep-ing-was. Perf. *dōl mâ·mi-re* I sleep-did (I slept). Pluperf. *dōl entô·ba mâ·mi-re* I already sleep-did. Fut. *dōl mâ·mi-ngabo* I sleep-will. Imperative *dō mâ·mi-ke* me sleep-let, *mâ·mi* sleep ! , *ō mâ·mi-ke* him sleep-let, *mō·cho mâ·mi-ke* us sleep-let. Optative *dōl mâ·mi-nga tô·guk* I sleep-(verbal subs.) might. Continuative participle, *mâ·mi-nga bē·dig* sleep-(verbal subs.) while = while sleeping.

Passive. Inf. *kō·p-nga* scoop(ed)-to-be. Pres. *kâ·rama dō·l-la kō·p-ngaba* bow me-by scooped-is-being. Imperf. *kâ·rama dō·l-la âchī·baiya kō·p-ngaba* bow me-by then scooped-was-being. Perf. *kâ·rama dō·l-la kō·p-ngata* bow me-by scooped-has-been. Pluperf. *kâ·rama dōl-la entô·ba kō·p-ngata* bow me-by already scooped-had-been. Fut. *kâ·rama dō·l-la kō·p-nga* bow me-by scooped-will-be.

other, so that this is a mere matter of practice. There are also reflective verbs formed by pronouns.

The greatest peculiarity of the language is the treatment of the personal and possessive pronoun. All the pronouns are sexless, but the forms used for the so-called dative seem to vary with the group. The normal form is that for the third person, 'he, she, it,' for which I will use 'it' only for brevity, and 'they' for the plural. We have then sing. *ōl* it (subject), *ia* of it, *en, ūl, at, ik, eb* to it, in different forms, *en* it (object), and in it; pl. *ōl·ōichik* they, *ō·nta* of them, *et, ū·lat, at·at, ō·ntat, ō·llet, eb·et* to them, in different forms, *et* them, *ō·llet* in them. These relations may also be expressed by the postpositions answering to case. Then for the first person *d-* sing. and *m-* plur., and for the second *ng-* sing. and plur., are prefixed to these forms; as *ōl* it, *dōl* I, *ngōl* thou, *mōl·ōichik* we, *ngōl·ōichik* you. There is also what Mr. Temple calls a "fourth person," obtained by prefixing *l* to those forms of the third person, which are not the subject of the sentence, and these give common postpositional forms, as *lī·a* of a or the (or English possessive *'s*), *len* to or in a or the, and also the object of a verb, *lat, leb* to a or the.

These preliminary explanations will serve to make intelligible the following examples which have been furnished by Mr. Man, and will shew the structure of the language better than a long series of grammatical explanations. Observe that in all these examples a hyphen at the end of a word means that the suffix *-da* (applied to all things) may be added, but that it is omitted in construction, and heard only in isolated words or at the end of a clause. The hyphens between parts of a word separate the prefix, the suffix, the postposition and the parts of which the word is compounded, and are used merely for the purpose of assisting the unaccustomed reader, generally they should all be written together in one word without hyphens, just as in German *ereifern* and not *er-eifer-n*, though the latter shews the approximate composition.

Prefixes Illustrated.

Cited as No. 1, 2, *etc.*

No. 1. *bē·ri-nga-* good (animate but non-human, or inanimate).

No. 2. *jā·bag-* bad (ditto).

No. 3. *à-bē·ri-nga-* good (human).

No. 4. *ab-jā·bag-* bad (ditto).

No. 5. *ad-bē·ri-nga-* well, that is, not sick (animate).

No. 6. *ad-jā·bag-* ill, that is, not well (ditto).

No. 7. *ūn-bē·ri-nga-* clever (that is, hand-good, *ūn* referring to *ōng* its, applied to *kō·ro-* hand, see Cl. 5, p. 59).

No. 8. *ūn-jā·bag-* stupid (that is, hand-bad, ditto).

No. 9. *ig-bē·ri-nga-* sharp-sighted (that is, eye-good, *ig* its, being applied to *dal-* eye, see Cl. 4, p. 58).

No. 10. *ig-jā·bag-* dull-sighted (that is, eye-bad, ditto).

No. 11. *à·kà-bē·ri-nga-* nice-tasted (that is, mouth-good, *à·kà* its, applied to *bang-* mouth. *dē·li-ya-* palate, see Cl. 3, p. 58).

No. 12. *ūn-tig-bē·ri-nga-* good "all round" (that is, *ūn* hand and *ig* eye, good, *t* being euphonic).

No. 13. *ūn-tig-jā·bag-* a "duffer" (that is, hand and eye bad).

No. 14. *ōt-bē·ri-nga-* virtuous (that is, head and heart good, *ōt* its, applied to *chē·ta-* head and *kūg-* heart, see Cl. 6, p. 59).

No. 15. *ōt-jā·bag-* vice, evil, vicious (that is, head and heart bad).

No. 1–15. Example: *à·rtâm .dô·ra ab-jā·bag l'edā·re, dōna à·chitik à-bē·ri-nga* (or *à-bē·ri-nga-ke*). Free translation: Dô·ra was formerly a bad man, but now he is a good man. [Analytical translation: *à·rtâm* formerly, *.dô·ra* name of man, *ab-jā·bag* (human)-bad, *l'edā·re* exist-did, *dō·na* but, *à·chitik* now, *à-bē·ri-nga-* (human)-good [or *à-bē·ri-nga-ke* (human)-good-is]. The 'is' generally unexpressed, in *l'edā·re* the *l'* is the common euphonic prefix, *edā·* v. exist, *-re* past time; which may be expressed as 'exist-did,' the verb being always put in the infinitive (properly unlimited, undefined) form, and the suffix *-re* being expressed by 'did,' as *-ke* may be by 'does,' etc., as the simplest way of expressing present and past time, see the conjugation of the verb in note 2, p. 55; the simple copula is never expressed, but in the second form *àbē·ringa* is treated as a verb, and *ke* being added makes it present, so that there is an apparent expression of the copula. Mr. Man believes the termination *-da* as applied to anything which exists, to be derived from the partially obsolete v. *edā·* exist.

No. 16. *ūn-là·ma-* one who misses striking an object with *hand* or *foot*, see Nos. 7 and 8 above.

No. 17. *ig-là·ma-* one who fails to *see* or *find* an object such as honey, a lost article, etc., see Nos. 9 and 10 above.

No. 18. *ōt-là·ma-* one who is wanting in *head*, that is, *sense*, see Nos. 14 and 15 above.

No. 19. *ab-là·ma-* one who is a "duffer" at getting turtles after they are speared, that is, by diving and seizing them, where *ab* his, refers to *chàu* body, see Cl. 1, below.

No. 20. *ô·ko-là·ma-* applied to a weapon which fails to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker.

No. 21. *à·kà-là·ma-* who uses a wrong word to express his meaning (*à·kà* its, being applied to *bang* mouth, and *teg·ili* voice, see Cl. 3, p. 58).

This will suffice to show the curious action of the South Andaman prefixes, which it will be seen presently refer especially to the different forms of the possessive pronoun when applied to different parts of the human body. The following table was drawn up by Mr. Man, and has only been slightly rearranged.

The forms of possessive pronouns are arranged according to the alphabetic order of the word signifying *his, her,* or *its,* singular and plural, from which the forms for the first, second, and so-called fourth person, can be deduced by prefixing *d, ng, l'* for the singular *my, thy,* —*'s,* and *m, ng, l'* for the plural *our, your,* —*s'*.

The Seven Forms of the Possessive Pronouns in relation to parts of the Human Body.

(*Cited as Cl.* 1, 2, *etc.*)

Class 1. Sing. *ab*, pl. *at*.

chàu- body, *gū·dur-* or *lân-* back, *gō·rob-* spine, *pai·cha-* thigh, lap, *châ·lta-* shin, *châ·lta-dam·a-* shin-(fleshy part), calf, *pē·ke-* groin, *kô·pa-* elbow, *kô·pa-dam·a-* fore arm-(fleshy part), *kū·rupi-dam·a-* upper arm-(fleshy part), *lō-* knee, *â·pita-* hollow of knee, *pâ·retâ-* rib, *ēr-* navel, *â·pa-chàu-* belly, abdominal walls, *ū·pta-* stomach proper, *jō·do-* entrails, bowels, *mūg-* liver, *pi·lma-* spleen, *nē·ma-* gall-bladder, *ī·j-nga-* womb, *jī·ri-* supra-renal fat and omentum, *â·wa-* armpit, *pô·dik-ma-* shoulder-blade, *yī·l-nga-* tendon of Achilles.

Class 2. Sing. *ar*, pl. *ar·at*.

chàg- leg, *chô·rog-* hip, *ē·te-* loin, *gūd-win-* os coccygis, *mū·ga-* rectum, *tū·mur-* anus, *ū·lu-* urine, *ū·lu-lī·a-ē·r-* bladder (urine-of-abode), *kòl·am-* mesentery, *mäl·wit-* large intestine, *ô·ta-* testicle, *tô-*, *ô·no-*, or *dam·a-* buttocks. Example: *med·a* (or *mòl·òichik*) *jär·awa l'ar·at châ·glen ablū·re*, we saw the legs of the *jär·awa*. [*med·a* we, a contracted form frequently used instead of the regular *mòl·òichik*. *jär·awa* the South Andaman name for a tribe inhabiting Little Andaman, and having settlements in South Andaman, where they are much feared by the natives. *l'ar·at* (*l* euphonic) their, agreeing with *châg* legs, which is made plural by the preceding plural form *l'ar·at*. *len* marks the object on to which the action passes. *ab-lū·re* (human)-see-did, the 'human' *ab* 'agrees' with the 'human' subject 'we.']

Class 3. Sing. *â·kà*, pl. *ak·at*.

bang- mouth, *dē·li-ya-* palate, *à·dal-* chin, *pai-* lip, *pai·-la-pi·d-* moustache, that is, lip-(*la* euphonic)-hair, *ē·tel-* tongue, *del·ta-* gullet, *ô·rma-* throat, *ô·rma-bā* wind-pipe, *i.e.* throat-small, *ted·imo-* uvula, *ē·kib-* jaw-bone, *ē·kib-pi·d-* beard, that is, jaw-bone-hair, *gō·d-la-* collar-bone, *châ·ga-* side, *tū·bal-* saliva, *chai·ad-* breath.

Class 4. Sing. *ig*, pl. *it·ig*, contracted to *ī*, *it·i* with the words marked *.

**dal-* **dòl-* eye, **dal·-àr-pī·d-* and **dòl·-àr-pī·d-* eyelash, that is, eye-its-hair, **dal·-ōt-ē·d-* or **dòl·-ōt-ē·d-* eyelid, that is, eye-its- (*i.e.* belonging to the head)-skin, *pū·-nyur-* eyebrow, *dē·ri-ya-* gum, *mū·gu-* face, forehead, *pū·ku-* ear, *chô·ro-nga-* nose, *âb-* cheek, *à·b-pi·d-* whiskers, that is, cheek-hair, *tī·mar-* temple (of head), *tūg-* tooth, *tô·go-* shoulder, *gūd-* arm, *kū·rupi-* upper arm, *kô·pa-* forearm, *çô·ra-* biceps of upper arm, *kàm-* breast, *kàm l'ôt chē·ta-* nipple of the breast, that is, breast-its-head, see *ôt*, Class 6, *t'i-* tear (of the eye).

Class 5. Sing. *ōng*, pl. *ō·ot*.

kô·ro- hand or finger, *el·ma-* palm of the hand and sole of the foot, *kô·ro-mū·-guchâl-* middle finger, that is, hand-(third of five), [the fourth of five is *mū·guchâl târō·lo*; the first is *ō·tolâ·-* and the second (general) *ârō·lo-*, but (animate) *â·rtonâu·-*; the last but one *ô·totī·r-târō·lo-*; and the last *târō·lo*; there are only two cardinal numbers *ū·ba-tū·l-* one, and *īkpô·r-* two, beyond that they can in general only tap their nose with their fingers, commencing with the little finger, or say *ârdū·ru-* several, 10 to 20, *jeg·châu-* (human) many, say 50, *jī·baba-* very many, *ū·baba-* (non-human) but *ōt-ū·baba* (lower animals) and *atū·baba-* (human) countless, a few of the most intelligent natives, however, occasionally use words for numbers up to 7, though different speakers differ as to their precise meaning.] *ī·ti-pī·l-* little finger, *kô·ro-dō·ga-* thumb, that is, finger-big, *tô·go-* wrist, *kū·tur-* knuckle, *bō·do-* nail of finger or toe (in this sense the *ō* of *bō·do* is inordinately lengthened, to distinguish it from *bō·do* sun, in which the *ō* is rather of medial length than long, hence we may distinguish *bō·do-*, nail, and *bō·do-* sun), *pâg-* foot, *rō·kôma-* toe, *tū·chab-* great toe, *ī·lam-* small toe, *gū·chul-* heel, *târ-* ankle, *châg-* kidney, *tâ·ga-* peritoneum, *tâ·banga-* small intestine. Example: *dōng kô·ro ngô·ngtek kē·tia-*, my hand is smaller than thine. [*dōng* my, *kô·ro* hand, *ngô·ng-tek* thy-from (that is, thy hand-from = than thy hand, corresponding precisely to the ablative case after comparative in Latin), *kē·tia-* small in size (not in quantity, for which *bā* or *dō·gaba* not much, is used). No mark of second degree of comparison is added, as that is implied by *tek*.]

Class 6. Sing. *ōt*, pl. *ō·tot*.

chē·ta- head, *lō·ngota-* neck, *chāl·ma-* chest, *mūn-* brain, *yâ-* occiput, *lâp·ta-* nape, *kâ·kâ-* scalp, *â·wa-* lung, *tū·lēpo-* phlegm, *nē-* prostate gland, *kūg-* the seat of the affections and passions, also the bosom, the heart, *kū·ktâ-bana-* the heart itself. Example: *.mō·da l'ōt chē·ta bō·dia-* Moda's head is large. [*.mō·da* a man's name, *l'ōt* his, *chēta* head, *bō·diada* large.]

Class 7. Sing. and pl. *ô·to*.

kī·nab- waist, this is apparently the only part of the body for which this pronoun is used; it also means 'narrow,' see 48, p. 68.

From this determinate use of possessive pronouns arises the custom of omitting the name of the part of the body referred to after a possessive pronoun, where it is clear what it must be. This is especially the case when the word could refer to many parts of the human body, sufficiently distinguished by the form of the possessive pronoun, as *pīd-* hair, *ēd-* skin, *tâ-* bone, *tī-* blood, *mū·rudi-* gore, *gū·mar-* sweat, *yī·lnga-* vein, muscle, *wai·nya-* cuticle, *dē·kia-* pulse, *mūn-* pus. When any doubt is felt, the full phrase is used.

Examples.

(*Cited as Om.* 1, 2, *etc.*)

Omission 1. *mō·tot chē·ta pīd-* the hair of our heads. [*mō·tot* our, see *ōt* No. 6 above, and hence *chē·ta* heads must be taken as plural, *pīd-* hair.] This is contracted into *mō·tot pīd-*, as out of the Class 6 above, it is only the head to which *pīd-* hair applies.

Omission 2. *ngak·at pai ēd-* the skin

of your lips [*ngak·at* your, plural in Class 3, *pai* lip must therefore be pluralised, *ēd-* skin], might be contracted to *ngak·at ēd-*, but this would be slightly ambiguous, as *â·dal-* chin belongs to this class.

Omission 3. *dig gūd tâ-* the bone of my arm [*dig* singular of Class 4, *gūd* arm, *tâ* bone], might be contracted, but not with much certainty, except the arm were stretched out, to *dig tâ-*.

Omission 4. *ngar châg tī-* the blood of thy leg [*ngar* thy, in Class No. 2, *châg* leg, *tī* blood], might be contracted into *ngar tī-* with considerable risk of ambiguity, unless the leg had been previously referred to, or was otherwise indicated.

As it is neither possible nor desirable to expand this report into a treatise on the South Andaman language, I looked about for some genuine native utterances, not translations, which might illustrate the natural speech of the country. Fortunately, Mr. Man was able to furnish me with precisely what I wanted. When he was sent officially to the Nicobar Islands, he took with him several young native Andamanese,[1] and in order to keep up their connection with their friends, and especially with their head-man, *jam·bu* (as he was always called, though that was not his real name), Mr. Man wrote letters for them at their dictation. He had to treat them quite like children for whom one writes letters, suggesting subjects, asking what they would say if they saw *jam·bu*, and so on. It was laborious work, which, however, Mr. Man did not regret, as it often furnished him with new words or phrases. These letters were then sent to the British officer in charge of the Homes at Port Blair, who did not know the language, but, from an explanation furnished, read the phonetic writing to *jam·bu*, sufficiently well to be understood, but to assist this officer Mr. Man furnished a free and an interlinear translation. I give two of these letters, which certainly, if any exist, are genuine specimens of South

[1] Their names and nicknames (in parenthesis) were *.ī·ra* (*.kó·ro-* hand), *.bī·ela* (*.ī·dal-* eye, as he had large saucer eyes), *.lô·ra* (Henry, his name when at the Ross orphanage), *.wō·i* (Tom, the name Mr. Man gave him when he first came to Viper Island), *.ī·ra* (*.jō·do-* entrails, so called from his protuberant belly when a child). These names may be preserved as those of the unwitting originators of Andaman literature. One other name of a native should be added, although he was not taken with Mr. Man to the Nicobars, on account of illness, and indeed he died shortly after Mr. Man left. This was *.bī·a* (*.pâ·g-* foot, so called from his large feet). He was the elder brother of the above-named *.lô·ra* (Henry). All the time that Mr. Man was in charge of the Andaman Homes, about four years, *.bī·a* worked with him. He was the most intelligent and helpful native Mr. Man met, and was his principal informant throughout. Mr. Man often told him that he would bring his name to notice, and thus redeems his promise.

Andaman literature, but to make them as instructive as possible in showing the nature of the language, I divide them into numbered sentences, putting the text first, the free translation next, and afterwards, in square brackets, an analytically literal translation in the order of the original, in which, with the help of Mr. Man's translation, vocabulary and personal assistance, I endeavour to shew or explain the meaning and composition of each word and its parts, and its grammatical connection, occasionally adding other notes.

First Letter to *jam·bu.*

Cited by the simple numbers of the sentences.

1. *.mâm jam·bu.* Worshipful *jam·bu* [*mâm* is a term of respect by which chiefs or head men are addressed, perhaps 'honourable' or 'your honor' would be a nearer translation. *jam·bu* was only a nickname, but as he was always so called, Mr. Man cannot recollect any other. See his song below, p. 70].

2. *Med' àrdū·ru adbē·ringa.* We are all in good health. [*med'* we, a contraction for *med·a*, the final *-a* being lost before the following *à* of *àrdū·ru* all. The full form for 'we' is *mòl·òichik.* For *ad-bē·ri-nga* well, see No. 5.]

3. *bī·rma-chā·lewa tàrō·lo tek mij·i' at yed yā·ba.* Since last steamer no one has been ill. [*bī·rma* funnel, *chē·lewa* ship, not one of their own boats; the Andamanese prefer if possible making a new word to adopting a foreign one, the present compound is more original than the modern Greek ἀτμόπλοιον, which is a mere translation of 'steam vessel.' *tàrō·lo* last, see Cl. 5 under *kô·ro - mū·yu - chál. tek* from, since, postp. *mij·i'at* a contracted form of *mij·ia at*, properly a plural possessive interrogative, 'whose?' but used idiomatically in negative sentences, for an indefinite personal pronoun, corresponding to English 'any.' *yed* sick or ill. *yā·ba-* not, always placed at end of a sentence.]

4. *.mar .lô·ra â·chitik igbâ·dignga-len dâ·kar-bō·dia nai·kan.* Master *.lô·ra* is now like a tub in appearance (so fat is he). [*.mar* applied to a young unmarried man, or a man who remains childless for the first 4 or 5 years after marriage, after which time, he is called *mai·a*, the ordinary name for a married man who has children, of which the honorific form *mai·ola* is applied to chiefs only. *.lô·ra* (Henry) the name of the youth. *â·chitik* now, *âchi·baiya* then. *ig- bâ·dig-nga-len* appearance-in, see Nos. 9 and 10. (This is one of the verbs which change the final letter of the base according to the suffix, but the law of change is not yet fully ascertained. In this case *g* is apparently inserted before *-re* and *-nga*, but on the other hand it may be simply omitted before *-ke*). *dâ·kar* a tub or bucket. *bō·dia* big. *dâ·kar-bō·dia*, big as a tub. (There are five words for big, 1. *bō·dia-* which when 'human' becomes *àbō·dia-*, but here has no prefix on account of being in composition, 2. *dō·ga-*, 3. *châ·nag-*, and 4. *tâ·banga-*, which are 'humanised' by *ab*, 5. *rō·chobo-* 'humanised' by *à*. Without the prefixes *bō·dia-*, *dō·ga-*, and *châ·nag-* are applied to any non-human objects, and *rō·chobo-*, *tâ·banga-*, to animals only.) *nai·kan* like.]

5. *ñgâ·kà ô·llen ed·a did·dirya yāba.* He as yet has had no fever. [*ñgâ·ka* as yet, *ñgâ* simply meaning 'then.' *ôl-len* him-to, the 3rd pers. pron. with postpos., *len* to. *ed·a* ever. *did·dirya* fever, that is, ague, trembling. *yā·ba* not, see 3.]

6. *.mar .wō·i ūn-wôt-tai·jnga tâ·pa-ya.* Master *.wō·i* is a great flying-fox shot. [*.mar* see 4. *.wō·i* the name of

a youth (about 16 years old), of the tribe that the South Andamanese call *.ôko-jü·wai-da*, who came in a canoe from Middle Andaman to Port Blair, where he made an important statement concerning the manners and customs of his tribe, which was reduced to writing by Mr. Man, and is published, chiefly in English, in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xi. pp. 280–2. When he arrived at Port Blair, his language was unintelligible to the natives there, but he quickly learned their language, and as he was a very nice fellow, he was induced to remain by marrying him to a pretty girl (named in 20), who was still very young. As they had at that time no family, he was still called *mar*. *ün* refers to skill, see Nos. 7, 8, 16. *wôd-* or *wôt* in construction, flying-fox. *taij* shoot with an arrow. *nga* sign of verbal subst. The whole word is, therefore, skilled shooter of flying foxes. *tâ·paya* excellent (human only), marks superlative degree.]

7. *ar·at dil·u dī·laya â·kàrâ·rnga bē·dig, ōl ij·ilā būd lōng-pâ·len wôt leb ērkē·dangke.* While the others are finishing their evening meal with dainty morsels, he goes alone and searches among the trees for flying foxes near the hut. [*ar·at* their, see Cl. 2. *dil·u* rest or remainder. *dī·la-ya* evening-at. *â·kà* referring to palate, see No. 11. *râ·r-nga* tasty things, which conclude a meal, from *rár*, v. taste, determine flavour of. *bē·dig* while or during, as a postposition to the whole preceding clause, so that it means: the rest of-them in-the evening tasty-bits-finishing while. *ōl* 3rd pers., hence 'he' in this case. *ij·ilā* alone, unaccompanied. *būd-* an occupied hut, *ēr-* an unoccupied hut. (*tà·rdōd-* hut belonging to a married couple; *kàtō·go-* bachelor's hut; *chàng-* hut, or roof, for the huts are almost all roof, *chàng-tē·pinga-* best kind of hut, with well plaited roof, to last 2 or 3 years; *chàng·tô·rnga-* next best hut, formed of leaves bound together with cane, lasting a few weeks or months; *chàng-dar·anga-* a temporary shed, roof of loose leaves, to last a few days. The species of palm leaf ordinarily used for these roofs is called *chàng·ta-*). *lōng-pâ·len* near an inanimate object. (Other terms are *â·kà-pâ·len* or *ōt-pai·cha-len* near to an animate object; *eb-ē·r-teg-ilen* near a tree or post; *yapâ·len* near as one place to another, *ya* giving indefiniteness of object, compare *bā* and *yabā·* little.) *wôt* flying fox. *leb* for, postp. *ēr-kē·dang-ke* search in-trees--does, (*ē·rem* jungle), *á·ta* v. search on the ground for an inanimate object, *ab-â·ta-* v. for an animate object.]

8. *en lü·nga bē dig ōl lâ·kàchī·ke yā·bada.* On seeing one he does not miss it. [*en* it. *lü·-nga* see (verbal subst.) = seeing. *bē·dig* while, consequent on, see 7. *ōl* he, *lâ·kàchī·-ke* (euphonic *l*, Cl. 3), miss-does. *yā·ba-da* not, see 5, where final *da* is not added to *yā·ba*.]

9. *kâ·rin chō·wai rō·choboda.* There are enormous clams here. [*kâ·rin* here. *chō·wai* clam, the plural is not indicated. *rō·choboda* big, applied to animals, see *bō·dia* in 4. This shell-fish in the Nicobars is the *Tridacna gigantea*, and measures 3 or 4 feet in length; in the Andamans, they have only the small species *Tridacna crocea* and *T. squamosa*.]

10. *ü·badō·galen yât atü·babaleb dü·rumada.* There is sufficient food in one for a great number of persons. [*ü·ba-dō·ga-* one, *ü·ba-tü·l-* is also used, but *ü·ba-dō·ga-* is the emphatic form like our 'a single one,' see Cl. 5, under *mü·gu-châl-*. *len* in, postp. *yât* in construction, *yâd-* final, food. *at-ü·baba* countless numbers, see Cl. 5. *leb* for, postp. *dü·rumada* sufficient.]

11. *mō·da ngōl met atted·inga lü·ake, .pâ·dri châb .rüch-ya pòl·i yâ·te bü·dlen lī·rnga bē·dig, â·kâ-tâ igbâ·di-ke.* If you don't believe us, go to the Padre sāhib's house at Ross, and see the shell (we are sending). [*mō·da* if, *ngōl* you, *met* us, obj. pl. *at-ted·i-nga* (human)-lie-telling-(verbal subst.). *at* is plural *ab*. *lü·a-ke* consider-do (present time), *lü* v. look or see. *.pâ·dri* Italian padre, father, but applied as "Rev." to all clergymen, here the chaplain was meant. *châb* Andamanese attempt at pronouncing the Hindī *sā·hib*. *.rüch* Andamanese attempt to say *Rüs*, the Hindī corruption of Ross, an island at the entrance of the inlet of Port Blair. *-ya* at, postp. *pòl·i* dwell. *yâ·te* that, the relative. *büd* hut, see 7, but here meant for house. *len* postp. to. *lī·r-nga* go, verbal subst. *bē·dig* while, or consequent upon, see 7. The phrase means: upon going to the house of the chaplain

who dwells at Ross. *â·kà* see No. 11, in relation to taste or mouth, *tâ* bone, that is, taken together, *â·kàtâ* bone covering food *i.e.* shell. *ig-bâ·di-ke* see-will, see 4, pres. for fut.]

12. *ngōl ō·llen igbâ·di yâ·te wai·kan ngab-ped·inga kich·ikan-nai·kan târchī·ke; bad·i ū·cha â·kàtâ·da!* On seeing it we are sure you will slap your side and exclaim: what a whopping big shell! [*ngōl* you. *ō·l-len* it, obj. *igbâ·di* see, see 4. *yâ·te* who, see 11; that is, you who-see it. *wai·kan* certainly. *ngab* your, see Cl. 1 and Om. 4 for the omission of *châu-* body, or some such word. *ped·i-nga* slap (verbal subs.) = slapping. *kich·ikan* and *nai·kan* both mean 'like' and together, 'just like.' *târchī-ke* say-will. *bad·i* exclamation of surprise. *ū·cha* this. *á·kà-tâ* shell, see 11.]

13. *med' àrdū·ru .pū·lo-pilàu· el-â·rjana būd lō·yaba yâ·te len â·kangai·re.* We all went to *.pū·lo-.pilàu·*, which is a village a long way off to the north. [*med' àrdū·ru* we all, see 2. *.pū·lo-pilàu·* name of a place in the Nicobar Islands. *el-â·rjana* north, *el-iglā·-* south (district), *el-â·rmū·gu-* (appearing-face) east (in these words *el* stands for *ē·r-* country), *târ-mū·gu-* (disappearing face) west. *būd* hut, village. *lō·yaba* distant. *yâ·te* which. *len* to, postp., affecting the whole phrase, which means: to P. P. which is a distant village to the north. *â·kan-gai·* go a short journey by water, *ô·to-jū·mu* is used for a long journey. *-re* past time.]

14. *kâ·to â·rla jī·baba pòl·ire.* We stayed several days there. [*kà·to* there. *â·rla* days, plural indicated by the following word. *jī·baba* several, very many, see Cl. 5. *pòl·i-re* dwell-did, see 11.]

15. *charkâ·r leb rō·go jad·ijō·g àrdū·ru īgal·re dō·na mô·to-kūklī·re yā·bada.* We bargained for a lot of young female pigs for Government, but did not forget ourselves. [*charkâ·r* Andamanese attempt to pronounce the Hindī *Sarkâ·r* government. *leb* for, postp. *rō·go* pigs, plural indicated by the following *àrdū·ru*, *rō·go-* is a female pig, *reg-* either male or female. *jad·i-jō·g* spinster, implying a full-grown sow-pig which has not littered, see the mode of expressing sex mentioned on p. 53. *àrdū·ru* several (see Cl. 5) or all, as in 2. *īgal·-re* barter did. *dō·na* but. *mô·to* ourselves. *kūklī·re* forget-did. *ô·to-kūklī·-ke* oneself forget-does (*mô·to* is only the form of the first person plural, see p. 58), was one of the new words discovered by Mr. Man from the dictation of these letters to *jam·bu*. The common verb for forgetting is *ōt-kūklī·ke*, which is reflective, as *dō d' ōt-kūklī·re*, I forgot, where *dō d'* or *dōl d'* answers to French *je me* (in *je m'en souviens*) and similarly *ngō' ng'* or *ngōl ng' ōt-kūklī·re* you forgot. The relation of *ô·to-k.* and *ōt-k.* is similar to that in *ōtrâ·jke* defend-does, *ô·torâ·jke* oneself defend does. 'Selves' is also expressed by *ē·kan* See examples in 40. *yā·bada* not, see 7.]

16. *kīanchâ· reg-wâ·ra gō·i jī·baba mō·yut-tē·mar leb ō·more.* We accordingly fetched several prime young male pigs for our own use. [*kīanchâ·* therefore. *reg* pigs, either male or female, see 15. *wâ·ra* bachelor, young but full grown, see p. 53. *gō·i* fresh, and hence in good condition. *jī·baba* several, properly 'very many,' see Cl. 5, but as there were really only five or six, Mr. Man translated the word 'several' at the time; he supposed that the young men wished to surprise their friends at Viper by leading them to suppose by this term that they had got many more pigs than was actually the case. *mō·yut-tē·mar* ourselves, the meaning of the separate words is not known, but we have *dō·yun-t.* myself. *ngō·yun-t.* thyself and *ō·yun-t.* himself, *ō·yut t.* themselves, *ngō·yut-t.* yourselves. *leb* for, postp. *ō·mo-re* fetch-did.]

17. *med·a ñgâ·kà mäk·nga-ba yâ·te len chī·lyuke.* Those we have not eaten yet we are fattening. [*med·a* we. *ñgâ·kà* as yet, see 5. *mäk·-nga* eat- (passive participle, p. 55, n. 2) = eaten. *ba* not. *yâ·te* which. *len* postp. pointing out object, meaning: we are fattening those which have not been eaten as yet. The construction, though common, is somewhat involved, and would be, in English order, as boys "construe" Latin: *med·a* we, *chī·lyuke* are fattening, *len* (mark of accusative relation), *yâ·te* (those) which, *ñgâ·kà* as yet, *mäk·nga-ba* (are or have been) eaten-not.

18. *â·kàlō·dongalen med·a â·kàjai·ñgke târō·lolen ôtñâ·ba rō·go lō·inga bē·dig .bai·par lat mit·ik-ī·kke.* These we will slaughter one by one, and

afterwards get some more pigs to take with us to Viper. [*â·kà-lō·do-nga* one by one, idiomatic expression, origin unknown. *len* postp. marks the object. *med·a* we. *â·kà-jai·ñg-ke* slaughter-do, this expression is used for pigs only. *tàrō·lo-len* last-to, afterwards, see Cl. 5. *ōt-ñâ·ba* other in addition to the former, see Cl. 6 for *ōt*, this prefix also occurs in *ōt-päg·i* once more. *rō·go* pig, see 15. *lō·i-nga* get-(verbal subs.) = getting. *bē·dig* while, or consequent upon; meaning: afterwards on getting additional pigs. *.bai·par* Andamanese mispronunciation of Viper, an island within the inlet of Port Blair. *lat* to, postp. *mit·ik* in company with us, *m-* us, *it·ik* in company with, *ī·k-ke* take away-will, see 20.]

19. *.mar .ī·ra-.jō·do .mar .wō·i lōt pīj len jā·bag tâ·la-tim·re.* Master *.ī·ra-.jō·do* has tonsured Master *.wō·i* very badly. [*.mar* see 4. *.ī·ra-.jō·do* is the subject of the verb. *.wō·i lōt pīj* is the object, as *.wō·i*'s hair. *lōt* his (head understood), see Cl. 6, and Om. 1. *pīj* hair, the usual form of *pīd* in construction, thus *ōt-pīj-yā·ba-* his (head)-hair-not = bald. *len* postp. obj. *jā·bag* badly. *tâ·la-tim·re* tonsure-did. This shaving of the crown of the head is the business of the women and especially of the wife, but in this case the women were left behind. The razors used are extremely fine chippings of glass.]

20. *mō·da .ô·ra-.bī·ela abī·k-yâ·te â·chitik igbâ·dike ñgâ wai·kan ōtjē·rnga-len igped·ike ōl-bē·dig abtō·goke.* If *.wō·i*'s wife *.ô·ra-.bī·ela* were now to see him, she would certainly box the barber's ears and abuse him. [*mō·da* if. *ab-ī·k* (female)-take away, *yâ·te* who, that is, who is wife. For *īk* see end of 18, where, but for the *mit·ik*, there would have been the prefix *ab* as *abī·kke* take-away-does (present), an animate object. But *en·i* is to take, as *ablī·ga là·kà-bang tek paip en·ike* child its-mouth from pipe take-do = take the pipe from the child's mouth, *-ke* being also used for the imperative. Now in marrying, the chief who unites the couple *tō·t-yâ·p-ke* their (persons, Cl. 6) -speak-does, the man *ad-en·i·ke* (animate, see No. 6) -take-does, the woman *ab-ī·k-ke* (human, No. 4) -take-away-does. The husband is spoken of as *ad-ī·k-yâ·te-*, and the wife as *ab-ī·k-yâ·te-*, as here. For the first few weeks the young couple are called *ōng-tägō·i-* their-bed-of-leaves-fresh, and after that for the first year *ūn-jâ·ti-gō·i-*, where *ūn* refers to the hands, No. 7, and *gō·i* is fresh, but *jâ·ti* is not known. *â·chitik* now, see 4. *ig-bâ·di-ke* see-does, see 4, pres. time, though in English it becomes past subjunctive, after *mō·da* if. *ñgâ* then, see 5. *wai·kan* certainly. *ōt-jē·r-nga* his (head understood, see Om. 1) -shave-(verbal subst.), that is, his head's shaver. *len* postp. marking object. *ig-ped·i-ke* face (see Nos. 9, 10 and 17, and Cl. 4), (in anger) slap (see 12) will, *ar-ped·i-ke* would be, 'leg (see Cl. 2) -slap-will,' as women do when delighted. *ōl-bē·dig* it-while or it-after, used for 'and.' or 'as well as.' *ab-tō·go-ke* (human prefix No. 4)-abuse-will.]

21. *.mar .wō·i ōttek·īknga bē·dig pīj-gō·i len enōtjē·rke yā·ba.* Master *.wō·i* is so ashamed of his appearance, that he is letting the new hair grow. [*ōt-tek·īk-nga* for-his-head (Cl. 6), -ashamed-(verbal subst.), *tek·īk* be ashamed, but *t'ē·kīk* weep. *bē·dig* consequent on, see 11. *pīj-gō·i* hair-fresh. *len* postp. marking object. *en-ōt-jē·r-ke* cause-head-shave-does, *en* prefixed gives a causal signification to the verb = causes his head to be shaven. *yā·ba* not.]

22. *med·a yât bā ngōl ititâ·n yâ·te len ô·rokre.* We duly obtained the few presents you sent. [*med·a* we. *yât* properly fish, food, see 10, here presents. *bā* few, little, a father or mother having one or more little ones is called *ūn.ba·da.* *ngōl* you. *ititâ·n* send away any animate or inanimate thing, *entitâ·n* send away a human object, *en·itân* shew (v. refl.), *itâ·n* permit. *yâ·te* which. *len* postp. marking the whole phrase as an object. *ô·rok-re* obtain-did.]

23. *ngōt pai·chalen mīn àrdū·ru ōtjeg·nga l'edâ·re ñgâ ititâ·nnga yā-balen med·a mō·tot-kūkjā·bagire.* As you have so much in the "go-down" (store), we were much disappointed at your not sending more. [*ngōt* your, Cl. 6. *pai·cha-len* lap-to, that is, in your possession. *mīn* thing, plural only indicated by following word. *àrdū·ru* several, see 15. *ōt-jeg·-nga*, Cl. 6, collection of shell-fish, meat, jack-fruit seeds, iron, flint, or anything in a heap, but *ōt-pū·j-nga* is used for honey, fruit,

yams, fibre, and *ar·ngai·j-nga* for bows, arrows, and other implements or ornaments, and also animate objects. *l'edâ·re* because of, *i.e.* because of your having many things collected in your possession. *ñgâ* more (see 51), as well as 'then' (see 5). *ititâ·nnga* sending, see 22. *yā·ba-len* not-to, without. *med·a* we. *mō·tot-kūk-jā·bag-i-re* our (poss. from Class 6) -heart-bad-was, we were disappointed, *i* seems to be a euphonic insertion to separate *g* and *r*.]

24. *til·ik bī·rma-chē·lewa kâ·gal yâ·te ñgâ mīn met â·kàwē·rke.* Perhaps the incoming steamer is bringing more things for us. [*til·ik* perhaps. *bī·rma-chē·lewa* steamer, see 3. *kâ·gal* arriving, this and *yō·boli* are said of the arrival of a boat or ship only, or of going to an elevated spot. *yâ·te* which. *ñgá* more, see 23. *mīn* thing, see 23. *met* to us, one of the forms answering to the dative of pers. pron. *â·kà*, see Cl. 3. *â·kà-wē·r* and *ūn-tàr-teg·i* are said of conveying any animal or inanimate objects by boat only; *īk* is used for conveying either by land or water, and for human objects becomes *abī·k*, see 20. *-ke* future time, not distinguished from present.]

25. *med·a tártī·t idai·re añ·a â·chitik ngōl barai·jbō·lo lī·a ōtyū·burda.* We have learnt that you are now the head-"boss" at the Brigade Creek home. [*med·a* we. *tártī·t* news. *idai·-re* know-did. *añ·a* that, conjunction. *â·chitik* now. *ngōl* you. *barai·j* old-established encampment, whether occupied or not, otherwise *ēr-*, *ē·r-àrlū·a-* are unoccupied, and *būd-*, *būd-làrdū·ru-* occupied encampments. *à-bō·lo-* is a human orphan, omitting the prefix *barai·j-bō·lo-* is an orphan encampment, or one of which the old chief is dead and the new chief not yet appointed. This was the case with the Brigade Creek Andaman Home, which is the one here meant. *lī·a* of, postp. *ōt-yū·bur-da* head (Cl. 6) -chief, from *yū·bur* govern.]

26. *kà·to ngōng jō·bo ōl-bē·dig kâ·r-apta châ·pikok!* May no snakes or centipedes bite you there. [*kâ·to* there. *ngōng* your, Cl. 5, one of the words in that class being understood. *jō·bo* snake, plural unindicated. *ōl-bē·dig* and, see 20. *kâ·rapta* centipedes, from *kà·rap* bite as a stinging insect. *châ·pi* bite in any way. *kok* would-that-they-may-not, *dâ·ke* and *ngō·ke* are used as the imperative don't! *kâ·to ō·yu lī·r-kok* there permission go-I hope may not = I hope they won't let you go there; *ngō pâ·kok* I hope you won't fall. As to the wish expressed see the farewell in 29.]

27. *dī·raptek ñgâ yâ·bnga yā·ba.* There's nothing more to say at present. [*dī·rap* lately, *tek* from, postp., the whole meaning, 'at present.' *ñgâ* more, see 23. *yâ·b-nga* say, verbal subst. = saying. *yā·ba* not.]

28. *med·a àrdū·ru len ij·imū·gu-en·inga ititâ·nke.* We send salaam to to all. [*med·a* we. *àrdū·ru* all. *len* to, postp. *ij·i* a common prefix, implying apparently 'separation,' but its signification in compounds is lost, it is frequently omitted in this word. *mū·gu* face. *en·i-nga* take-(verbal subst.). The natives mean by the word to bend the head and touch the forehead, that is, to salaam, as they were taught to do by the Rev. Mr. Corbyn, the first person who had charge of them; it is a case, then, of a new word, which may be advantageously compared with the Greek προσκυνεῖν to play the dog to; sometimes *chillâ·m*, a mispronunciation of salaam, is used. *ititâ·n-ke* send-do, see 22.]

29. *kam wai mòl·òichik!* Good-bye! [*kam* here. *wai* indeed. *mòl·òichik* we, full form. The ceremony of taking leave by word of mouth is rather long. The host accompanies his visitor to the landing-place, or at least to a considerable distance. On parting. the visitor takes his host's hand and blows upon it; after the compliment is returned, the following dialogue ensues. Departing Visitor: *kam wai dōl*, here indeed I. Host: *ó* aye (a contraction for *ô·no* yes), *ū·chik wai òn*, hence indeed come, *tain tâ·lik kach òn yâ·te?* when again hither come who? = very well, go, when will you come again? Dep. Vis.: *ñgâ·tek do ngat mīn ī·kke*, then-from (presently) I for-you thing take-away-will = I will bring away something for you one of these days. Host: *jō·bo la ngōng châ·pikok!* snake (euphonic *la*) you bite-may not = I hope no snake will bite you, compare 26. Dep. Vis: *wai do ēr̄gē·lepke*, indeed I on-the-land (*ēr*) -watchful-be-will. They then repeat the ceremony of blowing on each other's hands, and part shouting invitations and promises for a

future date until beyond earshot. There are no Andaman words of greeting. Relatives on meeting throw their arms round each other and weep for joy. When any other persons meet, they simply stand looking at each other in silence for a long time, sometimes as much as half an hour, before one of them ventures to speak.]

Second Letter to *.jam·bu.*

The sentences are numbered in continuation of the former.

30. *.mâm .jam·bu.* Worshipful Jumboo [see 1].

31. *med' àrdū·ru adbē·ringa.* We are all in good health [see 2].

32. *ñgâ·kà mar'dū·ru tek ō·gun .mar .lō·ra abyed·re yā·ba.* Up to the present Master *.lō·ra* is the only one of us who has not been ill. [*ñgâ·kà* as yet, see 5. *ma·r'dū·ru* contraction for *mar·at-àrdū·ru* our (Class 2) -all, the whole of us. *tek* from, postp. *ō·gun* only. *.mar .lō·ra* see 4. *ab-yed·-re* human (No. 4) -sick-was. *yā·ba* not.]

33. *ōl kichikachâ· ōtolâ·laire meda idai·nga-ba, til·ik yât mäk·nga dō·ga l'edâ·re.* We don't know how he has escaped (being ill), perhaps it is because he eats so much. [*ōl* he. *kichikachâ·* how, in what manner. *ōto-lâ·-lai-re* (Cl. 7) escape-did. *med·a* we. *idai·-nga-ba* know-(verbal subst.)-not = we are knowers not; *ba* at the end is a contraction for *yā·ba*, and never becomes *bā* (meaning 'small'), but is kept short and unaccented. *til·ik* perhaps, see 24. *yât* food, see 10. *mäk·-nga* eat -(verbal subst.) = eating, see 17. *dō·ga* much. *l'edâ·re* by reason of, 23.]

34. *mar·at dil·u abyed· yâ·te â·chitik ō·tolâ nai·kan àpâ·tada.* The rest of us who have been ill, are now in as good condition as before. [*mar·at* our, Cl. 2. *dil·u* remainder, see 7. *abyed·* (human, No. 4) - sick. *yâ·te* who. *â·chitik* now. *ō·tolâ* first, see Cl. 6. *nai·kan* like. *àpâ·ta-da* (animate, No. 3) -fat-(thing generally). The natives grow rapidly thin when ill, hence to grow fat is to regain health.]

35. *ō·gar l'âitär·ire med·a .kät·chu len yō·bolire.* Last month we visited Katchall Island. [*ō·gar* moon, *ō·gar-dē·reka-yabā·*-moon-baby-small, or new moon, *ab-dē·reka-* human baby, *ō·gar-dē·reka-* the moon two or three days old, *ō·gar-chà·nag-* moon-big, first quarter, *ō·gar-chàu-* moon-body, full moon, (so *bō·do-chàu-* sun-body, is noon, and *gū·rug-chàu-* night-body, is midnight), *ō·gar-kī·nab-* moon-thin, last quarter, *la-wal·aga-nga-* waxing, *lâr-ō·dowâ·-nga* waning. *l'â-* human, No. 3, with euphonic *l*, because apparently they regard the moon as a male, *.mai·a .ō·gar-*, Mr. Moon, and seem to look upon it as more like a man than any other inanimate object. The *sun* is regarded as female, and is hence called *.chän·a-.bō·do-*, Mrs. Sun. So also in German and Anglo-Saxon, the moon is masculine and the sun feminine. *itär·i-re* extinguished-was, like any other light. *med·a* we. *.kät·chu* Katchall Island, one of the Nicobar group. *len* to or at, *yō·boli-re* disembark-did, see 24.]

36. *kâ·to â·rla ikpô·r len pòl·inga bē·dig reg l'àrdū·ru leb igal·re mū·rgi bē·dig.* During the few days we stayed there, we bartered for a lot of pigs and fowls. [*kâ·to* there, see 26. *â·rla* day, pl. indicated only by the following word. *ikpô·r* really two, but often used for a few, especially with *â·rla*, see Cl. 5. *len* to or for, postp. *pòl·i-nga* dwelling, see 11. *bē·dig* consequent on, see 11. *reg* pigs, male or female, see 15 and 16. *l'àrdū·ru* several. *leb* for, postp. *igal·-re* barter-did, see 15, the subject is *med·a* we, in preceding sentence. *mū·rgi* fowls, an adopted Hindustani word. *bē·dig* also, when placed last, see *ōl-bē·dig* in 20.]

37. *kâ·to igbū·dwa-lōngkâ·lak bē·-ringa-l'iglā· àrdū·ru ūnrâ·nda.* The people of that part are the best of all, they are all liberal. [*kâ·to* there. *ig-* Nos. 9, 10, 17. *bū·dwa* dweller in a hut or village, fellow-countryman, see 7. *lōng-kâ·lak* sign of plural, used because there is nothing else in the sentence to indicate plurality. *bē·ringa* good. *l'iglā·* (*l'* euphonic) used alone means 'distinct,' but when joined to a word of quality it shews the highest degree, superlative, most good, best, *mai·a iglā·-* head chief. *àrdū·ru* all. *ūn-râ·n-da* (Nos. 7, 8, 12, 13, 16) liberal.]

38. *.mar .wō·i, .ī·ra-jō·do bē·dig kâ·to reg pâ·ta igbâ·dignga bē·dig mū·gum len pòi·chatnga l'edâ·re reg-gū·mul lē·re.* While there, Masters *.wō·i* and *.ī·ra jō·do*, seeing the fat pigs for which their stomachs craved, broke their pig-fast. [*bē·dig* also, see 36. *reg pâ·ta* pig fat, that is, fat pig, not pig's fat, see 34. *ig-bâ·dig-nga* seeing- (verbal subst.), see 11. *bē·dig* consequent on. *mū·gum* inside or belly, *târmū·gum* beneath. *len* to, postp. *pòi·chat-nga* fond of (any kind of food) -(verbal subst.). *l'edâ·re* because of (see 23), *i.e.* feeling fond of food to their inside. *reg-gū·mul* pig-ceremony. We have no corresponding word to *gū·mul*, it belongs to the peculiar institutions of the Andamanese. Mr. Man says: "Although *.wō·i* had been recently induced to marry, he was only a youth of about 16, and had not yet gone through the ceremony of 'young man making' known as *gū·mul lē·ke* (*gū·mul* devour-does), when the young neophyte who has for some time past evinced his powers of self-denial, and thereby, in a measure, his fitness to enter upon the cares and trials of married life, is enabled after a course of three ceremonies (known as *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* turtle ceremony, *â·ja-gū·mul-* honey ceremony, and *reg-jī·ri-* or simply, as here, *reg-gū·mul-* pig's kidney-fat or simply pig ceremony), which take place at intervals with a degree of external ceremony, to resume the use of these favourite articles of food. *lē-re* devour-did. These ceremonies apply to the young of both sexes before reaching puberty. After this period the individual is said to be *bô·tiga-*, which implies that he or she may indulge in any kind of food at pleasure. During the period (lasting sometimes 2 or 3 years) of their abstention they are called *â·kâ-yâ·b-*, or *â·kâ-yā·ba-* and the fasting period is termed *â·kâ-yâ·ba-*".]

39. *târō·lolen atyed·re yā·bada.* They have suffered no ill consequences thereby. [*târō·lo-len* last-to, that is, afterwards, see 18. *at-yed·-re*, *at* is the plural form of the human prefix *ab* (see 11). *yed* be sick, *re* past time, that is, men were sick. *yā·ba-da* not. They fancy that to break the *gū·mul* (see 38) will entail serious consequences, the fact being that they then generally gorge themselves with these rich articles of diet, and hence make themselves ill.]

40. *med·a â·chitik ē·kan leb rō·go ikpô·r mô·to-pai·chalen chī·lyuke.* We are rearing a few pigs for ourselves. [*med·a* we. *â·chitik* now. *ē·kan* selves. *leb* for. *rō·go* pig. *ikpô·r* two, that is, a few; as two is the largest number for which they have a name, they use it indefinitely, see 36. *mô·to* our own, *pai·cha* lap, *len* to, that is, 'in our midst.' *dô·to* s. *mô·to* pl. *ngô·to* and *ô·to* s. and pl. are the reflective forms of *dôt* s. *mō·tot* pl., *ngōt* and *ōt*, etc., as *ōl dôt jē·rke* he my-head shave-does, but *dōl dô·to jē·rke* I my-own-head shave-do. *chī·lyu-ke* fattening-are, see 17.]

41. *tâ·rdī·lēa mar'dū·ru ōtpāg·i kāt·chu len yàu·gare.* The day before yesterday we all went again to Katchall. [*târ* probably 'beyond,' *dī·lēa* yesterday. *mar'dū·ru* we all, see 32. *ōt-pāg·i* again, *ig-pāg·i* is also used, see *ōt*, *ig*, in Nos. 14, 15, and 9, 10, *pāg·i* repeat. *.kàt·chu* Katchall. *len* to, postp. *yàu·ga-re* go-did, used for going to a particular place, otherwise *lir* is used.]

42. *kâ·to ō·gun â·rla ū·batū·l bar·mire*, (but) spent only one day there. [*kâ·to* there. *ō·gun* only. *â·rla* day. *ū·ba-tū·l* one, see Cl. 5, and also 10 and 43. *bar·mi-re* spend-did, passing the night there, as on a visit.]

43. *mē·kan leb rō·go ū·badō·ga mū·rgi jī·baba bē·dig ō·more.* We fetched a pig and very many fowls for our own consumption. [*mē·kan* ourselves, see *ē·kan* in 40. *leb* for, postp. *rō·go* pig. *ū·ba-dō·ga* one, or rather only one, an emphatic form of *ū·ba-tū·l*, see 10. *mū·rgi* fowl, see 36. *jī·baba* very many. *bē·dig* also. *ō·mo-re* fetch-did, see 16, *tō·yu-re* bring-did.]

44. *jū·rulen yâ·dī chō·ag àrdū·ru bē·dig igbâ·digre, dō·na dū·tre yā·bada.* On the way we saw several turtles and porpoises, but speared none. [*jū·ru* sea. *len* to or in, postp. *yâ·dī* turtle. *chō·ag* porpoise, both rendered plural by the following word. *àrdū·ru* several. *bē·dig* also. *ig-bâ·dig-re* see-did. *dō·na* but. *dū·tre* spear-did. *yā·bada* not. The usual way to catch turtles is to harpoon them with a spear called *kowai·a lô·ko dū·t-nga-*, consisting of the *tôg-*, or a long bamboo haft, at one end of which a socket is provided for the *kowai·a-*, which is a short pointed and notched iron harpoon; these are connected by a long line,

bē·tma-. The thick end of the *tôg-* is called *ar-bô·rod-*, and the socket end *â·kà-chàng·-*.]

45. *med·a dī·lēa ē·remlen mai·i l'â·kàtàng id·lia-gō·iya igbâ·digre; kīanchâ· â·chitik kâ·rin tō·ug pâ·tke.* Yesterday for the first time we saw a *mai·i* tree in the jungle; we can therefore make torches here. [*med·a* we. *dī·lēa* yesterday. *ē·rem* jungle. *len* in, postp. *mai·i* name of a kind of *Sterculia* tree. *l'â·kà-tàng*, *l'* euphonic, *â·kà* No. 11, *tàng* topmost part, this is any kind of tree, a fruit tree is *â·kà-tâ·la-*, which may be from the same root. *id·lia-gō iya*, possibly a contraction of *ed·a-lī·a-gō·iya* ever-of-fresh, quite the first. *igbâ·dig-re* see-did. *kīanchâ·* therefore. *â·chitik* now. *kâ·rin* here. *tō·ug* torch, consisting of the resin of the *mai·i* tree wrapped in leaves, and principally used when fishing and turtling at night, full name *tō·ug-pâ·t-nga-*. *pât* make, only said of this torch. *ke* future time. The word for 'making' varies with different things made, thus, *wät·igma-châg* make an oar, *butän·i* make a house or hut, *kōp* make a canoe, bow, etc., *tē·pi* make anything with cane, bamboo, etc., as in thatching, weaving, said also of a bee constructing its comb, *tän·i* make a pail, *lät* make a cooking-pot, *mâr* make waistbelts, wristlets, or garters with pandanus leaves and string, *tâ·i* make arrow heads by hammering out pieces of iron, see 46, *mai·a* make string by twisting the strands with the fingers.]

46. *.mamjō·la â·rtâm â·rlalen chit·i yī tike, tô·batek med·a ē·la dō·gaya tâ·ike.* The former *.mamjō·la* is always writing, meanwhile we are making lots of pig-arrows. [*.mam-jō·la* homes-chief, a word coined since the Andaman 'Homes' were established, and used in addressing the officer placed in charge of them. The first syllable appears to be a form of *mâm* (see 1), and the whole word is an abbreviation for *mâm-mai·ola* worshipful chief, of which some persons suppose it was first an English corruption, afterwards adopted by the natives. In this letter Mr. Man himself is referred to, as he ceased to be in charge of the 'Homes' when he was transferred to the Nicobars. *â·rtâm* old, applied to animate or inanimate objects, but here it only means 'former,' for Mr. Man was not aged. *â·rla-len* day-to, always. *chit·i* letter, a Hindustani word. *yī·ti-ke* tattoo-does. They have applied the word 'tattoo' to writing, as it were, scratching, scribbling. *tô·ba-tek* meanwhile, compare *entô·ba* already, before, *tô·laba* wait a little, *dentô·bare* elder brother. *med·a* we. *ē·la* pig-arrows, pl. indicated by next word. *dō·gaya* many. *tâ·i-ke* make-do.]

47. *mō·tot pai·chalen â·chitik del·ta ô·to-chô·nga jī·baba.* We have now got very many bundles of arrows in our possession. [*mō·tot* our. *pai·cha-len* lap-to, in our possession, see 23. *â·chitik* now. *del·ta* arrows, generic name for all arrows except the *chám-*, which is more of an ornament or toy. The several kinds are: *râ·tà-* with blunt wooden point for play, or before conversion into a *tī·rlēd-*sharp wooden-pointed, for shooting fish; *tô·lbōd-* with iron point, with or without barb, for shooting fish and small animals, etc.; *ē·la-* with movable iron blade-head, for shooting pigs and other animals, etc.; *ē·la lâ·kà lū·pa-* with fixed iron blade-head, for the same purposes. *ô·to-chô·-nga* bundle of arrows or bows (see *ô·to* in Cl. 7, it is often used as a prefix to verbs), *chô* bind, as a parcel with string. *jī·baba* very many.]

48. *.malai· lī·a châ·rigma ōt-lō·binga len jā·bagda; ōt-mū·gu kī·nab l'edâ·re ōl tôg len täk·lake.* The Nicobar outrigger canoe is ill-suited for turtling; the narrowness of the bows prevents one from making full use of the spear. [*.malai·* Malay, meaning Nicobarese, who are probably remotely Malays, and are quite different from the Andamanese. *lī·a* of. *châ·rigma* outrigger canoe, the generic name for all canoes is *rō·ko-*, those in the neighbourhood of Port Blair are generally without outrigger, and much larger than the *châ·rigma-*. *ōt-lō·bi-nga* (No. 14) hunt for turtles along the shore by poling-(verbal subst.). *len* for, postp. *jā·bagda* bad. *ōt-mū·gu* (No. 14) bow of boat, *ig-mū·gu-* face. *kī·nab* thin, that is, narrow. *l'edâ·re* because of, that is, because of the bow being narrow. *ōl* it. *tôg* turtle-spear, see 44. *len* for. *täk·la-ke* inconvenience-does.]

49. *kīanchâ· lō·binga bē·dig met en-tô·lat-ke.* The consequence is that in poling the canoe we (frequently) fall. [*kīanchâ·* therefore. *lō·bi-nga* hunting the turtle by poling-(verbal subst.). *bē·dig* while. *met* us. *en-tô·-*

lat-ke cause-fall-does; *tô·lat* is to drop, and is here made causative by prefixing *en*, =makes us fall, see *én-ôt-jē·rke* in 21.]

50. *mō·da ngōl bī·rma-chē·lewa len mīn àrdū·ru ngâ·na yâ·te ititâ·nke yā·ba, mòl·òichik kūkjā·bagike.* If you don't send us by the (incoming) steamer all the things we asked for, we shall be very disappointed. [*mō·da* if. *ngōl* you. *bī·rma-chē·lewa* steamer, see 3. *len* in, postp. *mīn* things, see 23. *àrdū·ru* all. *ngâ·na* v. beg, ask for, *yâ·te* which we asked for, but there is no indication of person or time. *ititâ·nke* send, see 23. *yā·ba* not. *mòl·òichik* we. *kūk-jā·bagi-ke* heart-bad-are see 23, euphonically inserted *i* before *-ke*.]

51. *kâ·rin ñgâ tártī·t yā·ba.* There is no more news to tell you. [*kâ·rin* here. *ñgâ* more. *tártī·t* news. *yā·ba* not.]

52. *med·a ngōll' àrdū·ru tek tártī t bē·ringa igâ·rike.* We are longing to have good accounts of you all. [*med·a* we. *ngōl-la* you. *àrdū·ru* all. *tek* from, postp. *tártī·t* news. *i-gâ·ri-ke* long-for-do, *i* prefix, an abbreviation of *ig*, Nos. 9 and 10.]

53. *ñgâ·kà yūm bā lapâ·re.* But little rain has fallen up to the present time. [*ñgâ·kà* as yet, see 5. *yūm* rain. *bā* little. *la-pâ-re* (euphonic *la*, frequently prefixed to verbs), fall-did.]

54. *kam wai mòl·òichik.* Good-bye. [See 29.]

The above examples shew the mode of thought of the natives, and what most occupies their attention. They are some of the very few expressions of genuine untutored barbarians which we possess. The analytical translation which I have been enabled to give, by the help of Mr. Man (who has very carefully revised the whole), shews not only the meaning of the parts of the words and the method of construction, but the great depth to which Mr. Man has been able to penetrate, entirely from oral instruction, into the genius and vocabulary of the language.

The agglutinative nature of the language tends directly to the detection of basic forms, and Mr. Temple has very acutely pursued this into the theory of roots. He conceives that the roots are all properly monosyllabic, and generally end with a consonant, but that these monosyllables are frequently extended by the addition of a vowel or diphthong, or the same preceded by a consonant, in which the real meaning lies in the first syllable, though it has now been lost, while the expansions serve as modifications. Occasionally the roots are of three syllables. This chapter in Mr. Temple's grammar is one of the longest and most carefully studied, but his materials were too scanty, and, as the vocabulary increased, Mr. Man found it necessary to suggest such multifarious points for reconsideration, that it would be obviously premature to give the lists which Mr. Temple has furnished. It is to be hoped that the fuller vocabulary

(which has now about 6000 entries of the English-Andamanese part only), and the corrected grammar will be published in course of time. They are obviously of great importance to the Indian Government, on account of its penal settlement at Port Blair, and are well worthy of its patronage.

The Andamanese have poetry, and that of a most remarkable kind. Their only musical instrument is a stamping board to keep time, and to this rhythm everything seems to be sacrificed. The words, their order, the prefixes, the suffixes, the postpositions, are all more or less changed, the order of the words suffers, in short the poetical language requires a special study, which is the more difficult to give, as songs are always impromptu, and not, as a rule, sung again after the one occasion for which they were composed, and then only by the composer. Of the music Mr. Man regrets to state that he is unable to give any information, as he is, unfortunately, totally unacquainted with the subject. The following specimen of a song composed by the *jam·bu*, to whom the above letters were addressed, after his liberation from a six months' imprisonment, about 1865, for having shot down a sailor whom he found taking liberties with his wife, was given to Mr. Man by the author.

I. As it was sung.

Solo. *ngò·do kūk l'àrtà·lagī·ka,*
mò·ro el·ma kà igbà·dàla
mò·ro el·mo lē adew·yarà
pò-tòt lāh.

Chorus. *adew·yarà pò-tòt lāh.*

II. Literal Translation of the Poetry.

thou heart sad
sky surface there look-at
sky surface of ripple
bamboo spear.

III. Prose Andamanese Version by Mr. Man.

ngŏl kūk l'àrtâ·lagike
mô·ro el·ma len kâ·to igbâ·dignga bēdig,
mô·ro el·ma lī·a en·yar len igbâ·dignga bēdig
pô-tôg len tāg·imike.

IV. Literal Translation of Prose Version.

thou heart-sad-art
sky-surface to there looking while,
sky-surface of ripple to looking while,
bamboo spear on lean-dost.

V. Free Translation of Prose Version.

thou art sad at heart,
gazing there at the sky's surface,
gazing at the ripple on the sky's surface,
leaning on the bamboo spear.

The rhythm, as read by Mr. Man, was:

–˘ | –˘̄ | –˘ | –˘
–˘ | –˘ | –˘̄ | –˘˘˘
–˘ | –˘ | –˘ | –˘˘˘
– | – | – |

The syllables marked ˘̄ were of medial length. There were two short syllables at the end of the second and third lines. The three long syllables in the fourth line were very long and slow, each filling up a whole measure. Strange as some of the changes and omissions were, this is one of the least altered of the songs in Mr. Temple's grammar. We must suppose the man to be standing before his companions after liberation from prison, gazing sadly at the sky again and resting on his bamboo spear, and then the action would make the words intelligible.

An important question arises as to the durability of the

language. The English have been there for so short a time (only twenty-four years), and the only trustworthy vocabulary, that of Mr. Man, has been made for so much shorter a time, that there is no proper record by which the past can be contrasted with the present state of the language. But there are some names of places in the neighbourhood of Port Blair which cannot be explained. The Andaman names of places are all significant, and this shews that some words have entirely dropped out of use, or have become unrecognisably modified since such places were named. There will also be found in the examples I have given many evidently compound words of whose parts Mr. Man had not succeeded in obtaining any explanation. This therefore leads us to suppose that the words may alter rapidly, while the constructions may remain. The difference of words and sameness of construction in the various Andaman tribes might be accounted for on the principle of independent development, owing to little intercourse, during many hundreds of years. The ease with which young *.wō·i*, an *.ôko-jū·waida*, or native of South Middle Andaman, learned the South Andaman language, may be mainly explained by the similarity of construction. It is not so much the words of a foreign language which puzzle us, as the native method of putting those words together, for this depends upon an original divergence in the lines of thought, which soon become impossible to reconcile. When, therefore, the construction remains the same, the shifting from one set of words to another is comparatively easy. At the same time, this example may serve to shew with what ease any one of these languages may change its words. If Messrs. Man and Temple succeed in getting their vocabulary and grammar of the South Andaman tongue officially recognised, and books come to be printed in accordance with them, and used in the Andaman Homes, and finally over all those parts of the South Andaman and Rutland Islands which are in the occupation of the *.bō·jīngī·jida* (isolated parts of these islands are in the possession of the *,jär·awada*, who own Little Andaman, the Sentinels, and small intermediate islands), and the people themselves do not die out

(as is unfortunately quite possible, for the deaths much exceed the births, and the 1500 South Andamanese that are estimated to have been there when we took possession of the islands in 1858 have dwindled down in 24 years to less than 500), then the change of the language may be arrested, a literary or book language may be acknowledged as that used at Port Blair, and the speech of the other islanders recognised as provincial. Even if the present South Andamanese died out, the language would remain that of government, and be adopted by the natives of other islands who naturally come to Port Blair. In the mean time, thanks to the two gentlemen whose papers I have been entrusted with, a very fair notion of this language as it now exists can be formed, and its position in the whole family of human speech, as laid down by Mr. Temple in the observations with which I began, can be duly appreciated by philologists. Even if the language became extinct before the end of the present century, the researches of Messrs. Man and Temple, as preserved in their manuscripts, would retain their philological value. Exceptional opportunities, well utilised, have resulted in a thorough, practical, and trustworthy exposition of a remarkable agglutinative language, as yet almost entirely free from external influences. The excellent memoirs on the people, their habits and customs, which Mr. Man has read before the Anthropological Institute, and are published in its Transactions, complete one of the most satisfactory accounts of an uncivilised tribe which we possess. I beg in conclusion to tender the thanks of the Philological Society to Messrs. Man and Temple, and especially to Mr. Man, without whose presence in England and unstinting personal explanations the present report could not have been drawn up.

Notice by the President of Prof. B. Jülg's Report on the Present State of Mongolian Researches.

Prof. B. Jülg, of Innsbruck, kindly undertook to prepare a report on Mongolian for Dr. Murray's first Presidential Address, three years ago, but it was not ready in time,

even for his second address, and was not in fact completed till last summer.[1] And then, by a curious miscarriage, of which Professor Jülg, according to his correspondence with me, was not aware, and at which he was much surprised, it was passed over to the Asiatic Society, and before I could claim it, had been accepted, translated and prepared for press. It has therefore by mutual consent appeared in the *Journal* of that Society, where it will be accessible to any member of our Society who wishes to study the subject. But as it was originally intended for us, it seems best to give the following short account of its contents.[2]

[1] In his first address, 1879, Dr. Murray says: "We confidently expected a report from Professor Teza, of Pisa, on Manchu, and until a few days ago one from Professor Jülg, of Innsbruck, on Mongolian."—*Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1877-8-9, Part III. p. 586. In his second address, 1880, he had to say, alluding especially to the two above-mentioned reports: "Several contributions, long promised for the present occasion, the failure of which has been a disappointment to me, will, I hope, be ready by next year."—*Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1880-1, p. 118.

[2] Prof. Jülg's paper, as printed, begins with the following words, addressed to Robert N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Sec. R.A.S.: "My dear Sir,—In reply to your request that I would send a brief account of the present state of Mongolian Researches, I have great pleasure in forwarding to you, *for publication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, the following notes, etc." As this is apparently in direct opposition to what I have said in the text, and was indeed appealed to when I read my address as disposing of my assertion, I consider it necessary to quote the words of Prof. Jülg's letter to me, which will show that the passage italicised above must have been inserted after the arrangement mentioned in the text had been concluded, in which case of course it became perfectly correct. But the point is the original destination of the report. I had previously written to Prof. Jülg, asking if his paper was ready, and he replied on 23 Nov. 1881, that Mr. Cust (through whose instrumentality Prof. Jülg had been induced to undertake what, on account of his numerous engagements, proved to be the very laborious task of writing this report) had acknowledged its receipt, and had said he had passed it on to Dr. Rost, an old friend of Prof. Jülg's; hence. Prof. Jülg referred me to these gentlemen. I wrote to Mr. Vaux, the paid secretary of the R.A.S., and learned from him that the paper had come from Dr. Rost to the Asiatic Society, and had been already accepted and translated, in ignorance, so far as the Council and Mr. Vaux were concerned, that it had been meant for any other Society. But this fact was, of course, known to Mr. Cust, who had previously frequently written to Dr. Murray about it, and on 19 Nov. 1881, after I had written to Prof. Jülg, but before I received his reply, wrote to me: "Dr. Jülg sent me his long promised report on Mongolian in the summer in German, and I, thinking that the Philological Society had no occasion for it, made it over to the Royal Asiatic Society. It has *not* been utilised, and you can have it still, if you wish; please decide at once, as it is a very valuable paper." Mr. Cust had been absent from England, and did not know exactly what had been done, but he wrote and told me in part on 23 Nov. 1881, and Mr. Vaux told me all about it on 24 Nov. 1881. I wrote the particulars to Prof. Jülg, and said that in that case I thought it best to assent to the appearance of the

Prof. Jülg first describes the boundaries of the Mongol region, occupying most of Asia, and gives a list of the works, ancient and modern, which record the history of the Mongol empire, and describe the country and the people, with their habits and customs, and their religious, political, and literary development. Then dividing the whole Mongol tribe into three branches, 1. East Mongols; 2. West Mongols (Kalmuck, Oelöd); and 3. Buriats, Professor Jülg describes the people, always giving the titles of the works on which he relies, and proceeds to consider their respective languages, which are in close connection with each other in roots, inflections, and grammatical structure, so much so, that he who understands one, may be said to understand all. The chief phonetical characteristic consists in the harmony of vowels, which are divided into hard *a*, *o*, *u*, and soft *e*, *ö*, *ü*, between which stands *i*. The vowel of the first syllable determines the class of the rest, and the consonants preceding the vowels are also affected by them. The languages all use postpositions, which serve as inflections of the noun (just as in the South Andaman language considered above).

In East Mongolian, or Mongolian proper, the writing is a complicated syllabary, arranged vertically from top to bottom, the columns proceeding from left to right. It is extremely imperfect. Thus there are no means of distinguishing *a* and

report in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. He replied as follows on 4 Dec. 1881 (I give the original first and the translation afterwards): "Ihr lieber Brief vom 28 Nov. hat mir abermals eine Ueberraschung bereitet. Von all dem was Sie mir mittheilen, habe ich auch nicht die geringste Ahnung gehabt, kein Mensch, weder Hr. Cust noch Hr. Rost hat mir auch eine Silbe darüber mitgetheilt. Ich danke Ihnen von ganzem Herzen für Ihre Güte. Aber ich bedaure sehr wenn die Abhandlung nicht in den Proceedings der Philological Society erscheint, für die ich sie doch in gutem Glauben mit vieler Mühe zusamgestellt habe. Habent sua fata libelli! Natürlich kann ich nichts dagegen thun wenn die Abhandlung in den Transactions der K. Asiatischen Gesellschaft erscheinen soll. Wenn *Sie* damit einverstanden sind, so muss auch *ich* es sein." (*Translation*: "Your kind letter of the 28 Nov. has given me a new surprise. I had not the slightest suspicion of all that you tell me, no one, neither Mr. Cust nor Mr. Rost, told me a syllable about it. I thank you with all my heart for your kindness. But I am very sorry that the paper will not appear in the Proceedings of the Philological Society, for which nevertheless (*doch*) I composed it in good faith and with much trouble. *Habent sua fata libelli!* Of course I can do nothing against the paper's appearing in the Transactions of the R. Asiatic Society. If *you* are satisfied with it, *I* must be so too.")

u, *ö* and *ü*, *g* and *k*, *d* and *t*, *j* and *s* (*ds*); while *a* and *e*, *o* (*u*) and *ö* (*ü*), *a* (*e*) and *n*, *g* and *ch*, *t* (*d*) and *ou* are liable to be mistaken for each other. But in 1648 the Saja Pandita composed a new alphabet, the Kalmuck, in which these ambiguities are avoided, the angular clumsy shapes rounded off (although the graphic differences are but small), and every sound has its distinct symbol, any two of which it is difficult to confuse with each other. Professor Jülg therefore lays it down as an axiom that Kalmuck is the key of Mongolian, and should form the foundation of all Mongolian studies. The Buriatic follows the East Mongolian.

A clear distinction exists between book language and colloquial. All grammars and dictionaries treat of the literary form, except A. Pozdnjejew's *Obraztsy*, etc., or "Specimens of the Popular Literature of the Mongolian Tribes," St. Petersburgh, 1880, in which the conversational language was first reduced to writing. The literature consists mostly of translations from the Tibetan, which is even yet the language of the learned, and as the Tibetan literature is itself principally translated from the Sanscrit, we thus became acquainted with Indian Buddhistic literature, of which the originals have been lost, as is the case, for example, with the tales of the *Siddhi-Kür*.

Prof. Jülg then gives a long list of the grammars, dictionaries, and texts published in each of the three divisions, several of which are due to himself, especially, for Kalmuck, his "Tales of the *Siddhi-Kür*; with Kalmuck text, German translation, and Kalmuck-German dictionary to the same," Leipzig, 1866. Good translations of the Bible have been published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

From its very full list of works bearing on the subject, Prof. Jülg's report is of great importance to all intending students of Mongolian, and although we have accidentally been unable to print the whole report in this address, we cannot feel less grateful to Prof. Jülg, who freely gave us, in intention, his best work on this interesting subject.

In my Address for 1874 I had the pleasure of reading you a brief report by the Rev. Prof. Sayce upon Assyrian Philology. But as great progress has been made since that time, I am much gratified in being able to lay before you the following excellent report by one whose knowledge of the subject is at once so accurate and so extensive, and I am sure you will all feel deeply indebted to the learned Reporter for the great trouble he has taken to render it complete.

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF CUNEIFORM RESEARCH, BY THEO. G. PINCHES, ESQ., OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

"A description of the progress made in Cuneiform research, that is to say, the languages of the Babylonian and Assyrian Wedge-writing, during the last few years, is no easy task. The subject has become so wide, difficulties, instead of lessening, have increased, and it is now certain that there were, in ancient times, no less than fourteen languages in which the Wedge-writing was used. (See the list on p. 92.)

"The progress, however, which has been made since the year 1874 is very great, if we keep in mind the fact that, up to that time, only three of those fourteen tongues, namely, Persian, Median, and Assyrian, had been studied with anything like thoroughness, the object being then to try to make out what the Assyrian records had to tell with the help of Hebrew, Arabic, and the other cognate languages—a method which, when we come to consider it, was but an unsatisfactory one at the best, but which served admirably in the beginnings of the study. It was left for the German Assyriologists, Professors Schrader and Friedrich Delitzsch, to inaugurate a new and perfectly scientific method of translating the records which the Assyrian and Babylonian empires had left for the information of the world.

"Students of the Assyrian and Akkadian languages enlarge constantly, and with great justice, on the difficulties of their special branch of study, the uncertainties of the readings of words, and the seeming inconsistencies of the method of

those ancient scribes; but they do not consider that, if it had not been for these very difficulties, almost all but the Historical inscriptions would have been a sealed book for us. The difficulties which the Babylonians and Assyrians themselves felt in using their own cumbersome way of writing, caused them to draw up those syllabaries and bilingual lists without which much of the full value of the inscriptions would have been lost to us. Had this fact been well kept in mind, there would have been no need for such criticisms as Gutschmid's 'Assyriologie in Deutschland,' or for such a polemic work as Haupt's 'Sumerische Familiengesetze.' Yet our thanks are due to these writers for pointing out to Assyriologists the weaknesses and unscientificnesses of their system, and so enabling them to remedy these defects.

"The reform came, as above remarked, from Germany, and was brought in by Prof. Fried. Delitzsch. He it was who first used to the fullest extent those bilingual tablets which the Assyrians and Babylonians wrote in such number. Parallel passages and synonyms were thus easily noted, variant readings could be found also with greater ease. The application of the keys thus obtained to the one-tongue texts gave most excellent and interesting results. In some cases, however, philology has been carried too far, and allowed to override archæological facts, and the result of this too great devotion to science has not always been satisfactory.

"The French system, represented by the many pupils whom Prof. Oppert in Paris has trained, has brought forth also good results, but they are, it must be allowed, far behind the German system. This, however, has not been from want of either talent or enthusiasm, but from want of that rigorous scientific exactness so needful in such a difficult study.

"The system in use in England has been, perhaps, the most unsatisfactory of all. Far too unflinchingly have the English Assyriologists kept to the old methods, so that, notwithstanding that the talent was of the best and most brilliant kind, the results have been very far from what could have been wished. The old and uncertain system of comparison with the cognate languages is, even now, in full force, and

the insufficient nature of such aids can not but be recognized by all familiar with the science of philology, for one might as well try to read an English book by comparing the words, both the Romance and the true English, with words of similar sound in the other Teutonic languages.

"In spite, however, of the defects of the systems of both the old and the new school, the results have been most satisfactory, and continued excavations in Babylonia and Assyria have brought to light treasures to add zest to the labours of students. The excavations recommenced in 1873, at Nineveh, soon after the first publication of Mr. Smith's 'Chaldean Account of the Deluge,' by that scholar, under the direction of the proprietors of the 'Daily Telegraph,' aroused a new interest in the study. The next year, the excavations were continued under the direction of the Trustees of the British Museum, with equal success. The results of the excavations were the publication, in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology,[1] of most interesting articles, by Mr. Geo. Smith, upon the subject of the Flood, as told by the tablets from Nineveh. Mr. Fox Talbot, also, published[2] a commentary on the same text, which, though filled with somewhat fanciful etymologies, nevertheless contained a few good things. Some new bilingual lists, discovered by Mr. Geo. Smith, were also published, with a commentary, by the same author.[3] An important chronological paper, entitled 'A portion of a tablet from which the Canon of Berosus was copied,' was also published by Mr. Geo. Smith in the above-mentioned work.[4]

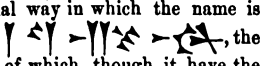
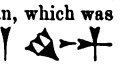
"Before his departure on his third and last journey to Assyria, which proved so fatal to him, Mr. Smith published the results of his researches in the ancient and most interesting legends of Ancient Babylonia, in a work entitled 'The Chaldean Genesis,' a work which gave, in a rough though fair translation, the contents of all the tablets referring to the Creation, the so-called fall of man, and the war between the gods and Bišbiš-tiamtu 'the monster of the sea,' which

[1] Vol. iii. p. 530.
[2] 'Transactions,' vol. iv. p. 49.
[3] 'Transactions,' vol. iii. p. 496.
[4] 'Transactions,' vol. iii. p. 361.

is supposed to typify the Waterchaos.[1] To this was also added the legends of Izdubar,[2] an ancient hero whom Mr. Smith identified with Nimrod. It is in the account of the wanderings and adventures of this prince that the story of the flood occurs, in the form of a narrative told by Ûm-napištim[3] to the Babylonian hero. This legend is, in every respect, a most poetical and interesting composition, and affords material both to the philologist and the historian. So great was the popularity of the book, that a German edition, translated by Hermann Delitzsch, with notes by his brother, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, was published soon after.[4] Four other works, also by Mr. Geo. Smith, may be noticed. These are his 'Assyrian Discoveries,'[5] containing a record of travel as well as translations of all the most interesting and important texts; the history of Assyria, from the earliest times to the fall of Nineveh[6]—a thoroughly useful book, indispensable to students; the history of Babylonia,[7] a book which, though somewhat out of date and needing revision, nevertheless contains a large amount of most useful information; and the history of Sennacherib,[8] upon the same plan as the 'History of Assurbanipal,' published in 1871. The two last-named works, the 'History

[1] "The Chaldean Account of Genesis, etc." By George Smith. London, Sampson Low and Co., 1876.

[2] The more correct Akkadian reading would be Giṣṭubar (or Giṣdubar).

[3] Read by Mr. Smith first Sisit, then Adra-ḫaṣiṣ, and lately, by Prof. Delitzsch Pir-napištim "the offspring of life." None of these renderings are, however, to my mind satisfactory. The most usual way in which the name is given is:  , the first sign of which, though it have the value of *pir*, can hardly be the word for "offspring" in Assyrian, which was more usually written  *pir-'* (*pir-'u*). means, when taken ideographically, both "the sun," the Sungod, and "day." As, however, to express the name of the sun, or the Sungod, it should have the prefix of divinity , the most probable pronunciation and rendering are Ûm-napištim, "day of life."

[4] George Smith's Chaldäische Genesis. Keilinschriftliche Berichte, etc., etc. Leipzig, 1876.

[5] Assyrian Discoveries, an account of explorations, etc., during 1873 and 1874, by Geo. Smith. Sampson Low and Co., 1875.

[6] Ancient History from the Monuments. Assyria, by Geo. Smith. Fcp. 8vo. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1876.

[7] Ancient History from the Monuments Babylonia, by Geo. Smith. Edited by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, 1877. Uniform with the above.

[8] "The History of Sennacherib," translated from the cuneiform inscriptions. Edited by the Rev. A. H. Sayce. London, Williams and Norgate, 1878.

of Babylonia,' and the 'History of Sennacherib,' were published after Mr. Smith's death in 1876, under the able editorship of Prof. Sayce. There has also been published, under the direction of the Trustees of the British Museum, and edited by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, the fourth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,[1] containing principally bilingual tablets and texts (in Assyrian), referring to magic, incantations, etc., and the first instalment of the fifth volume[2] (35 plates), containing historical texts and bilingual lists. Besides the above works, Sir H. C. Rawlinson has found time, notwithstanding his many diplomatic occupations, to write several articles, of which his translation of the cylinder of Cyrus, and his remarks upon the antiquities found at Bahrein are worthy of notice.[3]

"Among the productions of the pen of Prof. Sayce may be mentioned the two editions of his 'Assyrian Grammar,'[4] a book which has now become rather out of date; a most interesting article upon 'Babylonian Augury by means of Geometrical Figures,'[5] in which are published for the first time the contents of some very curious tablets in the British Museum; a translation of a tablet brought from Assyria by Geo. Smith, entitled, 'Ancient Babylonian Moral and Political Precepts.'[6] A paper, read before this Society, upon Accadian Phonology;[7] another, upon 'The Tenses of the Assyrian Verb,'[8] and a most interesting and valuable book, written in popular style, upon Babylonian Literature[9] —a work that can be thoroughly recommended to all who wish to get a general idea of the interesting contents of the

[1] The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia. Prepared by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, assisted by G. Smith. 1875. Folio.

[2] A Selection of the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria. Prepared by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, assisted by Theo. G. Pinches. 1880. Folio.

[3] Journal of Roy. Asiatic Society, vol. xii. pp. 70 and 201.

[4] An elementary grammar, etc., of the Assyrian language, by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A. (Originally Bagsters, now) Trübner, 1875, a 2nd edition has since been published.

[5] Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæol. vol. iv.

[6] Records of the Past, vol. vii.

[7] Trans. Philol. Soc. 1877-79, pt. 1.

[8] Journal of the R. Asiatic Society, London, vol. ix. pt. 1.

[9] Babylonian Literature. Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution. 8vo. London, Bagsters, 1877.

treasures of the Mesopotamian libraries. Of this book a translation was published in Germany in 1878.[1] A new edition of Geo. Smith's Chaldean Genesis, edited by Prof. Sayce, appeared also last year. Although it hardly belongs to cuneiform research, yet it would be well, perhaps, to mention here the most valuable papers contributed by Prof. Sayce upon the Hittite Inscriptions, entitled, 'The Monuments of the Hittites,'[2] and 'The Bilingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondêmos.'[3] The Rev. J. Dunbar Heath, who has studied these texts for many years, believes them to be written in a language closely allied to the Chaldee, and he has reasoned out, with a view to proving this, the values of several characters, by means of which he gives a rendering of these texts.

"Returning, however, to English Assyriology. The next important writings of which we have to speak are those of the Rev. W. Houghton, who has taken up the natural history of the Assyrian inscriptions as his special study. One paper, upon the mammalia of the Assyrian sculptures,[4] has appeared, and in a future paper it is his intention to treat of the birds. An interesting paper, upon 'The Hieroglyphic or Picture Origin of the Characters of the Assyrian Syllabary,'[5] by the same author, has also been published.

"From the pen of Mr. G. Bertin has appeared a paper in which the Assyrian numerals are explained, and their forms compared with those of the other Semitic languages. Mr. E. A. Budge has published 'Assyrian Incantations to Fire and Water,'[6] 'The Nebbi-Yunus inscription of Sennacherib,'[7] 'A newly-discovered text of Assur-natsir-pal,'[8] and two works, entitled, 'Assyrian Texts,'[9] and 'The History of Esarhaddon,'[10] the latter being upon the model of Geo. Smith's 'Assur-

[1] Babylonische Literatur. Leipzig, O. Schulze.

[2] Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archæol. vol. vii. pt. 2.

[3] The same.

[4] Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæol. vol. v. pt. 1.

[5] Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol. vol. v. pt. 2.

[6] Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol. vol. vi. pt. 2, and Records of the Past, vol. xi.

[7] Records of the Past, vol. xi.

[8] Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch. vol. vii. pt. 1.

[9] Assyrian Texts. Selected and Arranged, with Philological Notes. London, Trübner.

[10] The History of Esarhaddon (son

banipal' and 'Sennacherib.' The following papers have also been published: 'Notes upon Babylonian Contract Tablets and the Canon of Ptolemy,'[1] in which the author of the present report gave the results of his examination of these important texts, with special reference to one dated in the eleventh year of Cambyses; 'On a Tablet relating to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and the events which preceded and led to it,'[2]—a historical study of a most interesting tablet, giving the annals of the latter years of Nabonidus; 'The Bronze Gates discovered by Mr. Rassam at Balawat,'[2] in which the form of these monuments is fully described and illustrated, and a rather important philological communication 'Upon the consonants Š, R and L in Assyrian,'[3] where the hitherto puzzling change of *š* into *l* before a dental is fully explained, and examples given. Précis of forthcoming papers have also been given (notably upon 'A new list of Babylonian kings,' 'Remarks upon the Recent Discoveries of Mr. Rassam at Aboo-habba'[4]), and two short articles have been published upon certain tablets found in Cappadocia,[5] having a rather important bearing upon the language and geography of the East in ancient times. By the Society of Biblical Archæology two works are now in the course of publication,[6] namely, 'The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates at Balawat,' a splendid series of autotypes containing representations of the expedition of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser II., and a small work intended to assist students in acquiring a knowledge of the style of writing in use in ancient times in Babylonia.[7] M. de Lacouperie, the well-known Chinese scholar, has made some interesting researches,

of Sennacherib), King of Assyria, B.C. 681-668. Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions, etc., etc. London, Trübner. Both the "Assyrian Texts" and the "History of Sennacherib" have been very severely criticized by the reviewers.

[1] Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol. vol. vi. pt. 2.

[2] Both in Trans. vol. vii. pt. 1.

[3] Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Archæol. April 5th, 1881.

[4] Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæol. Dec. 7th, 1880, Jan. 11th and June 7th, 1881.

[5] Proceedings, Nov. and Dec. 1881.

[6] Four parts have been already issued.

[7] "Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-writing," autographed from the original documents, with a list of characters and their meanings, by Theo. G. Pinches. London, Society of Biblical Archæology, 1882.

which seem to point to a connection between the wedge-writing and the writing in use in early times in the east of Asia.

"Among the French Assyriologists, that busiest of scholars, François Lenormant, takes the first place. This author has published several most interesting works upon the bilingual syllabaries and lists, among which may be mentioned his 'Etude sur quelques parties des syllabaires cunéiformes,' 'Les syllabaires cunéiformes,' etc., and his 'Chaldean Magic'[1]—a most interesting and instructive book. He has also given some exceedingly valuable papers entitled 'Sur la lecture et la signification de l'Idéogramme , et à cette occasion sur quelques noms de maladies en Accadien et en Assyrien,'[2] and 'Les noms de l'airain et du cuivre dans les deux langues des inscriptions cunéiformes de la Chaldée et de l'Assyrie,'[3] and a work[4] in which he has tried to prove the Turanian nature of the Akkadian language.

"By Prof. Oppert have been published new translations of the Annals of Sargon,[5] the Inscriptions of the Persian Monarchs,[6] and, in conjunction with M. Ménant, some translations of Babylonian Public Documents,[7] and a book entitled 'Documents Juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée,'[8] a work upon which, unfortunately, very little praise indeed can be bestowed. From Prof. Oppert's pen have also come several short papers, among which may be noted his 'Revised chronology of the latest Babylonian kings,'[9] several translations of Khorsabad Inscriptions in the Records of the Past,[10] and an article entitled 'L'ambre jaune chez les Assyriens,'[11] in which appear some gratuitously unpleasant translations of certain words in the 6th tablet of the legends of the hero

[1] Chaldean Magic; its origin and development. Translated from the French. 8vo. London, Bagster, 1877.

[2] Transactions Soc. Bibl. Archæol. vol. vi. pt. 1.

[3] The same, pt. 2. Republished separately (Paris, Maisonneuve).

[4] Les principes de comparaison de l'Akkadien et des langues touraniennes. Paris, Maisonneuve.

[5] Records of the Past, vols. vii. and ix.

[6] Records of the Past, vol. ix.

[7] The same.

[8] Paris, Maisonneuve.

[9] Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol. vol. vi. pt. 1.

[10] Vol. xi.

[11] Recueil des Trav. relatifs à la Philologie, ii. 2.

Giṣṭubar. Prof. Oppert has also published a most important little book, in which he exposes the language of the Median Inscriptions,[1] but it is deprived of much of its usefulness by the total absence of references.

"The well-known French Assyriologist, M. J. Ménant, has published several most interesting works upon the hard-stone cylinders, among which may be noted his catalogue of the cylinders of the Museum of the Hague,[2] and his remarks upon the impressions of cylinders on the contract-tablets of the British Museum.[3] Two other works have also been published by this scholar, the one, a small book written in a popular style, gives an account of the ancient library of Nineveh, with translations of texts;[4] and a large work upon the cuneiform writing, the Assyrian grammar, etc.—a book which, if it had a few more references, would be invaluable to the beginner in cuneiform studies.[5] M. Halévy, who has an idea that everything cuneiform is Semitic, has published several books in which he tries to prove this theory—a theory which he holds almost alone. This scholar even goes so far as to doubt the existence of the non-Semitic languages, contending that they are nothing more nor less than cryptographies. His principal works upon the subject are: 'La prétendue langue d'Accad est-elle touranienne?'[6] 'La nouvelle évolution de l'accadisme.'[7] Of other works from this author's pen may also be noticed a paper entitled 'Babylonian Fragments,' in the Records of the Past,[8] in which are translated some texts which are of importance because they seem to bear witness of the Assyrians' and Babylonians' belief in the immortality of the soul (a belief received by them from the Akkadians and Sumerians of old-time); and

[1] Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1879.

[2] Catalogue des cylindres orientaux du cabinet royal des Médailles de la Haye. Haye, impr. de l'Etat, 1879.

[3] Empreintes des cylindres assyro-chaldéens relevées sur les contrats d'intérêt privé du Musée britannique classées et expliquées. Maisonneuve, 1880.

[4] Découvertes assyriennes. La Bibliothèque du palais de Ninive. Paris, Leroux, 1880.

[5] Eléments d'épigraphie assyrienne. Manuel de la langue assyrienne. I. Le Syllabaire. II. La Grammaire. III. Choix de lectures. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1880.

[6] Paris, Leroux, 1876.

[7] Revue de philologie, t. iii.

[8] Vol. xi.

one entitled 'Cyrus et le retour de l'exil,'[1] being a study upon the cylinder of Cyrus, and the unbaked clay tablet, written during the reign of the same king, giving the annals of the reign of Nabonidus and a full account of the taking of Babylon. The question whether the Akkadian and Sumerian languages are cryptographies or not the reader will be in a position to determine for himself, if he read this section to the end. In France has been also published a very well-written and reasoned work upon the important historical text of Sennacherib known as the Bavian Inscription, by M. Pognon,[2] and several articles by M. St. Guyard, principally notes upon the difficult words found in the texts, with philological comparisons,[3] an article upon the Assyrian god Ninip,[4] and another upon the Babylonian religion.[5]

"It is in Germany, however, that the study of Assyriology has made the greatest strides. A cutting critique,[6] by Gutschmid, of Prof. E. Schrader's 'Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,' in which the author criticized that work right and left, brought forth from Prof. Schrader his latest book, entitled 'Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung,'[7] in which were answered, long and exhaustively, most of the historical and geographical questions to which Gutschmid had taken exception. The system of the wedge-writing is there fully discussed, and the means of gaining certainty in doubtful readings shown, many geographical and historical questions are there gone into, and thoroughly and systematically reasoned out, and the conclusions, whether they turn out hereafter to be right or wrong, are always intelligently given. In a smaller work Prof. Schrader gives

[1] Revue des Etudes juives, No. 1.

[2] L'inscription de Bavian, texte, traduction et commentaire philologique, avec trois appendices et un glossaire, par H. Pognon. Paris, Vieweg, 1880.

[3] See the *Journal asiatique*, 1878, Sept.-Oct.; 1879, Mai-Juin; 1880, Jan., Mai-Juin, etc.; Mémoires de Linguistique de Paris, iv. 3; Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philol. etc., égypt.

[4] Le dieu assyrien Ninip. Revue critique d'histoire 1er Mars, 1879.

[5] Bulletin critique de la Religion assyrio-babylonienne. Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Mai-Juin, 1880.

[6] Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Orients. Die Assyriologie in Deutschland, von Alfred von Gutschmid. Leipzig, Teubner, 1876.

[7] Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung, von Eberhard Schrader. Giessen, J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1878.

a geographical discourse upon the names of the seas in the Assyrian inscriptions.[1] In another dissertation he makes a critical study of the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser II.,[2] Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal,[3] principally with a view to determine the correct order of the campaigns, etc., of these kings, and elsewhere he gives a critical examination of the chronological testimony of Polyhistor and Abydenus,[4] comparing these authors with the testimony of the inscriptions. Other historical or geographical papers of this author are 'The Leka of Ramses II. and the land of Laḳî of the Assyrian Inscriptions,'[5] 'The eleventh year of Cambyses,'[6] 'Additional remarks upon the newly-found Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar-inscription,'[7] and, later on, additional remarks upon the tablet dated in the eleventh year of Cambyses.[8] A new and revised edition of Prof. Schrader's Keilinscriften und das Alte Testament' has been for some time in preparation, and it is promised that it shall appear shortly. This book, when revised to date, will be undoubtedly of great value to those who wish to make themselves acquainted with the latest and most interesting results of the study.

"Most important, however, in the study of the Philology, has been the work of a young scholar, Dr. Paul Haupt. Carrying critical research much farther than it had ever been carried before, he undertook, in his most exhaustive study 'Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze,'[9] the translation of a most difficult bilingual text. This work is, in itself, a model of

[1] Die Namen der Meere in den assyrischen Inschriften. Berlin, Dümmler, 1878.

[2] Really the third king of Assyria of that name.

[3] Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglathpileser's II., des Asarhaddon und des Asurbanipal. Berlin, Dümmler, 1880.

[4] Zur Kritik der chronologischen Angaben des Alex. Polyhistor und des Abydenus, von Eberh. Schrader. Leipzig, 1880.

[5] Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache, 1879, i.

[6] Ztschft. f. ägypt. Sprache, i.

[7] The same.

[8] Das elfte Jahr des Kambyses. Nachtrag. Zeitschrift f. ägypt. Sprache, 1880.

[9] Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze, in Keilschrift, Transscription, und Uebersetzung, nebst ausführlichem Commentar und zahlreichen Excursen. Eine Assyriologische Studie von Dr. Paul Haupt. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1879. Only one "law," the 11th and 12th paragraphs of the third column of the tablet, is translated and fully discussed, but it is promised that the rest shall follow.

what a thoroughly critical and scientific work should be, but it contains so many hard and unjustifiable attacks upon the older Assyriologists, that it was far from favourably received by them, and several criticisms appeared which, while admitting the ability with which the work had been done, showed much resentment at the style in which it was written. The principal things there explained are: that the Sumerian (or Akkadian) copula 𒌋𒁹 'and' is to be read *ša*, and not *u*; that the true reading of the sign 𒅈 'silver,' is rather *azag* than *ku*, or *ku-babbar*; the vowel-harmony that exists so extensively in the Sumerian (or Akkadian) language; that the Assyrians never prefixed a *y* to the 3rd person of the imperfect of the verb in the voices taking the prefix *u*; and that the groups 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 and 𒁺𒀀𒀀 are to be read respectively *aa* or *â* and *ia*, instead of *ai* and *ya* as heretofore, and that therefore, instead of there being three forms of the 1st pers. sing. of the possessive pronoun in Assyrian, namely *-ya*, *ai*, and *a*, there was but one, namely *â*, throughout.

"Since the appearance of the above work, several others have been given forth by the same author. These are 'Ueber einen Dialekt der Sumerischen Sprache,'[1] also a popularly-written little book upon the old Flood-story,[2] and the first four parts of his 'Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrift-texte,'[3] the last-named being a most excellent text-book for students, for the texts, though not entirely faultless, are nevertheless much better than any yet published.

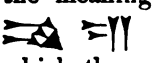
"From the pen of another promising Assyriologist, Dr. Lotz, a pupil of Prof. Fried. Delitzsch, we have a thoroughly scientific translation of some most interesting historical texts, containing the Annals of Tiglathpileser I.,[4] accompanied by

[1] Ueber einen Dialekt der sumerischen Sprache, Göttinger Nachr. 1880. No. 17.

[2] [illegible] keilinschriftliche Sintfluth- [illegible] Babylonische Nim- [illegible] 1881.

[3] [illegible] che Keil- [illegible] nalen im [illegible] Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1881 and 1882.

[4] Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I., in transscribirtem assyrischem Grundtext, mit Uebersetzung und Kommentar, vom Dr. Wilhelm Lotz. Mit Beigaben von Professor Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig, Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1880.

a most excellent commentary, a word-list, alphabetically arranged, a list of proper names, etc. In this book, however, the thorough Germanness of the whole work is unmistakably shown by the too great readiness to criticize the work of others, and some most unwarranted faultfinding with the work of M. Ménant, the French Assyriologist, in the Introduction (p. 10), has a most insufficient apology (if apology it can be called at all) in the Nachträge und Berichtigungen. A noteworthy example of too great readiness to lay down the law with regard to the readings of words is to be found on pp. 147 and 166, where the names of the horse and the elephant in the Assyrian language are discussed. There, it is stated, that the word for horse was not *sûsu*, as had been formerly read, but *murnisḳu*, and this reading, to quote the words of Prof. Delitzsch, whose initials are attached to the note in question: 'cannot be doubted.' To prove to Assyriologists, then, how widely they had wandered, the author goes on to show that the name for 'elephant,' which was on all sides admitted to be doubtful, was neither *baziâlî*[1] nor anything else of that kind, but that same *sûsu* which had formerly been thought to be the name of the horse. About six pages are devoted to this word, and to its etymology. It is explained from the Akkadian *su* 'tooth,' and it is contended that it had the name *sûsu* (lit. 'toothtooth') on account of its having tusks. The whole argument is certainly well reasoned out, but nevertheless the reasoning is wrong, for the name of the horse, in spite of its 'undoubtedness,' is not *murnisḳu*, but *sisû*, and the name for the elephant is not *sûsu*, but *pîru*,[2] of which the plural, *pîrâte*, a feminine form, appears on the Black Obelisk. The fixing of the meaning 'elephant,' however, to the Akkadian group  (lit. *horned* or *toothed bull*), is a gain upon which the author may well be congratulated. The book is, on the whole, carefully and scientifically written, and greatly to be recommended.

[1] Houghton, "The mammalia of the Assyrian inscriptions." Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol. vol. v. pp. 33 and 319.

[2] With this may be compared the Hebrew פִּיל.

"The principal works of Prof. Fried. Delitzsch, whose time is greatly occupied in preparing the lectures which he gives to his students, are the second edition of his Assyrian Chrestomathy[1]—a book which, giving, as it does, a critical edition of all the most important texts needful for the study, as well as several well-selected extracts by way of exercise for students, will always be of great value. The science of Assyriology owes much to this excellent edition of what may be called the ground-texts of the study. His latest work, whose inquiring title, 'Where lay Paradise?'[2] will rouse the curiosity of all Biblical students, is a monument of careful and painstaking study. The book is, however, rather a long disquisition on geography (only about a quarter of the whole being really devoted to the subject to which the book owes its title) than an attempt to settle, once and for all, the question as to the position of Paradise. The author deals with his subject systematically. He begins by determining the full and right meaning of the Old Testament story. He discusses the name of the garden of Eden, its position,—more southwards than northwards,—the rivers by which it was watered, and the streams with which they are now to be identified. The author then goes on to discuss the opinions that have been entertained hitherto—the Paradise in Utopia, the Paradise in Armenia, and the Paradise in South Babylonia. In the first of these three sections is disposed of the question of an Indian Paradise, in the second the northern position is discussed and negatived, and in the third the author seeks to prove that, as the identifications hitherto recognized that the Pison is the Karûn, and the Gihon the Karasu, run directly against the Biblical account, therefore the position of the Paradise in South Babylonia cannot be entertained. He places therefore, in his second section, the position of Paradise in that part of Babylonia called Kar-Duniâš, 'the garden of the god Duniâš.' For this identifi-

[1] Assyrische Lesestücke nach den Originalen, theils revidirt theils zum ersten Male herausgegeben, etc., von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig, Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1878.

[2] Wo lag das Paradies? eine biblisch-assyriologische Studie, etc., von Dr. F. Delitzsch. Leipzig, Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1881.

cation, the Cush of the second chapter of Genesis is the Kaš-da or Kaššû (Kassites or Cossæans) of the inscriptions, the Gihon is the Guḫanna or Araḫtu (the Araxes) of the inscriptions, and the name of the stream Pison the author connects with the Akkadian *pisanna*, a word as yet unfound as a geographical name. This *pisanna*, which went over into Assyrian under the form *pišannu*, is used to designate a water-reed, most likely the papyrus. The author ends by referring to the various Babylonian legends which agree with the Biblical account of the creation, flood, and early history of Babylonia. Little need, however, is there to force such geographical identifications. Prof. Fried. Delitzsch has helped greatly, by his book, the final decisions that students must come to; but new researches have thrown fresh light upon this question, and it is now certain that it is not necessary to identify the Cush of the second chapter of Genesis with the Kassites or Cossæans of the Inscriptions, seeing that Cappadocia, as well as Ethiopia, was of old called Kûsu or Cush by the Babylonians. As to the identification of the Gihon with the so-read Guḫanna or Araḫtu of the inscriptions, that is quite untenable, the real name of the stream (or rather canal) being *Gu-ǵande*, a name meaning 'may he speak,'[1] and not Guḫanna. The derivation of the word Pison is also, of course, equally untenable. The geographical portion of the book is, notwithstanding some identifications now found to be wrong, full of most valuable material, and cannot fail to be of great use to all interested in the subject.

"The works of the two other pupils of Prof. Fried. Delitzsch may also be noticed. These are Dr. Reinhart Hoerning and Dr. F. Hommel. The former has published a very valuable little treatise containing a translation of the annals of Sennacherib,[2] and the latter, a scholar well known by his book entitled 'Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den Südsemiten,'

[1] Compare also the name of the well-known river called in the inscriptions *Libil-ǵigal* "may it (the river) bring fertility." The Babylonians often gave names of this kind to the rivers of the land.

[2] Das sechsseitige Prisma des Sanherib in transscribirtem Grundtext und Uebersetzung, etc. Leipzig, 1878.

has published several papers and small works, among which may be mentioned his disquisition upon the sibilants in Assyrian,[1] and his parallel list of events of Babylonian, Assyrian, and Israelitish history.[2]

"In Denmark the principal book published is the work of Valdemar Schmidt, entitled: 'The Ancient History of Assyria and Egypt.'[3] The author gives a full and very complete view of what we have gained from the study of the monuments of these two nations, with regard to their history, literature, etc., together with the geography of these countries, accompanied by copious references, and a most useful map.

Philological Progress.

"The progress that has been made during the last few years in this branch of the study has been most gratifying. Not only has much light been thrown upon the Assyrian and Akkadian languages themselves, but new dialects and even new languages have been discovered, raising the total number, as before stated, to about fourteen. I give here a list of the names of these dialects and languages, including those of which I have only been able, as yet, to find traces:

Assyrian or Babylonian.	Suǧite or Suḫite.
Akkadian.	Lulubite (or Lullubite).
Sumerian.	Vanite.
Kassite.	Cappadocian.
Marite.	Median.
Nimite (or Elamite).	Persian.
Suïte.	Scythian.

No coherent texts, however, of any of the new dialects of Akkadian have been found, except in the case of Sumerian, but two texts are known in the old Cappadocian language.[4]

[1] Zwei Jagdinschriften Assurbanibal's, nebst einem Excurs über die Zischlaute im Assyrischen, wie im Semitischen überhaupt. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1879.

[2] Abriss der babylonisch-assyrischen und israelitischen Geschichte von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Zerstörung Babel's, in Tabellenform. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1880.

[3] Assyriens og Ægyptens gamle Historie, eller historisk-geographiske Undersøgelser om det gamle Testamentes Lande og Folk. Kjøbenhaven, 1872 and 1877.

[4] Proc.Soc.Bibl.Arch.Nov.Dec.1881.

"The discovery that Sumerian was only a dialect of the Akkadian tongue was effected by means of the trilingual lists furnished by the Assyrian scribes, which show in parallel columns the peculiarities [1] of each tongue, and the vocal and consonantal change-laws. The most noteworthy are the following:

"initial *g* in Akkadian becoming *d* in Sumerian, as: *guba* 'to fix,' Sum. *duba*; *agar* 'inclosure,' Sum. *adar*;

"initial *g* in Akkadian becoming *m* in Sumerian, as: *gara* 'to make,' Sum. *mara*; *gala* 'to be,' Sum. *mala*; *égar* (or *engar* 'roof,' Sum. *âmar*;

"final *g* in Akkadian becoming *b* in Sumerian, as: *duga* 'to be good,' Sum. *ṣiba*; *šaga* 'heart,' Sum. *šaba*;

"*d* in Akkadian becoming *ṣ* (or *z*) in Sumerian, as: *duga* 'to be good,' Sum. *ṣiba*; *dima* 'to make,' Sum. *ṣim*;

"*š* in Akkadian becoming *n* in Sumerian, as: *nirgal* 'ruler,' Sum. *šermal*; *anir* 'servant,' Sum. *ašer*, and many others of the same kind.

"The values of several characters (notably those containing the consonant *g*) supply us with the key to these changes, so that we find given, for example, to the character the values *gur*, *ġur* (or *ḫur*), *mur*, and *ur*, in which the progressive weakening and, in the end, the complete falling away of the original hard *g*, through *ġ* or *ḫ* (=German *ch*) and *m* (=English *w*) to the simple *u* is easily traced. We sometimes meet, however, with changes that are more difficult to understand, as, for instance, those of the character , which has the values of *giš*, *šuš*, *muš* (=*wuš*), and *uš*. The *g*, however, was probably palatal, hence its change to *š* (=Eng. *sh*, compare the different pronunciations of the German words *ich*, *euch*, etc.). In other mouths, however, instead of becoming *š*, it passed through the same changes as the word *gur*, given above, to *m* (=*w*), and ultimately fell away altogether. The polyphony of the characters, as used by the Assyrians, arises, in some measure, from these dialectic

changes, the values being taken by the Babylonians and Assyrians almost indiscriminately from the two dialects, Akkadian and Sumerian.

"As such a subject as the dialects of the Akkadian language is quite new to the members of the Philological Society, it may be of interest to give here specimens of these dialects, with short remarks thereon. The following extracts will give a slight idea of the nature of the language, and the remarks will show something of the difficulties which the student has to contend with—difficulties, however, which might not exist at all if we had complete texts to study, instead of the mere shards of which the greater part of them too often consists.

"*Example of the Akkadian Language.*

"1. *Ên*: *Aš ǵula galla-ḳime lu-ra*
Incantation: A curse evil demonlike upon a man *baningar*,
is fixed,

"2. *nig-me-gar labba-kit muǵâ-na garra*
what a voice makes of evil over him is fixed,

"3. *nig-me-gar nu duga muǵâ-na garra*
what a voice makes not good over him is fixed.

"4. *Aš ǵula sag-ba saga-giggam*
The curse evil (is) the disease of head-sickness (*i.e.* madness).

"5. (*lu*) *gišgallu-bi aš ǵula lu-ḳime šumma*
That man the curse evil lamblike slaughters.

"6. *dingirâni suâna badu*
his god from his body has departed

"7. *ama-Ninâni ša-kuša*[1] *maša-šu badagub*
his goddess consoling by (his) side sits down

[1] Lit. "heart-resting."

"8. *nig-me-gara* *gi-ḳime* *bandul*
what a voice makes garmentlike covers him (and)
guša-anšaša.[1]
clings (to him).

"Incantation: 'An evil curse, like a demon, has fixed upon a man, a voice of evil has fixed upon him, a voice which is not good has fixed upon him. The evil curse is the disease of madness. The evil curse slaughters that man like a lamb, his god is departed from his body, his consoling goddess sits down by his side,[2] the evil voice covers him like a garment and clings to him.'

"*Example of the Sumerian Language.*

"1. (*dimmer*) *Mu-ṣibba-nâ* *â-zu-ta* *â*
Nebo, with thy power a power
nu-mundadi
is not equal

"2. *É-zu*	*É-zida*	*ê*	*nu-mundadi*
(with) thy house,	É-zida,	a house	is not equal
"3. *Uru-zu*	*Bad-siaba(ki)*	*uru*	*nu-mundadi*
(with) thy city,	Borsippa,	a city	is not equal
"4. *Aša-zu*	*Tintir(ki)ta*	*aša*	*nu-mundadi*
with thy field,	Babylon,	a field	is not equal

"5. . . . . .

"6. *duga-zu* *ana-dim* *nu-kurruda* *ana*
thy command, heavenlike, not it changes (in) heaven
zae maǵmen.[3]
thou supreme art.

[1] The Assyrian version of the above is as follows: Ârrat limuttim kima gallē ana niši ittaškan, ḳûlu kûru êli-šu ittaškan, ḳûlu lâ ṭâbu êli-šu ittaškan. Ârrat limuttim mâmît ṭi'u. Amelu šuatum ârrat limuttim kima îmmēri iṭbuḫ-šu, îli-šu ina zumri-šu ittesî, ištar-šu muštaltum ina âḫāti ittaziz, ḳûlu kûru kima ṣubâtim iktum-šu-ma itanâšaš-šu.

[2] Instead of being within him.

[3] The Assyrian is as follows: Nabû, itti êmuḳi-ka êmuḳu ûl išannan; itti bîti-ka, Ê-zida, bîtu ûl išannan; itti âli-ka, Bar-sip(ki), âlu ûl išannan; itti êḳli-ka, Bâbîlim, êḳlu ûl išannan; . . . . . kibît-ka, kima šamê, ûl uttakkar, ina šamê attam ṣîrat!

"'Nebo, no power is equal to thy power; no house is equal to Ê-zida, thy house; no city is equal to Borsippa, thy city; no land is equal to Babylon, thy land. . . . . thy command, heavenlike, changes not, in heaven thou art supreme!'

"The dialectic peculiarities of the latter example are as follows:—

"The use, in the first line, of the form *ṣibba* or *ṣiba* for the Akkadian *duga* 'good'[1] (see line three of the Akkadian extract); the peculiar spelling, *Badsiaba* for the Akkadian form Bar-siba (Borsippa) in the third line; and *dim* for *ḳime* (or *gim*) 'like,' in the sixth line. In the third line also it would be better, perhaps, to read *eri*,[2] as the Sumerian form of the word for 'city' than *uru*. The other peculiarities of this example are more of grammatical forms than of change of letters. The real differences of grammar, however, are hard to detect, on account of our ignorance of these languages. It will be seen, nevertheless, that the particle *-ta* 'with,' is here left out in two of the lines, but in Akkadian it would have been, most likely, repeated every time. To the root *kur* 'to change' is added, instead of a prefix, which the Akkadian dialect preferred, the suffix *-da*, which is here evidently the pronoun. *Da* as a prefix enters into the composition of the word *mun-da-di*, where we have *mun*, evidently another form of *men* 'to be' (compare *maǧ-men* in line 6), here used, however, with a pronominal force, the inserted pronoun *da*, and the verbal root *di* 'to rival.'

"One of the principal difficulties of these early Mesopotamian languages is the verb. Not only could it be expressed by the simple root (as *gara* 'to make' in lines 2 and 3 of the Akkadian example, given above), but to it might be added a whole row of prefixes, expressing the persons (both subject and object), or the passive, causative, or intensive idea. These prefixes generally express the subject and the object, the former being inserted, as a rule,

[1] In this case it forms part of the name of the god Nebo in Sumerian.

[2] Or *meri*, (see the list of sound-changes above, p. 93). The full Akkadian form of the word was *guru*.

between the object and the root, as, for instance, in the word *inlâ*, which means: 'he weighed,' the form with a direct object being *innanlâ* (for *inna-inlâ*) 'he weighed it.' So also *muezu* or *ingaezu* is 'thou knowest it,' literally 'it thou knowest'; *immungama* (*immu-in-gama*) 'he has bowed down before me' (lit. 'me he has bowed down to'); the subject being, in all these examples, between the direct object and the verb. The above, however, show only some of the simpler forms, for we meet, in many cases, with verbal roots having at the beginning long clusters of prefixes[1] whose precise meaning it is at present impossible to determine.

"Of the other dialects very little is at present known, but some examples of the Kassite language, preserved in a few names of kings, will give materials for comparison. From these we learn that the Akkadian for 'man,' *lu*, in Sumerian *mulu*, was in Kassite *meli*, a form from which, evidently, the Semitic Babylonian word *amelu* 'man,' with which we are familiar in the well-known name Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodach) 'Man (or servant) of the god Marduk,' came. Also the name of the goddess Gula, which is another form of the Akkadian *gala* 'great,' appears in Kassite as *Ǵali* (read *Khali*), where we have an interesting example of the softening of the initial *g*. Of other comparisons there are very few, but a connexion may be traced between the Kassite *gira* and the Akkadian *kara* (both rendered, in Assyrian, by *êdîru*), and between the Kassite (*dur*) and the Sumerian (*dun*) 'shepherd,' 'prince,' and a few other words.

"Of great importance for the determining of the nature of the ancient languages of Chaldea, Akkadian and Sumerian, is the question as to what was the original seat of these peoples. The opinion hitherto entertained by scholars is that the Akkadians and Sumerians of the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions came from the eastern highlands, Elam

[1] A good example are the words *zae-šinga-menne*, the meaning of which is simply "thou art." The meaning of the words *zae* and *menne* is clear enough, but why an *š* is prefixed to the incorporated object *inga* cannot, at present, be explained.

and Media. Recent discoveries, however, point rather to the region around Cappadocia as their first home.

"The reason for supposing that the neighbourhood of Elam was the original dwelling-place of the ancient Akkadians was founded upon the fact that the monogram for the word 'horse' is [illegible] in that language. This group Assyriologists translated as 'animal ([illegible]) of the east ([illegible]),' and with it was connected the Arabic word فَرَسٌ 'horse,' which was compared with the proper name فَارِسٌ 'Persia,' and explained as 'the Persian animal.' This explanation, however, must be admitted as rather forced, for it by no means follows that, because the Arabic name for 'horse' and the Arabic form of the word 'Persia' contain the same radical letters, that therefore the horse came from Persia. The explanation of the Akkadian compound, also, is hardly satisfactory, for the word for 'east' in that language is always written with the sign [illegible] 'wind' as a prefix. The word for 'horse' therefore means literally 'the animal of the country,' and may be explained as the animal of the land from which the Akkadians came. The reason why the group [illegible] came to mean 'the east wind' is most likely to be found in the fact that the sign [illegible] (with lengthening [illegible] *kur-ra*, to be read *kura*) means not only 'land,' but also 'mountain,' and [illegible] is therefore to be explained as 'the wind of the mountainous region,' namely, the country to the east of Babylonia.

"The Akkadians, therefore, most likely, came from the region of Cappadocia,[1] a district of old celebrated for its horses. What direction they took after leaving their original home is uncertain, but it is most likely that they journeyed eastwards until they reached the district of Kassi, where a part of them settled, and became the Kossæans of the Greek writers. The migration, however, was continued, but in a southern direction, until they reached the shores of the

1 [illegible] in [illegible] is evidently to be connected with the Cush of the 2nd chapter of Genesis.

Persian Gulf (then much farther inland than now). There they settled, and gradually mingled with the original Semitic inhabitants of the country, the Akkadians occupying northern Babylonia, and the Sumerians the south, and on that account these districts were called Akkad[1] and Sumer respectively. The new-comers, however, did not enter the country empty-handed, for they brought with them their agriculture, science, art, and religion, which they taught to the less-civilized Semitic Babylonians whom they found there. The Akkadian and Sumerian languages, however, in course of time died out before the more vigorous and practical Semitic Babylonian, the old languages being retained as classic tongues, the ideographs of which were used by the Assyrians and Babylonians as a kind of secret writing, but short historical inscriptions were sometimes written in pure Akkadian. When the inhabitants of Babylonia first began, probably about 2000 B.C., in the reign of Ǵammurabi, to send out more extensive colonies northwards, forming what became afterwards the kingdom of Assyria, the Akkadian and Semitic Babylonian languages were both in use, in about equal proportion. Akkadian seems to have become quite extinct, however, about 1000 B.C. It is a curious fact that, while the Semitic Babylonian languages incorporated a great many Akkadian and Sumerian words, these languages seem to have been kept quite pure. Not only, however, did the Babylonian, but also the Hebrew, Arabic, and other Semitic languages, borrow words from Akkadian and Sumerian, so that we have, in these tongues, a valuable by-help in the science of Semitic philology, and, in the history of the people who spoke them, most important confirmations of the truth of the Bible narratives.[2]

"Such is a short sketch of the progress and the brilliant results of the researches that have been made in the difficult

[1] The Akkadian inhabitants of the land called it Ur.

[2] In consequence of the identification of the country called Cappadocia with Cush, there is now no need to seek in Ethiopia the course of the river Gihon, or to suppose that Nimrod, the son of Cush, was an Ethiopian, nor did the Hittites bring horses to Solomon from Ethiopia, but from that northern Cush which seems to have been the original home of the Akkadian race.

study of the mystic lore of the old-time Chaldeans, so long hidden, and only in late years brought to light. The work, however, is constantly going on, pushed forward by earnest students, and there is no doubt that, for the years to come, the results will be as brilliant as those of the past few years. It is to be hoped, however, that the government will carry on, with a liberal hand, the excavations in these most interesting districts, so that we may complete, as far as we can, the documents, now so fragmentary, which contain the important records which those old Babylonians and Assyrians have bequeathed to us."

It gives me great pleasure to be able to insert in this place, three concise but important reports by Mr. H. Sweet on subjects to which he has paid special attention, and which my own work during the last year, would not have allowed me to touch. They relate to General Phonetics, General Philology, etc., Special Germanic and English Philology, all subjects of particular interest to our Society, which will feel itself much indebted to Mr. Sweet for these most acceptable contributions.

Report on Phonetics, by Henry Sweet, Esq., M.A., Vice-President (formerly President).

"The contributions to phonetics, both general and special, that have appeared during the last few years, are both numerous and important.

"Few works have been so anxiously expected as the promised revision of *Visible Speech* by the author. The progress of phonetics has been so great during the fourteen years that have elapsed since the appearance of that epoch-making work—a progress due, in great measure, to the influence of Visible Speech itself—and Mr. Bell's views have been subjected to such criticism both by friend and foe, that great curiosity was felt as to how he would meet these changed

conditions. The book has at last appeared,[1] and, I regret much to say, must be pronounced a disappointing one. Those who, like myself, after a long study of Visible Speech, have been forced to the conclusion that the system not only admits of, but urgently requires supplementing and revision, think they have a right to expect something more than a mere restatement of the matter contained in the inaugural edition. In fact, the idea of popularizing Visible Speech is an unfortunate one, and until the system has been completely tested, and has assumed a permanent form, generally approved of by scientific phoneticians, the attempt to popularize it seems more likely to do harm than good.

"It cannot be denied that Mr. Bell has improved his Visible Speech typography, and that he has so far profited by criticism as to make his exposition less dryly schematic, nor can it be denied that he has made it clearer by the more liberal use of key-words. He has also reversed the former values of the symbols for *s* and *sh*, and of those for the front-point and point-front consonants, the last being now identified by him with English *th*. The only information we receive about the grounds of this change is (p. 32), that 'experience has shown that the present arrangement is preferable.' I miss detailed argument here especially, for the good reason that I have strong doubts as to the correctness of the change as regards *s* and *sh*, and still believe that Mr. Bell's original analysis is the most correct one yet published, with the slight modifications made in my *Handbook of Phonetics* (p. 40). His analysis of the ordinary English *th* and *f* as divided consonants is, I believe, not accepted by any one but the author, and is evidently due to an attempt to maintain the symmetry of a defective consonant-system. In my paper on *Sound-Notation* (Trans. 1880–1, II.) I suggested a symbol for the teeth, formed by a simple modification of existing V.S. symbols, as a necessary

[1] Sounds and their relations, a complete manual of universal alphabetics; illustrated by means of Visible Speech: and exhibiting the pronunciation of English in various styles, and of other languages and dialects, by Alex. Melville Bell, F.E.I.S., etc. London, Trübner & Co., 1882.

supplement to the original consonant-system, which would enable us to put *th* and *f* into their natural places as point-teeth and lip-teeth consonants respectively. This suggestion has probably been made by others as well, for Mr. Bell indulges (p. 92 foll.) in a polemic of some length against it, but without mentioning any names. His main contention is that it is practically useless to symbolize the fixed parts of the mouth. The author's son, Mr. A. G. Bell, and his fellow-workers in America, are not only of the same opinion as I am, but think I have not gone far enough.

"But it is pleasanter to dwell on the merits than on the defects of Mr. Bell's work. His analysis of the vowels is, indeed, one of the really great achievements of modern science, and I am glad to think that my Handbook has been the means of introducing it to the notice of Continental students. The German edition of Storm's *English Philology*,[1] in which the valuable section on 'general phonetics,' containing a full account of the work done by the English school with Ellis and Bell at their head, has been made accessible to a larger circle of readers than it was in the original Norwegian edition, has contributed greatly to the same end.

"Sievers, the leading German phonetician, in the second edition of his *Introduction to the phonology of the Indo-germanic languages*,[2] has very generously acknowledged his obligations to what he justly calls the 'English-Scandinavian' school of phonetics. He says (Preface, p. v): 'I must openly confess that even the first edition of my book would have received a materially different form if I had at that time been acquainted with, or had utilized better, the two works which have founded modern phonetics—Bell's *Visible Speech*, and Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*.' Again, 'I mention by way of example the important theory of transition-sounds or "glides," of which I had given only a

[1] Englische Philologie: anleitung zum wissenschaftlichen studium der englischen sprache, von Johan Storm, vom verfasser für das deutsche publikum bearbeitet. I. Die lebende sprache. Heilbronn, Henninger, 1881.

[2] Grundzüge der Phonetik zur einführung in das studium der lautlehre der indogermanischen sprachen, von Eduard Sievers. Zweite wesentlich umgearbeitete und vermehrte auflage der "Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie." Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1881.

few scanty hints, while the whole system of them had been made clear by Ellis and Bell for years past.'

"It is satisfactory to think, not only that English phoneticians are thus paying back the large debt they owe to German science, but that in this way we are beginning to lay the foundations of a really international school of phonetics, for, as I have said elsewhere (Spoken Swedish, Trans. 1877–9, p. 542), phonology without comparison is a sheer impossibility; and as no one can acquire a thorough knowledge of the sounds of more than comparatively few languages, each investigator bringing, according to his nationality, special qualifications and disqualifications to the task of observing, comparing, and analyzing the sounds of the group he is dealing with, it is absolutely necessary that he should constantly compare his results with those of others. It is now an axiom with phoneticians that no one can understand the sounds of his own language unless he is able to compare them with those of several others. Often, indeed, some of the sounds of a language are more correctly appreciated by foreigners than by natives.

"An investigation of the sounds of a language by a foreigner is thus, though likely enough to contain errors of detail, tolerably sure to notice points which may escape native observers. Even if it does nothing more than stimulate natives to do the work over again in a fuller and more accurate form, it is amply justified. Kurschat's Lithuanian grammar, the work of a native, is no doubt a great improvement on that of the German Schleicher, but it is very doubtful whether it would ever have been undertaken without the incentive of Schleicher's example. In the same way I am glad to find that my above-mentioned essay on spoken Swedish has induced one of the most promising of Prof. Storm's Norwegian pupils to write a similar treatise on the phonology of the spoken educated Norse,[1] which very closely resembles Swedish. Strange to say, this is the first scientifically accurate and detailed

[1] Bidrag til dansk-norskens lydlære, af K. Brekke. Separataftryk af Aars og Voss's skoles indbydelsesskrift for 1881. Kristiania, Fabritius, 1881.

account, by a native, of the pronunciation of any standard language, as opposed to a dialect, that has yet appeared. When the same work has been done for English, French, German, and other European languages, we shall be able to say that the foundations of a rational practical study of these languages—which at present do not exist—have been laid. The author is a thorough-going adherent of the English school; he even retains the English names of the vowels—'high-front-narrow,' etc.

"On the other hand, Prof. Trautmann, of Bonn, in a review of Sievers's *Lautphysiologie* (Anglia, iv. 2, p. 56, foll.), has made a fierce attack on the English school, and on those of his degenerate countrymen who have confessed to having learnt something from it. The reckless, almost boyish, conceit of Trautmann's tone has certainly excited more amusement than indignation among his adversaries, but is nevertheless to be deplored. I have criticized Trautmann's attack, and, I think, refuted it in a review of Storm's Englische Philologie in the Göttinger gelehrte anzeigen (1881, No. 44), and need not go into details here. Anyhow, we shall all be glad to see Trautmann's promised work on 'Sounds in general, and those of French, English, and German in particular,' and to learn from it what is to be learnt, although most of us will think that he has made a bad beginning to his phonetic career.

"Techmer, in his *Phonetik*,[1] has also gone a way of his own, but what that way really is, or what his object was in publishing this elaborate and expensive work, I am unable to say. The book consists of a mass of anatomical details, many of which have scarcely the remotest bearing on phonetics, with remarks on acoustics, psychology, the origin of language, and other general questions, together with a mass of undigested quotations from the most incongruous authorities. The author's views on phonetics proper are expressed in the vaguest and most abstract way, and he has

[1] Phonetik: zur vergleichenden physiologie der stimme und sprache, von Dr. F. Techmer. I. Text und Anmerkungen. II. Atlas. Leipzig, Engelmann, 1880.

added little or nothing to our knowledge of the actual sounds of language. Not a single key-word is given to explain what sound the author means by 'open *e*,' etc. Nor is there any clear definition of the author's standpoint compared with that of his predecessors. Although the work no doubt contains many hints which may be useful to specialists, it is an entire failure as a guide to general phonetics.

"Lastly, I may call attention to a short essay on the 'Arrangement of the Vowels' by G. Michaelis.[1] The main object of the work is the comparison of Bell's check-board tabulation of the vowels with the older triangular arrangement still prevalent in Germany, and a vindication of the latter, but the really valuable part of it is the excellent historical sketch of the development of vowel-theories from Roman times till the present day."

Report on General Philology, by Henry Sweet, Esq., M.A., Vice-President (formerly President).

"The most important work on general philology that has appeared of late years is perhaps Paul's *Principles of the History of Language*,[2] in which, following mainly the psychological views of Steinthal, he has summed up the views on the growth of language which have been lately developed among the younger school of German philologists, in many cases carrying them out more rigorously and consistently, and adding many original ideas of his own, and has produced a comprehensive, though necessarily somewhat curtailed, outline of the general principles which govern the life and growth of language in general. What strikes one most in the work is its extreme soundness; it inspires the reader with a feeling of confidence, not only in the author's knowledge of the facts, but also in his logical and critical handling of them.

[1] Ueber die anordnung der vokale, von G. Michaelis [Abdruck aus Herrigs Archiv, Bd. 64 und 65]. Berlin, Barthol, 1881.

[2] Principien der sprachgeschichte, von Hermann Paul, professor der deutschen sprache und literatur an der universität Freiburg. Halle, Niemeyer, 1880.

"In his introductory chapters he argues the necessity of a general theoretical science of language, discusses the relation of this science to other branches of knowledge, and makes some general remarks on the nature of linguistic development, laying special stress on the fact that the spoken word or sound has no history—that changes are not in words, but in the organs and organisms, physical and mental, which produce those words. In treating of the laws of sound-change, he argues that, just as in writing, one and the same person never forms any two letters identically alike, so also in speaking it is impossible to avoid a slight shifting of the positions and actions by which we form a sound, which changes are only partially controlled by the influence of the spoken sound. [Curiously enough, Paul does not seem to acknowledge the much more potent cause of change which exists in the fact that one generation can learn the sounds of the preceding one by imitation only. It is an open question whether the modifications made by the individual in a sound he has once learnt, independently of imitation of those around him, are not too infinitesimal to have any appreciable effect.] He then proceeds to deal with the formation of those associated groups of sounds and ideas which constitute words and sentences; with the destruction and confusion caused in these groups by changes of sound and meaning; and with the reaction by means of analogical formation. [Thus, to take an English example, the sound-change known as 'mutation' obscured the relation between the Old English *gold* and the adjective *gylden* (the original forms having been *gulþo*, *gulþīno*),but in Modern English, *gilden* has been made into *golden* by the analogy of *gold*, and the etymological relation has thus been made as clear as it was at the beginning.] Paul well says (p. 100): 'We can hardly realize to what an extent the [illegible] onnectedness, confusion, and unintelligibility of language w[illegible] d [illegible] l, if it had to endure patiently all the ravages of [illegible] thout the possibility of any reaction against [illegible] oceeds to show that the disconnecting, [illegible] and- and other changes also have

a positive, creative value, for it is only by 'isolation' that proper names and pronouns (such as French *on* from *homo*) can be developed out of nouns, etc. He then proceeds to treat of the development of the parts of speech from this point of view. The concluding chapters treat of the development of dialects, the relation between written and spoken language, and between standard languages and dialects.

"This work forms a striking contrast to the productions of our own 'Drawing-room' school, of which Prof. Max Müller, with his fascinating and facile pen, is both the founder and still the worthiest representative. Perhaps, indeed, some of those whose mental digestions have not been hopelessly impaired by the toffy and Turkish delight served up to them in the pages of Prof. Müller and his numerous followers, will turn with something like a sigh of relief to the plain loaf of whole-meal bread provided by Prof. Paul, tough as its crust undoubtedly is. Perhaps, too, those who have vainly tried to grasp the brilliant, but unsubstantial theories of what may be called the 'Soap-bubble' school, will find the severely consistent logic of Prof. Paul more satisfying in the end, much as they may be exasperated by the exaggeratedly German abstractness and cumbrousness of his style.

"While on the subject of English popular philology, I would call attention to the chapters on language in Dr. Tylor's Anthropology[1] as being among the best of their kind that have been published in England. Not only are the details on the deaf-and-dumb gesture language of great value to the specialist, but the treatment of the whole subject strikes me as remarkably sound and clear.

"The fourth volume of the series of Indogermanic grammars headed by Sievers's *Phonetik* is Delbrück's *Introduction to the Study of Language*.[2] The first part of this short work is a sketch of the history of Arian philology from

[1] Anthropology: an introduction to the study of man and civilization, by E. B. Tylor, D.C.L., F.R.S. London, Macmillan, 1881.

[2] Einleitung in das sprachstudium: ein beitrag zur geschichte und methodik der vergleichenden sprachforschung, von B. Delbrück. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1880.

Bopp to the present time, showing how the problems which are now engaging the attention of philologists have developed themselves. Bopp, his contemporaries and successors down to Schleicher, and Schleicher himself, are treated of in separate chapters, followed by one which deals with modern tendencies. These last are summed up by the author as follows: 1) the interest in the history and origin of inflexion decreases; 2) it is acknowledged that the separate languages (Greek, Latin, etc.) had no power of making new words and forms, except by analogy; 3) increased strictness in applying sound-laws, culminating in the axiom (first stated, apparently, by Leskien) that sound-laws admit of no exception, and that apparent exceptions are due to the workings of analogy; 4) recognition of the importance of living languages. The second part deals with the problems themselves, namely, Bopp's agglutinative theory, which is declared to be the only plausible one against Westphal's evolution theory and Ludwig's adaptation theory; the various questions connected with sound-laws; and lastly with the genealogical relations of the separate languages. The best part of the book is undoubtedly the historical. As a whole, it is hardly full enough to serve as an efficient guide to the student. The author often gives his own conclusions in too dogmatic—often dogmatically sceptical—a way, and without accurate references to the works he is criticizing, although half the value of an introduction like this consists in its guiding the beginner and outsider to the exact places where information and suggestions are to be found, help which even the specialist is often glad of.

"One branch of Arian philology which Delbrück has made peculiarly his own is that of comparative syntax. The four volumes of his *Syntactical Investigations*[1] now published have indeed laid the foundations of the science not only for the Arian family, but for language in general. In the third

[1] Syntaktische forschungen, von B. Delbrück. Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses. I. Der gebrauch des conjunctivs und optativs in sanskrit und griechischen, 1871. II. Altindische tempuslehre, 1877. III. Die altindische wortfolge aus dem Çatapathabrâhmaṇa dargestellt, 1878. IV. Die grundlagen der griechischen syntax, 1879.

vol. he shows (though partly anticipated by Bergaigne, as he himself points out) that parent Arian had already developed a perfectly definite word-order, so that each separate language received not only its words ready-made, but also, to a great extent, its sentences, the primitive order having been faithfully preserved in the oldest Sanskrit prose —that of the fore-classical *brāhmaṇas*. The fourth volume is of peculiar interest to all philologists. In it the more certain results of comparative syntactology, as far as they apply to Greek, are summed up much in the same way as Curtius has summed up the results of the comparative study of the formal side of the language in his well-known *Griechische etymologie*.

"Passing from general principles to their application to the detailed investigation of the structure of each Arian language separately, one is simply appalled by the vast mass of undigested, scattered, and conflicting investigations the student has to try and master. Schleicher's *Compendium* is now so utterly antiquated that no one thinks of using it except for the sake of its word-lists and inflection tables, and in the present revolutionary state of all things philological, it is hopeless expecting any real philologist to make himself the butt of his fellows by attempting to supersede it. The only feasible plan is evidently that of a series of grammars of each language on a uniform plan. When the series of Indogermanic grammars (see Trans. 1877-9, p. 383) was first announced, it was hoped that the promise of their appearance 'in quick succession' would be fulfilled more literally than has been the case. Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar (to which I shall return again) worthily opened the series, and was followed the next year by Gustav Meyer's *Griechische grammatik*, but nothing more has appeared in the last two years, and I am told that, although the Slavonic grammar may be expected soon, the others are indefinitely behindhand—each one waiting for the other's investigations, and afraid to commit itself to doubtful views.

"The Greek grammar—in accordance with the general plan of the series—confines itself to phonology and inflections,

but the Sanskrit one is on a totally different plan. Here the comparative method is kept in the background, and the treatment is almost purely descriptive, but, on the other hand, the grammar is complete, derivation and composition being treated almost with the same fulness as sounds and inflections, the leading facts of the syntax being also stated. But Whitney's is not only the first complete Sanskrit grammar that has been published—it is the first grammar that has been constructed on a rational historical plan. The author's main principles have been, 'to make a presentation of the facts of the language primarily as they show themselves in use in the literature, and only secondarily as they are laid down by the native grammarians,' to include the fore-classical period, beginning with the Rig-veda, and 'to treat the language throughout as an accented one.' Of course, Whitney's grammar will not supersede the special study of the works of native grammarians, nor has it supplied the want of a comparative Sanskrit grammar, in which the less primitive features of the language (above all, its vowel-system) would be explained from the cognate languages; but it has relegated the former to its proper place, and has, for the first time, made the latter a possible undertaking.

"It should never be forgotten that the comparative philologist approaches the study of Sanskrit in quite a different way from the would-be Sanskrit specialist; the latter may, if he likes, resolve on devoting a lifetime to the native grammatical system, but he has no right to impose his specialty on his comparative philology pupils, as is too often done. Now that the labours of Aufrecht, Grassmann, Whitney and Delbrück have provided us with a romanized text-edition and glossary, a translation, a romanized grammar and chrestomathy of the oldest Sanskrit—so that its study is, in a measure, popularized—we are beginning to see that not only the grammatical, but also the whole of the classical Sanskrit literature has for the comparative student only the secondary value of a supplement to the older literature. It is only from the latter that a practical command of the

accentuation and of the verbal forms—perhaps the two most valuable features of the language for the comparative philologist—can be gained, not to mention that it alone gives the key to comparative mythology and the origins of Hindu civilization. This suggests the question whether the mastery of classical Sanskrit is, after all, a necessary stepping-stone to the older language. This is a question which only experience can settle conclusively, but I think that a judicious selection of simple narrative pieces from the prose of the *brāhmaṇas* would prove the very best introduction to the language in general, while familiarizing the student with the only natural prose that it has. Hence it would be an easy step both backwards to the language of the Vedas, and forwards to the classical Sanskrit. The selections should, of course, be made from accented texts, and should be accompanied with a special grammar and glossary.

"Another question which Vedic studies cannot fail to bring prominently forward, is that of *transliteration*. The argument that Sanskrit forms cannot be impressed on the memory by means of that alphabet through which we learn nearly all European languages applies only—if it applies at all—to that vicious method which masters a language, not by sound, but by eye. But the really fatal objection to the devanāgarī alphabet is that it is simply incapable of representing the sounds of the older language with even approximate accuracy. It is only the defects of this alphabet that forces us to write such monstrosities as *ārya*, *martya*, etc., in direct defiance of the metre, which everywhere requires *ária*, *martia*, these being, as Sievers has shown (Zur accent- und lautlehre der germanischen sprachen, p. 89), not only the original Sanskrit, but also the original Arian (not 'Aryan') forms. So also Vedic metre requires, as shown by Kuhn,[1] the admission of short *e* and *o* before vowels, which, again, the conventional alphabet is incapable of representing. It is really time we had a metrically correct text of the Vedas in Roman spelling.

[1] Cp. Bloomfield 'On non-diphthongal *e* and *o* in Sanskrit,' in Proceedings of American Oriental Society, Oct. 26, 1881.

"Outsiders, too, who can only give a limited time to the language, have a right to demand that the external difficulties of its study should be reduced to a minimum. Ifeveninafamiliarlanguagetheabsenceofworddivisionadequate–punctuationandofanydistinctionbetweenmisterbakerthesmith–andthevariousscotchandgermanbakersofthemetropolis is exasperating, these peculiarities must, to say the least, retard the mastery of an unfamiliar one.

"Not but that the other alphabets may not learn something from the devanāgarī. If it is a sensible feature of the latter invariably to mark the quantities, it cannot but be the reverse for Greek to mark those of only two vowels, and for Latin to mark none at all. But, again, if it is a rational practice to print Latin, Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon books in the alphabet at present in general use, and not in imitations of the manuscript hands in which they were originally written, it cannot but be an absurdity to persist in printing Greek in a special form of letters, which, besides, bear only a remote resemblance to those of the oldest MSS. I hope that, parallel with the present agitation for spelling-reform, we shall soon have a movement in favour of a general system of Roman transliteration on rational principles.

"Of special investigations there is a large number, which I have neither ability nor space to mention here at length. The most important are, perhaps, those contained in Osthoff and Brugman's *Morphological Investigations*.[1] The last volume (the fourth) contains a very important essay by Osthoff on Arian *ī* and *ū* (Die Tiefstufe im indogermanischen vokalismus), in which he has cleared up the mysterious fluctuation between long and short vowel in such pairs as Sanskrit *sūnú* and Germanic *sunu*, Sanskrit *jīwá* and Greek *bíos* by explaining *ī*, *ū* as the intermediate stages between original *ei*, *eu* and their weakenings *i* and *u*. His view is that the change from diphthongs to long vowels took place originally in every syllable that had not full stress, that the length of

[1] Morphologische untersuchungen auf dem gebiete der indogermanischen sprachen, von Dr. H. Osthoff und Dr. K. Brugman. Leipzig, Hirzel, 4 vols., 1878–81.

these contractions was preserved where the syllable had a secondary stress, while they were shortened to *i* and *u* wherever the syllable lost its stress altogether. He assumes that a syllable might have different degrees of stress according to its position in the sentence and the degree of stress of any syllable that preceded it, so that duplicates arose, only one of which was often preserved in the later languages. This view has much to recommend it, but cannot as yet be accepted as fully established. I certainly agree with Osthoff in rejecting the ordinary view which disassociates pitch and force, but I feel doubtful whether parent Arian really made such delicate discriminations in stress as is implied by his theory. But the facts themselves he has certainly established, as also a formerly disputed one, namely, that *ai*-roots, such as *aidh* 'burn,' undergo the same weakening as *ei*-roots, as shown in Sanskrit *īdhriya*, Greek *itharós*, etc. He also shows very clearly the impossibility of explaining Arian *a* as *e* + a consonantal element, and assumes three distinct series, each with its three stages, dependant (as he assumes) on strong, medium, and weak stress respectively:—

ei	*ī*	*i*	*eu*	*ū*	*u*
ai	*ī*	*i*	*au*	*ū*	*u*
oi	*ī*	*i*	*ou*	*ū*	*u*

"He finds the *o*-series in such Greek presents as *óthomai* compared with *pétomai*, *oikhomai* with *leipō*, *kroúō* with *pheúgō*.

"In an article in P. u. B. Beiträge (vol. vii. 1880, Die entstehung des *o*) H. Möller has explained the three stages *e*, *o*, and loss of vowel, as due solely to the influence of pitch-accent. His view is that original *a* became *e* when it had the acute accent (Sanskrit *udātta*), *o* when it had the circumflex (independant *svarita*), and was dropt when it had only the grave accent (enclitic svarita). He would thus refer such a form as *ecwo*=Latin *equus* (*-os*) back to original **ácwâ* (or *ácwà*, as he would write it).

"Without attempting to go into further details, I will only remark that this theory, in so far as it explains the change

from the neutral *a* to the clear *e* (of course, through the *æ* of English *man*) as due to raised pitch, and that of *a* to *o* as due to lowered pitch, has really given the best explanation of these phenomena as yet published, while, on the other hand, the dropping of the vowel in *krtá*, etc., can hardly be explained except on the theory of stress-gradation. Probably both views must be accepted and harmonized. It seems certain that parent Arian had fixed pitch-accent, and it is in the highest degree probable (even on purely a-priori grounds) that gradations of stress were associated with the pitch-accents.

"A question of great morphological importance has been brought forward by these new theories, namely, that of the relation of roots and stems. Fick was the first (Bezzenberger's Beiträge I.)[1] to question the existence of a 'theme-vowel,' and to explain the *o* and *e* of *hippos*, *hippe*, etc., as constituting part of the root. This view has been taken up by Paul, Möller, and lastly by Kögel (P. u. B. B. viii. 1880, Gegen nasalis sonans). The general result arrived at is that the Arian root was originally (when uncompounded with other roots) dissyllabic, always ending in a vowel, all the vowels in a root being capable of the three 'gradations,' so that the second vowel of *hippos* is to that of *hippe* as the first of *phóros* is to that of *phérō*, while the dropping of the second vowel in the so-called root-stems, such as *pad-*, is paralleled by the dropping of the original root-vowel of *krtá*, etc.

"This view is so far from being new to me, that I have simply never been able to realize the possibility of the conventional one, according to which the primitive Arians first discoursed in monosyllabic 'roots,' such as *bhar*, *dam*, then (for no apparent reason) made them into 'stems' by sticking on a 'demonstrative' *a* (as if they were not overburdened by demonstrative roots already), and, lastly, raised these stems to the dignity of 'words' by adding inflections. I have always seen fossilized Arian roots (or fore-inflectional words) in vocatives and imperatives, such as *hippe*, *phére*, and re-

[1] I can only quote this article second-hand.

garded *hippo-* in *hippo-mákhos*, etc., as a fossilized Arian word, all compounds being nothing else but fragments of fore-inflectional sentences."

REPORT ON GERMANIC AND ENGLISH PHILOLOGY, BY HENRY SWEET, ESQ., M.A., VICE-PRESIDENT (FORMERLY PRESIDENT).

"All Germanic students are anxiously awaiting Sievers's *Deutsche Grammatik*, which will form one of the above-mentioned series of Indogermanic grammars, but it is to be feared they will have to wait some time. The main cause of the delay is the want of a reliable collection of the Oldest English texts—a want, however, which my forthcoming edition will soon supply. Of all the contributors to the series, Sievers certainly has the most formidable task. The Germanist has none of the helps which ancient and modern scholarship afford to the Sankritist and classical philologist: he has laboriously to recover every word and form from the manuscripts themselves, and to construct his grammars and dictionaries on this uncertain and shifting basis. Nor has he, like the Romanist, the advantage of a definite background. It was, indeed, for a long time assumed that Gothic practically represented the Germanic parent language, but this view is now abandoned, having proved the source of many errors. Such recent discoveries as Verner's law have taught us two lessons: 1) not to reason about any Germanic form or word till we have traced it through all the Germanic languages, and 2) that we must always be prepared to seek the explanation of Germanic forms in the older Arian languages. Thus, for a sound historical study, even of a single language like Old English, it is not enough to trace the forms to their Gothic equivalents, or even through all the other Germanic languages, for the real key may be a Greek, Sanskrit, Slavonic, or even Celtic form. It is not, of course, possible to get a practical knowledge of all these languages, but that general knowledge of their structure, which will enable the investigator to utilize the material

collected in grammars and dictionaries, can and must be mastered by all historical students of Old English, or any other old Germanic language.

"Meanwhile, the series of short, purely descriptive grammars edited by Prof. W. Braune, are a great boon, even to advanced students.[1]

"Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur geschichte der deutschen sprache und literatur*, of which the eighth volume is now appearing, still continues to be the chief organ of the most advanced school of Germanic philologists.

"Among general investigations which have been published separately may be specially mentioned von Bahder's investigation of the history of verbal abstract nouns,[2] as a valuable contribution to the scarcely touched subject of Germanic derivative-formation.

"Not attempting to enumerate the many text-editions published every year in Germany, I may pass on to Denmark, to notice the foundation of an Old-Norse text society.[3] The subscription is a very moderate one (6*s*. yearly), and every English philologist ought to support this society—unless, indeed, he is already a member of all the six societies founded in this country by our worthy Hon. Secretary, Mr. Furnivall.

"The Swedish Dialect Society is continuing its work with unabated vigour. The editor of its periodical,[4] Kand. J. A. Lundell, has lately been appointed lecturer in phonetics at

[1] Sammlung kurzer grammatiken germanischer dialecte herausgegeben von W. Braune. I. Gotische grammatik mit einigen lesestücken und wortverzeichnis von W. Braune, 1880. II. Mittelhochdeutsche grammatik von H. Paul, 1881. III. Angelsächsische grammatik von E. Sievers, 1882. In preparation:—Althochdeutsche grammatik von W. Braune. Altnordische-Altschwedische grammatik von A. Noreen.

[2] Die verbalabstracta in den germanischen sprachen ihrer bildung nach dargestellt von Karl von Bahder. Halle, Niemeyer, 1880.

[3] Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 1880: 1) Peder Smed, udg. af S. Grundtvig. 2) Ágrip af Noregs konunga sögum, V. Dahlerup. 3) Erex Saga, G. Cederschiöld. 1881: 4) Kiddara-rímur, Th. Wisén. 5) Mandevilles Rejse på dansk fra 15de årh., M. Lorenzen, 1ste og 2det hæfte. 6) Gyðinga Sagá, G. Þorláksson. Secretary: Dr. K. Kålund, Kortadelersgade, Köbenhavn K.

[4] Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen och svenskt folklif. Stockholm, Samson och Wallin, 1879-81.

the university of Upsala. This is the first official recognition of the science that has taken place, but I have little doubt that before many years there will be professors of phonetics and elocution at many of the Continental universities. One of the publications of the society for 1881 is a paper by Lundell on the study of dialects (Om dialektstudier med särskild hänsyn till de nordiska språken), which ought to interest English dialectologists, as also an earlier one of his in the same periodical (1879–80) on dialectology and folklore in Sweden and other countries (Landsmål och folklif i Sverige och andra länder), with a very full and valuable list of dialectal works in the chief European languages. In noticing the work of our English Dialect Society, Lundell justly remarks (p. 474): "When they hope within ten years to see the most important part of the work done, and the Society's task completed, they are certainly greatly mistaken, or else have failed to see what that task really consists in." After praising Mr. Elworthy's work, he goes on to say: "Otherwise it is remarkable that phonetics is on the whole neglected, although England possesses phoneticians of the first rank, and in this respect stands on more than an equality with Germany, although in the latter the knowledge of the subject is undoubtedly more widely extended." In Norway also a dialect society has been founded, mainly, as far as the linguistic side of its task is concerned, under the guidance of that leading phonetician, Prof. Johan Storm, of Christiania.

"Passing to English, I have first to chronicle the completion of Prof. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary,[1] which, although necessarily on a not always perfectly sound basis, especially as regards the Old French derivations, is a real contribution to general English philology; it is a distinct step towards making English etymology a really scientific study, and even where the author's views may be doubtful, the large mass of reliable materials collected by him will always afford

[1] An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1882.

a sound basis for future investigation. The abridgment he has made of this work[1] will, of course, address itself to a much larger public, and, it is to be hoped, will speedily supersede the miserable compilations now current.

"Prof. Schipper's historical treatise on English metres, of which the first part, treating of the Old- and Middle-English periods, has just appeared,[2] will no doubt help to fill a lamentable gap in English philology and text-criticism—especially the latter, but I am not yet able to pronounce a decided opinion on its merits.

"The contributions to Old English are numerous and important. Sievers's Grammar, mentioned above, p. 116, n. 1, is the first one on a historical basis, which, at the same time, gives a general view of the dialects. Unfortunately it includes only sounds and inflections. I may also mention my elementary book in Old-English,[3] in which I have tried to make the subject as easy as I possibly could.

"Prof. Cosijn, of Leiden, has brought out the first part of an Old-West-Saxon Grammar,[4] which I hope to see continued. A short, but thorough grammar of the language of the Vespasian Psalter, by a promising pupil of Sievers,[5] is another of those special investigations on which alone a general grammar and dictionary of Old English can be based. I am glad to be able to state that Prof. Cook, of the Johns Hopkins University, now studying under Sievers at Jena, is preparing a similar work on the Rushworth and Durham glosses.

"The first volume of Wülcker's re-edition of Grein's Library of Old-English Poetry[6] from the MSS., containing

[1] A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1882.

[2] Englische Metrik in historischer und systematischer entwickelung dargestellt, von Dr. J. Schipper. Erster theil: altenglische metrik. Bonn, Strauss, 1882.

[3] An Anglo-Saxon primer, with grammar, notes, and glossary, by Henry Sweet, M.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1882.

[4] Kurzgefasste altwestsächsische grammatik von P. J. Cosijn. I. Die vocale der stammsilben. Leiden, Brill, 1881.

[5] Die sprache des kentischen psalters (Vesp. A. 1), ein beitrag zur angelsächsischen grammatik, von R. Zeuner. Halle, Niemeyer, 1882.

[6] Bibliothek der angelsächsischen poesie begründet von C. W. M. Grein, neu bearbeitet, vermehrt, und nach eignen lesungen der handschriften hgg.

Beówulf, has appeared, as also a selection of the shorter poems by the same editor.[1]

"Zupitza has brought out the first part of his elaborate edition of Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary.[2]

"A serious fault of these two editors is that they both deliberately suppress the accents of the MSS. in their texts. Zupitza has apparently been unable to resist the temptation of exhibiting his own views on O.E. quantity—views which the clear evidence of MSS. accentuation show to be untenable for Ælfric's period—but Wülcker gives us an absolute blank —he neither gives his own views nor lets the MSS. speak for themselves! The truth is that the accents are not only as much a part of the spelling of a word as the difference between *i* and *y*, *eo* and *io*, etc., but are often the most important of all: such a gloss as *ovum : æg* is of very little, such a one as *ovum : ǽg* is of very considerable value. It is an unjustifiable inconsistency to register one class of distinctions and to suppress the evidence of another on mere subjective grounds.

"I may lastly mention the first part of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, edited for the Early English Text Society by Prof. Skeat, which came out last year.

"It is humiliating to see how little share England has in all this progress. We have now two professors of 'Anglo-Saxon'—one of them, for a wonder, a real working one, but there are no signs of a school of young specialists rising up around them. Anglo-Saxon is abandoned to ladies and foreigners: our undergraduates and young dons are too much exhausted with ornamental scholarship and the resuscitation of decayed philosophies to have any time for the earnest study of their own language—they have only just strength enough left to let Browning Societies be founded for them."

v. R. P. Wülcker. I. Band, i. hälfte. Kassel, Wigand, 1881.

[1] Kleinere angelsächsische dichtungen. Abdruck der handschriftlichen überlieferung, mit den lesarten der handschriften und einem wörterbuche versehen, von R. P. Wülcker. Halle, Niemeyer, 1882.

[2] Ælfrics grammatik und glossar hgg. v. J. Zupitza. I. Text und varianten. Berlin, Weidmannsche buchhandlung, 1880.

To the address I delivered in 1874, M. Paul Meyer contributed an excellent and exhaustive report on Romance Philology subsequent to 1870, and he supplemented it in Dr. Morris's address in the following year. But since that time no report on general Romance Philology has found a place in the annual addresses of our Presidents, although Prof. Pio Rajna favoured us with a brief report on the Italian Dialects in Dr. Murray's address, 1879. This year, however, Dr. E. Stengel, of Marburg, who has done so much for Romance Philology himself, and trained so many pupils to go and do likewise, has most kindly undertaken to fill up the gap from 1875 to 1882, in the following report, for which our Society will feel very grateful. It gives an excellent *résumé* with a brief criticism of all the recent works and essays bearing on this important branch of philology, and jointly with the preceding third report by Mr. Sweet, gives a survey of the state of Philology for the principal European languages.

REPORT ON THE PHILOLOGY OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES FROM 1875 TO 1882, BY DR. E. STENGEL, PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE PHILOLOGY AND DIRECTOR OF THE ROMANCE SEMINARY AT MARBURG.

"There has been so much activity and in such various directions during the last seven years in the field of Romance Philology, that it is difficult to give a clear account of it within the limits of a short report. Moreover, the boundaries of our science have extended so widely, both in time and space, and its cultivators are scattered through so many lands, that a single writer is hardly capable of giving a general survey, comprehending all the particulars, in a manner satisfactory either to others or himself. I must therefore crave the indulgence of the Philological Society for the following attempt.

"When Paul Meyer, in 1875, gave his second report, in the Presidential Address of Dr. Morris, Friedrich Diez, the founder of Romance Philology, was still alive. He has since passed away, and with him the Nestors of our science

in France, Paulin Paris and Littré. We have also to lament the loss of two Englishmen, Thomas Wright and Henry Nicol, not to mention other prominent scholars who have followed them to the grave. A daily increasing host of younger men endeavours meanwhile to fill up the gaps in our ranks, and leaves little to be wished for in point of diligence and productiveness. On the contrary, the interests of the individual and of the whole science indicate the advisability of a slower and more cautious march, especially when we consider how the work is being continually and increasingly split up into fragments, and the almost total absence of any systematic co-operation or co-ordinated advance.

"I. The principal jousting-place of our science remains as before—the elder French language and literature. Methodical advance may here be generally first and most thoroughly observed, and even the majority of the new-comers seek to earn their spurs in this field. No explanation of this is needed, for not only is this preference justified by the practical interests of the future career of many, but it may be also established on purely scientific grounds.

"The old French system of sounds and grammar is an especially favourite subject for those little essays, mostly dissertations, written for the attainment of the doctor's degree. In these, phenomena of phonetic or grammatical nature are pursued through the whole field of the old French language or through a determinate section of it, or else an endeavour is made to establish the complete phonetic or grammatical relations of some single linguistic document or of a group of such. In the first case the object is to contribute towards our knowledge of the chronological and geographical development of the Latin speech-sounds and grammatical forms in French territory, and in the second case to determine more precisely the chronological and geographical derivation of determinate linguistic documents. But the majority of these latter investigations lead to no tangible result, and hence must be looked upon in general as merely well-intended attempts, adapted rather to shew the present insolubility of the problem. This is of course not

the view taken by the authors of these essays themselves. They rather consider that they are able to localise the individual works simply by means of an exact observation of their orthography. It is only a pity that each fresh investigator generally arrives at a different result. The example of the 'Munich Brut,'[1] which Hofmann and Vollmöller published in 1877, is very instructive in this respect. According to Vollmöller we have here a mixed dialect, then, in succession, it was considered to be in the Anglo-Norman dialect, then to have been written by a Picard on the Walloon boundary, then about Beauvais, and most recently in Namur. It would be better therefore to give up such indications, and in preference to make an earnest attack on the history of French Orthography, which was from the first partly etymological. Not until more light than we at present possess has been shed on this point can the question be satisfactorily answered, how far it is possible to conclude from the written sign as to the spoken sound. It is not denied that here and there a tolerably exact localisation of the methods of writing has been attained by means of numerous such localised and dated documents. But these documents are not older than the thirteenth century, and hence for older MSS. it is only possible to put forth more or less well-founded conjectures on this point. But if, as often happens, a writer purposes to determine even the place where any literary work was composed, solely by such observations, the ground totters beneath his feet, for medieval copyists treat their originals in the most arbitrary manner, both as regards their orthography and their meaning.[2] Even assonances and rhymes are insufficient criteria in themselves to determine the time and place where a poem was composed.

[1] Der Münchener Brut. Gottfried von Monmouth in französischen Versen des 12 Jh. aus der einzigen Münchener Hs. zum ersten Mal herausgegeben von K. Hofmann und Vollmöller. Halle, 1877.

[2] In the third part of the collection of 'Editions and Essays' (*Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie*, pp. vii-xiii, Marburg, 1881) I have just glanced at a peculiar method of deforming texts, which is of prime importance,—the complete assimilation of some modes of expression, that approach each other very closely, within the same poem. The question deserves fuller treatment.

Their genuineness must first be proved. Thus down to very recent times the language of the Song of Roland was identified in many points with the language of the Oxford MS., and consequently it was considered to be consistent with the original Roland to pair *a* with *an*, and also *ai* with both *a* and *e*. Rambeau's investigations, 'On those Assonances of the Oxford Roland which can be proved to be genuine' (*Ueber die als echt nachweisbaren Assonanzen des Oxforder Roland*, Halle, 1878), have demonstrated the untenableness of this assumption. Rambeau has also rightly objected to Lücking's demonstration, based entirely on the mode of writing, in his otherwise meritorious work, 'The Oldest French Dialects' (*Die ältesten französischen Mundarten*, Berlin, 1877). Similar doubts can be also established against Suchier's learned essay, 'The Dialect of the Song of Leodegar' (*Die Mundart des Leodegarliedes*, in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*). Peculiar interest as regards the later old French phonetic and grammatical studies attaches to an article of mine in the first volume of the *Zeitschrift für neu-französische Sprache und Literatur* on 'The Oldest Introductions to the Learning of the French Language,' which I edited from an Oxford MS. (All Souls Coll. 182) dated at the end of the fourteenth century, and intended for English readers. The beginnings of French grammar have thus been shewn to be more than 100 years earlier than was hitherto supposed.

"Numerous investigations respecting the syntactic relations of old French documents have also, like those on its phonetics and accidence, essentially enlarged our knowledge of the earlier language of France. Ad. Tobler has shown himself to be a delicate observer on this ground. His 'Miscellaneous Contributions to French Grammar' (*Vermischte Beiträge zur Grammatik des Französischen*, in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*) are distinguished alike by acumen and learning. On the other hand, little that is trustworthy has yet been done in reference to the special syntactic construction of individual works, and this must be attributed to the absence of previous proofs of the genuineness of the examples chosen from these writings. Thus, for example, Horning, in a

very interesting Essay in vol. IV. of Boehmer's *Romanische Studien*, has demonstrated that the pronoun *il* in the oldest French language had not yet received any neuter value, but at the same time he asserts, relying on the use of the word in the Oxford MS., which was written at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, that this neuter value was often to be met with in the Song of Roland of the eleventh century. The results of a close examination of every case, which I gave in the preface to No. III. of my 'Editions and Essays,' p. xv, shew however that in the oldest form of Roland that can be established by means of critical comparison, it is scarcely possible for a neuter *il* to have existed.

"The investigations made on the old French vocabulary and the use of words, and the old French dictionary in general, have hitherto been in a bad way. There is certainly a large number of special glossaries in existence, but with a few exceptions they are very scanty, and many are rendered quite worthless by the total omission of citations. The latest published special glossaries also leave much to be desired. The most carefully prepared appears to be that of Suchier, attached to his edition of *Aucassin* and *Nicolette*,[1] while, for example, Michel's glossary to the Cambridge Psalter is far too incomplete. The authors of many special glossaries have only had in view the explanation of this or that passage of their texts, or the emphasising of this or that rare word, whereas the real aim of a glossary should be to furnish the necessary linguistic materials for criticism and interpretation of the whole text, and also to open up a productive vein for the criticism and interpretation of cognate texts. The more comprehensive dictionaries also have hitherto been completely insufficient. Lately in rapid succession two new and very copious dictionaries have been sent to press, which propose to collect and make accessible the whole of the words of the old language. Each work proposes to occupy the important space of ten volumes. The first is nearly complete, entitled,

[1] Aucassin und Nicolette, neu nach der Hs. mit Paradigma und Glossar von Hermann Suchier. 2te Auflage. Paderborn, 1881.

Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois, and is edited by L. Favre. It was put together as early as the last century, by the well-known industrious collector, La Curne de Sainte-Palaye. That its publication should have been delayed till now, is all the more to be regretted, because it can naturally no longer come up to our present standard. It would therefore have been better not to print it. The second dictionary, called *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, is also the fruit of an enormous industry in making collections. Its author, Godefroy, has for decads rummaged in its behalf all possible works written or printed, and thus even brought to light many a MS. hitherto unknown, without however being always conscious of his own discovery. Unfortunately, too, this author has an insufficient grammatical knowledge of old French, and consequently his selection of passages to serve as proofs, instead of being suitable, is often rather fortuitous. To give only a single example, Godefroy has a long article on the word *altain*, but the passages alluded to by him leave the important question unsettled whether the word ought not to be more properly written *haltain*, with the *h* sounded. If this is the case, the reading of the Oxford MS. of the Song of Roland, l. 3,

'Tresqu'en la mer conquist la tere altaigne.'

would be wrong, and ought to be replaced by that of other MSS.,

'Conquist la terre jusqu' a la mer altaine.'

Moreover, *altaigne*, which Godefroy considers merely as a different spelling of *altain*, ought to be treated as a different word, as is proved by its masculine form in three syllables, compare

'Mort le trebuce del bon destrier autaine.'—*Anseïs de Carthage.*

Only the first volume of Godefroy's *Dictionnaire* is complete. The author admits only that part of the old French vocabulary which has been lost in modern French. This is an unfortunate limitation which entails many other disadvantages and inconsistencies. Notwithstanding these

and other shortcomings, we may gladly hail the appearance of this book, and hope important assistance from it in the successful progress of old French studies. A special dictionary to a number of the oldest French texts, which has just been finished by myself, in eleven sheets,[1] will form a kind of supplement to the above. In this I have aimed at absolute completeness in words and citations.

"The etymology of specially French words has also not been neglected in recent times. The researches on the Germanic element of the French language have certainly not produced anything essentially new, but in its place we have had discussed in the various journals a number of isolated etymologies, and amongst them of course those of the inevitable—and still not yet explained—etymology of the word *aller*.

"Old French texts had been published in large numbers in former years, but the number of such publications has very considerably increased in the last seven years. Following the example of the *Early English Text Society*, a *Société des anciens textes français* was formed in Paris in 1875. In addition to a Bulletin issued three times a year, it has already published a lordly number of volumes. A similar aim is pursued in W. Förster's 'Old French library' (*Altfranzösische Bibliothek*), of which three volumes have already appeared, and in Suchier's *Bibliotheca Normannica* (of which two numbers have as yet appeared), and also in the *Bibliothèque française du moyen age*, which has just been commenced under the editorship of Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer. Besides these a series of other texts are presented in the appropriate journals, and a great many others appear as separate publications. The advance of art has also rendered it possible to multiply copies of valuable MSS. either simply by photography, or by the various processes of photographic printing. Thus the oldest monuments of the French language from the 9th and 10th centuries have already been heliographed for the *Société des anciens textes*,

[1] Wörterbuch der ältesten französischen Sprache. Separat-abdruck aus 'Ausgaben und Abhandlungen,' I. Marburg, 1882.

as well as the Florentine Alexander fragment, the Kassel Glosses, and some proofs from the Vatican MSS. in Monaci's beautiful *Facsimili di antichi manoscritti.* I have myself had the Oxford Song of Roland reproduced by photography, and also at my instigation the Hildesheim Alexis manuscript has been photographed at that place. Nevertheless diplomatic printing (which was so justly recommended by Ellis in his presidential address to the Philological Society for 1874—*Transactions* for 1873–4, pp. 433, ff.) retains its full value, because in the mechanical reproduction passages are frequently enough not clearly given, which however can be quite well deciphered in the originals. Thus Koschwitz has accurately printed the oldest monuments of the French language, using however only the heliographs for originals, and I have also reproduced, from the originals, the Oxford Roland (Heilbronn, 1878), the Hildesheim Alexis, and the Song of Solomon, and together with them (in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, I.), from the heliographs the Alexander fragment and the epistle of St. Stephen, of which Förster had given a not very good facsimile in the *Revue des Langues Romanes.* Similar prints are those of the Venetian Roland by Kölbing (Heilbronn, 1877); the Poitou Turpin and the Brandan of the French Arsenal by Auracher; as well as the MS. of Songs at Montpellier by Jacobsthal—the three last named are contained in Gröber's *Zeitschrift.* The greater number of editions does not keep so strictly to the originals, but endeavours to make them more easily legible, at least by the resolution of contractions, by punctuation, and here and there by diacritical marks. Suchier uses a peculiar kind of diacritical signs in his handy edition of *Aucassin* and *Nicolette,* of which the second edition has already appeared. Regularisation of the orthography or an entire re-writing into another dialect is also much affected. For example, J. Koch in his edition of the poems of Chardry, Koschwitz in the 'Journey of Charlemagne to Jérusalem and Constantinople,' Heiligbrodt in his careful new edition of the valuable fragment of the *Chanson de Gormunt et Isembart,* in vol. III. of the *Romanische Studien,* and Theodor

Müller (who died last year) in his new edition of the Song of Roland.[1] But this process leaves far too much room for the personal judgment of the particular editor and leads to many arbitrary results and inconsistencies, as well as to obscuration of the actual words employed, which it is always most important for the reader to know. The system of a theoretically correct orthography, independent of tradition, which was formerly applied as an experiment, has been properly enough entirely discarded of late years, and in its place Suchier endeavours in his 'Sermon in Rhyme' (*Reimpredigt*, Halle, 1879, forming part I. of the *Bibliotheca Normannica*) to restore the original orthography of the poet, but only so far as he feels firm ground under his feet. It is evident that even this system practically leads to numerous disadvantages, and hence it would be best at present to limit ourselves to a theoretical discussion of the questions which arise.

"The criticism of the matter, as distinguished from that of the form alone, which has hitherto been considered, that is, the attempts to purify the old writings as respects expression and contents from all more recent corruptions and interpolations by revisers and scribes, and to reinstate them in the condition in which they left the authors' hands, although it is, properly speaking, the most important problem of Romance Philology, has not made any essential progress recently. Many editors still think that they can dispense with investigations on the way in which a writing has come down to us, or pass lightly over the determination of the relations of the MSS., and yet the possibility of a trustworthy constitution of the text depends upon these fundamental determinations. A very careful piece of work in this direction was furnished by Vietor in his treatise on 'The MSS. of the Geste of the Loherains,' Halle, 1876, to which refer further supplementary works by Hub,[2]

[1] Le Chanson de Roland nach der Oxforder Handschrift, erläutert und mit einem Glossar versehen von *Theodor Müller*, Professor an der Universität Göttingen, Erster Theil, zweite völlig umgearbeitete Auflage, Göttingen, 1878. The second part, which ought to contain the commentary and glossary, has not appeared.

[2] La Chanson de Hervis de Mes. Inhaltsangabe und Classification der Handschriften. Heilbronn, 1879.

Rhode,[1] and myself.[2] Generally suchlike investigations, and consequently editions of considerable texts, in which the practical results of a complicated pedigree must be determined, have been gladly avoided, and in their place texts have been preferred which have come down to us in a single MS., or at least in but few MSS. An edition is thus more quickly put together, and subjective criticism is less weighted by a crowd of variants. For the proclivity to conjecture is innate in the Romance Philologist, and seeks every opportunity to assert itself. Within proper limits it is also perfectly justified. But then conjecture should always be preceded by a necessary examination of the author's special habit of language, and recourse should not be had to it until every other means of positive criticism of the text have failed, and there are many such means besides variants of MSS. As already mentioned, not many editions have lately appeared in which the editor had at his command a considerable number of MSS. with strongly-marked differences. I may mention in the first instance Wolter's edition of the story of a Jewish boy from the *Vies des anciens pères* in No. II. of the *Bibliotheca Normannica*. He communicates the whole set of variants, clearly arranged, but, in contradiction to the relation of the MSS. which he assumes, reproduces in his text what amounts to only the readings of a single MS. A similar course is pursued by Martin in his new edition of the *Roman de Renart*, lately commenced.

[1] Die Beziehungen zwischen den Chansons de geste de Hervis de Mes und Garin le Loherain von A. Rhode, in Ausgaben und Abhandlungen III. Marburg, 1881.

[2] In Zeitschrift für rom. Philologie, I. 137 ff., II. 347 ff., III. 143, V. 88, 381 anm. The Philosophical Faculty of the University of Marburg has, at my suggestion, proposed the following subject for its "Philological Prize" in the year 1882-3:—"To investigate whether the Geste of the Lothringers proper (Garin and Girbert), without reference to the introductory and concluding poems (Hervis and Anseïs) is to be considered as a single poem, or only as a cycle of poems. In the latter case the several parts of the cycle must be distinguished as exactly as possible, and the one which forms the nucleus of the whole geste must be clearly indicated." (Es soll untersucht werden, ob die eigentliche Geste von den Lothringern (Garin und Girbert), abgesehen von den jüngeren Vor- und Nachdichtungen (Hervis und Anseïs) als ein einheitliches Gedicht oder nur als ein Gedichtscyclus aufzufassen ist. Im letzteren Falle sollen die eizelnen Theile des Cyclus möglichst genau ermittelt und derjenige festgestellt werden, welcher den Kern der gesammten Geste bildet.)

At any rate, the reader is at least put in a position to form a judgment for himself. Certainly in this case it would be preferable for the editor to leave the whole constitution of the text in the hands of the reader, and to limit himself to an exact reproduction of the text of the best MS., with as clear an arrangement as possible of the variants of the other MSS., a course which I have pursued in 'Editions and Essays,' part I. for the *Canc"un de Saint Alexis*. On the other hand, the eclectic system seems to be an entire failure, as Th. Müller applies it in his new edition of the Song of Roland, and as Léon Gautier, notwithstanding what he has said in opposition, uses it in his numerous editions of the same poem.[1] Th. Müller, who considers that the whole tradition of the Song of Roland falls into two groups, of which the Oxford MS. alone represents one, does not even go so far in his arrangement of variants as to give those fundamental readings of the second group by which all or most of its members are opposed to the first, but in a completely arbitrary fashion adds the variants only to those passages in the Oxford MS. which caused him difficulty. The reader of his edition is therefore quite incapable of forming an independent objective judgment on the deviations of the second group. This is all the more to be regretted, because it is as yet impossible to obtain sufficient information upon those variants elsewhere, for a number of MSS. (of the important rhymed form of the so-called Roman de Roncevaux), notwithstanding that they have been announced for years as ready for the press, are still delayed, and the Song of Roland has altogether such numerous ramifications and complications that it is rather difficult to obtain a clear general view of them. The whole grouping of the traditions of the Song of Roland, as Müller puts it forward, awakens much hesitation. It has probably to be replaced by another, for which I and

[1] La Chanson de Roland. Texte critique, traduction et commentaire, grammaire et glossaire, par Léon Gautier, Professeur à l'école des Chartes. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française et par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Huitième édition, revue avec soin. Edition classique à l'usage des élèves de seconde. Tours, 1881. It is reported that the eleventh edition has already been issued.

a number of my pupils have entered, and which has finally been advocated by Perschmann in his dissertation published in the third part of *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, Marburg, 1881.

"From among other attempts to form a critical text, I may cite here the edition of 'Charlemagne's Journey,' by Koschwitz [1] (with which should be compared the complete notice of it by Suchier in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, IV. 401), and Andresen's edition of the *Roman de Rou*, which Gaston Paris has fundamentally discussed in *Romania*. For Chardry's 'Poems' and the 'Sermon in rhyme' there were simpler relations of MSS. In respect of subject-matter the editions which have appeared in the last seven years are distributed over every field of literature, Epics, Romances of Chivalry, Legends, Fabliaux, Lays, Songs, didactic and moral Poetry and Prose, Drama and Translations.

The criticism of the subject-matter of the text is, however, still more advanced than what is closely allied to it, the philological interpretation of the subject-matter, and it may be complained, generally, that methodical antiquarian researches have been hitherto rather too much neglected. Somewhat more has been done in recent times for the knowledge of the poetical art, for the style, and the elucidation of the numerous interrelations between individual literary works, as well as in general for what relates to the history of literature. The magnificent undertaking of the Benedictines, the *Histoire Litéraire de la France*, which is being at present continued by the Academy of Inscriptions, has been augmented by two volumes, and now counts Gaston Paris among its staff of contributors. On the other hand, the *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française au moyen âge* by Charles Aubertin, in two volumes, is quite worthless, because it

[1] Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel, ein altfranzösisches Gedicht des XI Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben von *E. Koschwitz*, Heilbronn, 1880. This forms the second volume of *W. Förster's* Altfranzösische Bibliothek. The same scholar had previously published several papers and texts referring to the same subject. I may also here refer to Mussafia's review of this edition in the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Gymnasien*, 1880, p. 195, and to my own in the *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 1881, No. 8.

is only an ill-digested compilation of partly antiquated works by other writers. Of works which treat of separate branches of Literature, I may mention the *Histoire du Théâtre français: les Mystères*, by L. Petit de Julleville, in two volumes, a valuable work, and also the new edition of Gautier's *Epopées françaises*, of which the fourth volume has lately appeared. This book, it is true, suffers from important defects, but nevertheless its very numerous statements of fact give it a value which must not be underrated. A series of separate investigations may be considered as supplementary to it. Of these I can only mention the interesting work of Darmesteter *De Floovante*, with which we must connect a pretty program by Bangert, 'Contributions to the history of the Floovent Legend' (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Floovent-Sage*, Heilbronn, 1879); the instructive investigations of Lognon on the historical foundation of particular French epics; the learned article of Gaston Paris, which however is not very convincing in its main subject, on the Journey of Charlemagne in the ninth volume of *Romania;* A. Thomas's interesting *Recherches sur l'Entrée de Spagne* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 25e, Paris, 1882); Reimann's dissertation on the sources of the *Chanson de Gaydon*, and the Angevine Thierry-Gaydon Legend (in *Ausg. u. Abh.* III., Marburg, 1881); H. Meyer's investigation of the *Chanson des Saxons* in its relation to the Song of Roland and the old Norse Karlamagnus Saga will appear in *Ausg. u. Abh.* IV. (Marburg, 1882); with many others. In other fields of old French literature, also, there is no deficiency of valuable separate works, some of which have appeared as introductions to editions, others in Journals, and others have been published independently. I omit to mention them by name, and give merely a passing notice to the numerous contributions to the knowledge of old French manuscripts, among which, in especial, those of Paul Meyer in *Romania* and in the *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français* must be mentioned with approval.

"I shall only indicate a few of the works which advance our scientific knowledge of more recent French. The first

place here belongs to the work of Charles Thurot, lately deceased, *De la prononciation française depuis le commencement du XVIme siècle d'après les témoignages des grammairiens*, of which we possess only the first volume, Paris, 1881. Thurot, it is true, is no real phonetist, as we should expect, but a philologist of the old stamp. Nevertheless, his statements are interesting, and may be useful in a determination of real French speech sounds, similar to that which your president has given us for *Early English Pronunciation*. Next we must mention the excellent work of Darmesteter, *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux dans la langue française*,[1] and the meritorious undertaking of K. Vollmöller, 'French Reprints' (*Französische Neudrucke*),[2] together with the volume of Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, called *Le seizième Siècle*, which presents a *tableau de la litérature*, a *tableau de la langue* and *morceaux choisis des auteurs*, and has already reached a second edition;[3] and finally Lotheissen's beautiful 'History of French Literature in the seventeenth century' (*Geschichte der französischen Literatur im* 17 *Jh.*).[4] The Journal for modern French language and literature,[5] edited by Körting and Koschwitz, is especially devoted to the study of this period. The same scholars also published 'French Studies' (*Französische Studien*),[6] which serve as a supplement to the above, but are so arranged as to include at the same time essays on the elder as well as the more recent language and literature of France.

"Among the works which treat of both the old and new language of France in common, I may mention the explanations of Förster, Boehmer, and G. Paris on the history of the French vowel *o*, in the *Romanische Studien* and *Romania*; together with O. Ulrich's remarks on 'The History of the French Diphthong *oi*,' in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, vol. III., and Darmesteter's on *La protonique non initiale non en position*, in *Romania*, vol. V., as well as his *Traité de formation de mots*

[1] Paris, 1877.
[2] Heilbronn, 1881.
[3] Paris, 1881.
[4] Vienna, 1879-80.
[5] *Zeitschrift für neufranzösische Sprache und Litteratur*. Oppeln and Leipzig, from 1879.
[6] Heilbronn from 1880.

composés en français,[1] and Ismar Rothenberg's dissertation on 'The interchange of Suffixes in French' (*Die Vertauschung der Suffixe in der französischen Sprache*).[2] The new edition of Mätzner's French Grammar, Berlin, 1877, would, on the other hand, have been better left unpublished, as the investigations made in this field since the appearance of the first edition have not been utilised. A large number of writings deal with French metre. The *Etudes historiques et philologiques sur la rime française*[3] by Bellanger, since deceased, are very meritorious; so is Tobler's fundamental work 'On the structure of French verse in old and recent times' (*Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit*). But the writings of Grammont,[4] Becq de Fouquières[5] and Lubarsch[6] proceed too much from *à priori* theories. The following are more special metrical dissertations: Gröbedinkel's 'The construction of the verse in Ph. Desportes and F. de Malherbe,' in *Französische Studien*, I., and Johannesson's 'Malherbe's efforts in the art of poetry' (*Die Bestrebungen Malherbe's auf dem Gebiete der poetischen Technik*, Halle, 1881); and Emile Freymond, *Ueber den reichen Reim bei altfranzösischen Dichtern bis zum Anfang des XIV Jahr, Halle*, 1882, which is also to appear in vol. VI. of the *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*

"II. Our knowledge of the Provençal language has likewise been much extended and improved in these last seven years. As respects grammar, we have the excellent *Grammaire limousin*, now complete, by C. Chabaneau, which appeared bit by bit in the *Revue des langues romanes*, and has been afterwards published separately. It starts from the living language. Similar works on other new-provençal dialects are due to Aymeric,[7] Constans,[8] Luchaire[9] and others.

[1] Paris, 1875.

[2] Göttingen, 1881.

[3] Paris, 1876.

[4] Les vers français et leur prosodie. Lois régissant la poésie en France, leurs variations, exemples pris des diverses époques, formes de poèmes anciennes et modernes par F. de Grammont. Deuxième édition, Paris, 1879.

[5] Traité général de versification française, par L. Becq de Fouquières. Paris, 1879.

[6] Französische Verslehre mit neuen Entwicklungen für die theoretische Begründung französischer Rhythmik. Berlin, 1879.

[7] Le dialecte Rouergal par J. Aymeric, in Gröber's *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.* vol. III. p. 321 ff.

[8] Essai sur l'histoire du sous dialecte du Rouergue par L. Constans. Paris, 1880.

[9] Etudes sur les idiomes pyrénéens de la region française. Paris, 1879.

To this place also belongs Cornu's *Phonologie du Bagnard* (a west Swiss dialect), printed in *Romania*. Particular important questions of the older Provençal speech sounds and accidence have also been examined, particularly by Paul Meyer,[1] Chabaneau,[2] Thomas[3] and Wiechmann,[4] especially on the basis of the rhymes, which clearly indicate vowel differences that have disappeared in writing, just as in French itself. The statements of the two old grammars, the *Donat proënsal* and the *Rasos de Trobar* by Raimon Vidal are of great importance for this question. I have provided a new edition of these (Marburg, 1877), which, differing from the pseudo-critical one by Guessard,[5] faithfully reproduces the MSS., which have been sadly corrupted in places, and is accompanied by an ample commentary and glossary. In connection with the *Rasos* there arose a number of similar essays, one even in doggrel verse, which Paul Meyer has printed in the *Romania* under the title of *Traités catalans de grammaire et de poétique*, and furnished with a commentary. It is only to warn scholars against it, that I mention Demattio's *Grammatica della lingua provenzale* (Innsbruck, 1880), which can be described as merely a bad copy of what Diez in his grammar, and Bartsch in the *Tableau* of his *Chrestomathie provençale* (now in its fourth edition),[6] have already given. It shows no new research, nor even a knowledge of what has been recently accomplished. Ch. de Tourtoulon and the poet O. Bringuier (since deceased) endeavoured to fix the existing linguistic boundary between the Provençal and the French languages by actually travelling over the limiting districts. But they only partially completed their work. Their first report, with a map of the boundary so far

[1] L'imparfait du Subjonctif en *es* par Paul Meyer, Romania, VIII. 155. Les troisièmes personnes du pluriel en provençal, by the same, *ibid.* IX. 192.

[2] In various notes contributed by him to the *Revue des Langues romanes*, and to the *Romania*.

[3] De la confusion entre *r* et *s*, *z*, en provençal et en français, par *A. Thomas*, in Monaci's Giornale di filologia rom. No. 5, July, 1879.

[4] Ueber die Aussprache des provenzalischen, von Ernst Wiechmann. Halle, 1881.

[5] Grammaires provençales de Hugues Faidit et de Raymond Vidal de Besaudun. Deuxième édition, corrigée et considérablement augmentée par F. Guessard. Paris, 1858.

[6] Elberfeld, 1881.

as yet determined, is published in the *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, Paris, 1876.[1] As respects lexicography we must particularly allude, for the earlier language, to the special Glossaries to Stimming's edition of *Bertran de Born*; to Paul Meyer's edition of the *Croisade contre les albigeois*, and to my edition of the two old grammars, already mentioned; for the recent language, two comprehensive dictionaries are in course of publication, first the *Dictionnaire des idiomes romans du midi de la France*, by G. Azaïs, in three volumes, published by the *Société pour l'étude des langues romanes*, and, secondly, *Lou Tresor dou Felibrige*, by Mistral, the well-known modern Provençal poet. A large number of editions of old Provençal writings have to be noticed. Among them are Monaci's heliotypic reproduction of the drama *Santa Agnes* (Roma, 1880), which had been previously published by Bartsch and Sardou; my copies of the Provençal Anthology of the *Biblioteca Chigiana* (Marburg, 1877), and the short Copenhagen collection of poems (in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, vol. II.); Constan's extracts from two MSS. at Cheltenham, printed in the *Revue des langues romanes*, 1881; various shorter texts published by Chabaneau, *ibid.*; Förster's palæographical reprints of the translation of the Gospel of John (all in the same periodical), and of the Oxford *Girart de Rossilho*; as well as Stürzinger's reprint of the London Girart (in Boehmer's *Rom. Studien*, vol. V.); Paul Meyer's excellent edition of the *Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*, in two volumes (Paris, 1875–9); Stimming's welcome collection of the Songs of *Bertran de Born* (Halle, 1879); as well as the Songs of *Guillem Figueiras* by Levy (Berlin, 1880); and that of the Songs of *Ponz de Capdoil* by M. v. Napolsky (Halle, 1880, rather unsuccessful); Sardou's very defective edition of the *Vida de S. Honorat* by *Raimon Feraut*, Nice, 1875;

[1] In the same periodical there appeared in 1879 another and very important report, by a young scholar of great promise (to whom I have already had occasion to allude), A. Thomas: 'Sur une mission philologique dans le département de la Creuse.' Paul Meyer, in Romania, VIII. 471, says it should be regarded 'comme modèle à tous ceux qui doréna vant étudieront la géographie des patois romans.'

and many others. Many additions have also been made to the history of literature and accounts of MSS. Gröber endeavoured to throw light upon the origin and sources of the collections of Provençal Songs, in a somewhat too long essay in the *Romanische Studien*. Paul Meyer has written a lecture *De l'influence des troubadours sur la poésie des peuples romans* (printed in Romania, vol. V.), and (*ibid.* VI. p. 399) treated the relation of the Provençal poem and the Latin prose *Vita* of St. Honorat (printed in 1502), which was also discussed by Hosch[1] and myself,[2] and finally decided by the sudden discovery of two older Latin MSS at Dublin and Oxford, made almost at the same time by Paul Meyer and myself.[3] The various forms of the *Girart de Rossillon* Legend were investigated by Paul Meyer,[4] and its historical foundations were discussed by Lognon in an article in the *Revue historique*. The part which the celebrated Sirventes poet, Bertran de Born, played in history, was treated by Clédat.[5] Various contributions to the history of literature and discoveries of MSS., by Pio Rajna, Milá y Fontanals, Meyer, Chabaneau, Thomas, Constans, Bartsch, and myself, will be found in the various journals concerning the Romance languages. To these must be added some dissertations, and Hüffer's abortive book *The Troubadours*, London, 1878. An equally useless book is E. Brinkmeier's *Die provençalischen Troubadours als lyrische und politische Dichter, mit Proben ihrer Dichtungen*, Göttingen, 1882. On the contrary, the new edition of Diez's splendid work, *Leben und Werke der Troubadurs*, lately announced, to be produced under the care of Karl Bartsch, the well-known Provençal scholar, promises to be of prime importance.

The discovery and publication of the oldest *Alba* of the ninth century by Joh. Schmidt, printed in Zacher's *Zeitschrift*

[1] Untersuchungen über die Quellen und das Verhältniss der provençalischen und der lateinischen Lebensbeschreibung des hl. Honoratus von S. Hosch. Berlin, 1877.

[2] In Gröber's *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.* II. 136-142.

[3] For further particulars see *Romania*, VIII. 481, and *Zeitschr. f. rom.* Phil. III. 611.

[4] In Romania, VII. 161-235, cf. also *ib.* vol. VIII. 136.

[5] Du rôle historique de Bertran de Born par Léon Clédat, Paris. 1879, in the 'Bibl. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome fasc. septième.'

für deutsche Philologie, vol. XII., is of peculiar interest. It is a Latin poem in stanzas with a Provençal burden, perhaps merely the Latinisation of an original popular Provençal song, which is very different in its contents from the later *Albas*, and must be considered as a military watch song. The Provençal burden is,—

"L'alba par umed mar atra sol
Poy pas a bigil mira clar tenebras." [1]

Its lines of nine and twelve syllables appear in their metrical construction to correspond to lines of eleven and fifteen syllables, in which, after the two (or three) principal interior ictūs, the syllabic expression of the thesis is suppressed. It is well known that the oldest Troubadour, William IX., unites lines of 11 and 15 (or 14) syllables in three of his poems, and these shew clearly marked ictūs by means of the verbal accent, on precisely the same places as the *Alba*. (We have here verses with more than two fixed ictūs, similar to the lines of 12 syllables with three ictūs, on the 4th, 8th, and 12th syllable; see on this point *Romania*, X. p. 70, note 1). Bartsch [2] has asserted the Celtic origin of these and some other kinds of verse, in opposition to Arbois de Jubainville and Gaston Paris, but probably incorrectly, because it is very easy to see in them transformations of the old long line of 16 syllables with trochaic rhythm. A paper by Maus, now in the press, will endeavour to settle the metrical imitations of Pierre Cardinal. I have myself spoken of some other very marked cases of formal imitation in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, IV. 102.

"III. The philological contributions to Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Rumanic, and Rhæto-Romanic, can be even more briefly summarised than those to Provençal. Toward Italian grammar Canello has contributed an essay on the *Vocalismo tonico* in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, I., and another on *Gli allotropi italiani* in Ascoli's *Archivio*, III. Caix's work on *Le*

[1] In English, according to the interpretation in the *Literaturblatt*, 1882, No. 1 notes: "The dawn appears, the sun attracts the humid sea, passes obliquely over the hill, shines brightly upon the darkness."

[2] Zeitschrift für rom. Phil., III. 359 ff.

origini della lingua poetica, Florence, 1880, is interesting and instructive. Other contributions have been made by the same writer, by d'Ovidio, Pio Rajna ('On the Dialects of Italy' in the eighth annual address of the President to the Philological Society, 1879), Gröber and Gaspary, but we are still in want of a really scientific Italian grammar suitable to replace that of Blank,[1] which is antiquated on many points. The writings of Demattio[2] in this direction have no great value, and other grammars, as those of Vockeradt[3] and Städler,[4] have practical aims in view.

"Of publications of texts I may name Förster's impression of the Gallo-Italian sermons in *Romanische Studien* (though they perhaps rather belong to the Franco-Provençal division); several publications of dialectal texts in Ascoli's Archivio Glottologico, vols. IV. and VII.; Monaci's impression of the *Canzoniere chigiano* in the Italian journal *Propugnatore*; my own edition of the *Cantare di Fierabraccia* in No. II. of the 'Editions and Essays' (to which is prefixed an investigation by Buhlmann on its relation to the Provençal and French forms); Pio Rajna's edition of a *Versione dei sette savi in ottava rima,*[5] on which he had already treated in *Romania*; Varnhagen's impression of an 'Italian prose-version of the seven wise men';[6] Castet's edition of an Italian version of the *Roman de la Rose* in sonnets by Durante, entitled *Fiore*;[7] and finally, the excellent *Saggio* on a new critical edition of the *Rime di F. Petrarca,* with a copious commentary by the gifted poet Giosué Carducci (Livorno, 1876).

"Many works are devoted to Italian literature. I may name the much appreciated *Storia della letteratura italiana* by

[1] Grammatik der italienischen Sprache von L. G. Blank. Halle, 1844.

[2] Grammatica storica della lingua italiana ad uso dei Ginnasi e dei candidati allo inseguamento, per F. Demattio, Insbruck, 1875-6. Origine, Formazione ed Elementi della lingua italiana, *ib.* 1878, 2ª edizione.

[3] Lehrbuch der italienischen Sprache für die oberen Klassen höherer Lehranstalten und zum Privat-Studium, von H. Vockeradt. Berlin, 1878. 2 Theile.

[4] Lehrbuch der italienischen Sprache zum Schul- Privat- und Selbts- Unterricht Von K. Städler, 4te gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Berlin, 1878.

[5] Bologna, 1880. Scelta di curiosità letterarie, Dispensa CLXXVI.

[6] Berlin, 1881.

[7] Montpellier et Paris, 1881.

A. Bartoli;[1] Canello's valuable *Storia della letteratura italiana nel secolo* xvi., Milan, 1880; and Körting's 'History of Italian literature at the time of the Rénaissance,'[2] which is planned on a very extensive scale; the two volumes already published treating of the lives and works of Petrarch and Boccaccio. For Petrarch we have also the thorough *Studj* by Zumbini (Napoli, 1878), for Boccaccio the important *Studj sulle opere latine* by A. de Hortis, Trieste, 1879, and the Italian translation of Landau's Biography by C. Antona-Traversi (Napoli, 1881). Of other works I may mention the *Studj di critica* by A. d'Ancona (Bologna, 1880); the learned work *Le fonti dell' Orlando furioso* by Pio Rajna (Firenze, 1876), to whom we owe a large number of other works on the older romantic poetry of Italy; the *Studj d'erudizione e d'arte* by Adolfo Borgognoni (vol. 2°, Bologna, 1878); and finally, Gaspary's careful work 'The Sicilian school of poets in the thirteenth century' (*Die sicilianische Dichterschule des* 13 *Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1878).

"For Spanish, we have first of all to welcome the appearance of a scientific Grammar by P. Förster.[3] The first volume is all that has yet appeared, and of course that does not allow us to pass a final judgment upon it. Next we must hail the 'Studies on the Romanic making of words' (*Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung*)[4] by the learned Romanic scholar Caroline Michaelis de Vasconcellos, in which splendid work the Spanish language has been especially considered. The independent nature of this language, and the way in which, as regards the formation of words, it has cut itself loose from Latin and taken its own path, is especially what the learned authoress has grasped, and for the first time brought into proper light. Among the editions I may mention Vollmöller's new edition of the *Poema del Cid*,[5] of which however the second volume, intended to contain notes and a glossary, has not yet appeared. In the mean time Cornu has begun to publish his *Etudes sur*

[1] Firenze, 1879.
[2] Leipzig, 1878-80.
[3] Berlin, 1881.
[4] Leipzig, 1876.
[5] Halle, 1879.

le Poème du Cid in *Romania*, vol. X. Again, several publications by H. Knust from the MSS. of the Escurial have to be noticed;[1] also an edition of Juan Manuel's *El libro de la Caza* by Baist;[2] another very careful edition of Calderon's *Magico prodigioso* by Morel Fatio,[3] and several others. The Calderon jubilee of course produced a flood of writings composed for the festival, and mostly of no scientific value.[4] A useful manual for the beginner is a short grammar and chrestomathy given by d'Ovidio and Monaci in No. 1 of their *Manualetti d'introduzione agli studj neolatini*, Naples, 1879, which they have followed up as No. 2, 1881, with a similar and somewhat more copious one for Portuguese.

"For Portuguese, von Reinhardstoettner's 'Grammar of the Portuguese language'[5] is a meritorious work, although objections of various kinds have been made to it. Cornu has published the first part of his *Etudes de grammaire portuguaise* in *Romania*, vol. X., which promise to give interesting explanations. Among editions of texts the first place belongs to the careful diplomatic impression of the celebrated *Songbook* of the Vatican in Monaci's *Communicazioni dalle biblioteche di Roma* (Halle, 1875). In the second volume of the same collection Monaci has published the *Codice Colocci-Brancuti*, which, hitherto supposed to be lost, but rediscovered by Molteni, supplements the Vatican collection in a most desirable manner. It is well known that the text of this MS. was disfigured in the most frightful way by the Italian scribe, who was ignorant of Portuguese, and requires a complete critical reconstruction. Monaci had already attempted this himself for some songs. Some others, similarly treated, he dedicated to me as a wedding present, with the title *Cantos de Ledino*, Halle, 1875. Th. Braga has undertaken to furnish

[1] Dos obras didacticas y dos leyendas sacadas de manuscritos de la Biblioteca del Escorial. Dálas a luz la Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles. Madrid, 1878. Mittheilungen aus dem Escurial von H. Kunst, gedr. für den literärischen Verein in Stuttgart. Tübingen, 1880.

[2] Halle, 1881.

[3] Heilbronn, 1877.

[4] For further particulars I refer to A. Morel Fatio's *Calderon, Revue critique des travaux d'érudition publiés en Espagne à l'occasion du second centenaire de la mort du poete. Suivie de documents relatifs à l'ancien théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1881.

[5] Strassburg, 1878.

such a reconstruction, but his *Cancioneiro Portuguez da Vaticana, edição critica*, Lisbon, 1878, is a too hasty work, in which he has even omitted to cite for comparison the 56 *Cantigas* of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, which recur in the Vatican MS. The same Th. Braga has produced a whole series of other writings bearing upon the literature and literary history of Portugal. I need only mention his *Antologia portugueza*, Oporto, 1876, and *Manual da historia da litteratura portugueza desde as suas origens até ao presente*, Oporto, 1875.

"For Rumanic we have first works on its speech-sounds by Lambrior,[1] Gaster,[2] and Miklosich,[3] then the completion of the valuable *Dictionnaire* by Cihac,[4] the second part of which treats of the non-Latin elements of Rumanic. Hasdeu's journal, entitled *Columna lui Traian*, which ceased to appear in 1877, contains many interesting contributions, and especially older Rumanic texts. A further publication by Hasdeu in two volumes, which is also devoted to the oldest texts of the Rumanic language, and is entitled *Curente den bàtrani*, Bacuresci, 1878–1880, has led to unpleasant explanations between Cihac and Gaster.

"The Rhætoromanic language has also some noteworthy grammatical works to shew, as Th. Gartner's *Die Gredner Mundart*, Linz, 1879; Alton's *Ueber die ladinischen Idiome in Ladinien, Gröden, Fassa, Buchenstein, Ampezzo*, Innsbruck, 1879, and Boehmer's contributions in various numbers of his *Romanische Studien*. Stürzinger's dissertation *Die Conjugation im Rhätoromanischen*[5] also deserves attention. Among important older texts, J. Ulrich has published *Le sacrifice d'Abraham, Mystère engadinois*, in *Romania*, vol. VIII., and in vol. IX. of the same the *Catéchisme romaunsh* by Bonifaci. In the *Archivio Glottologico*, vol. VII. C. Decurtis gave an

[1] Essai de phonétique roumaine par A. Lambrior, *Romania*, IX. 99 and 367 ff.

[2] [illegible] anischen Lautgeschichte. [illegible] von M. Gaster in [illegible] *für rom. Phil.* II. [illegible] lehre der ruman- [illegible] ...ralismus I., von Franz Miklosich, in the "Sitzungsberichte" of the Academy of Vienna. Vienna, 1881.

[4] Dictionnaire d'Etymologie Daco-Romane. Elements slaves, magyars, turcs, grecs-moderne, et albanois, par A. de Cihac. Frankfort-a.-M., 1879.

[5] Zürich, 1879.

edition of four 'testi soprasilvani,' and Ascoli will in the same volume add a translation and notes to one of them. A. von Flugi has communicated some specimens of modern Ladin poetry in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, vol. III., and in vol. I. of the same has treated of 'The Ladin Dramas of the sixteenth century.' Rausch has also given some linguistic remarks on the *Müsser Krieg*, etc., in the same Journal, II. 99.

"IV. Finally, we must cast a glance over the works which treat of the Romance languages as a whole. Linguistically I may mention W. Förster's 'Contributions to Romance phonetics, I. Vowel Mutation, properly speaking vowel elevation, in Romance' (*Beiträge zur romanischen Lautlehre*, I. *Umlaut eigentlich Vocalsteigerung im Romanischen*), printed in Gröber's *Zeitschrift*, vol. III. (the theory here upheld is, however, very open to attack); J. Ulrich's Dissertation, 'The formal development of the past participle in Romance languages' (*Die formelle Entwickelung des Participium praeteriti in den romanischen Sprachen*[1]); Diez's last work, 'The Romanic making of words' (*Romanische Wortschöpfung*, Bonn, 1875), an appendix to his grammar of the Romance languages, of which the fifth edition is now publishing; Foth's dissertation, 'The shifting of the Latin tenses in the Romance languages' (*Die Verschiebung der lateinischen Tempora in den romanischen Sprachen*), in No. 8 of *Romanische Studien*; Meunier's work, published after his death by A. Darmesteter, *Les Composés qui contiennent un verbe à un mode personnel en latin, en français, en italien et en espagnol*, Paris, 1875, an investigation related to Darmesteter's work already mentioned; F. A. Coelho's *Os dialectos Romanicos ou Neo-Latinos na Africa, Asia e America*, on which very interesting work compare an article in the *Litteraturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 1881, col. 256. To these must be added numerous new Romance Etymologies which Scheler has collected in the Appendix to the fourth edition of Diez's 'Etymological dictionary of the Romance languages,' Bonn, 1878, which has appeared under his

[1] Winterthur, 1879.

superintendence. Many other proposed etymologies will be found in the various journals which lay themselves out for the cultivation of Romance philology. Among these journals, the following two have ceased to appear within the last seven years: 'The Annual (*Jahrbuch*) for Romance and English,' of which 15 volumes have appeared, and the *Rivista di filologia romanza*, which only lasted for two volumes. In place of the Annual, the 'Journal for Romance philology' (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*) has appeared, edited by Gröber. It enjoys the active collaboration of almost all German Romance scholars, and has just completed its fifth volume.[1] As was the case in the Annual, a copious bibliography of the preceding year is to be added to each volume. The *Giornale di filologia romanza*, under the editorship of Monaci, of which 3 vols. have now appeared, serves as the organ of Italian Romance scholars in place of the *Rivista* mentioned above.

"A question which reaches beyond the strict limits of Romance philology into the Latin territory: what is the part played by the quantity of Latin and Romance vowels in producing a change of quality? has been investigated by Boehmer and ten Brink in opposite directions. Boehmer's thesis was 'Sound not length,'[2] ten Brink's 'Both sound and length.'[3] In this discussion, which has unfortunately been conducted with personal animosity, Boehmer appears to have defended the correct view, as I have already stated in speaking about ten Brink's Essay in the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1879, Art. 165. At any rate ten Brink's assertions give rise to considerable doubt. Other questions of general importance, which also touch on the Philology of the Romance languages, have been treated in a masterly manner by Ascoli

[1] A new periodical of the same kind, under the editorship of K. Vollmöller, has just been commenced under the title of "Romanische Forschungen," Er-
a. . From 1880 the 'Litera-
ur germanische und romanische
' edited by Behagel und Neu-
mann, has been exclusively
s. Another periodical
confined to French
Philology, is announced to begin in July, 1882, under the title of *Gallia*, Leipzig, 1882; it will be edited by Dr. Kressmer of Cassel.

[2] Romanische Studien, III. 351 and 609.

[3] Dauer und Klang. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Vocalquantität im Altfranzösischen von B. ten Brink. Strassburg, 1879.

in *Una lettera glottologica*, Torino, 1881. I cannot treat here at any length of the works which specially deal with the vulgar and later Latin, among which those of Wölflin in particular are of great interest to Romance scholars; I must refer for them to E. Ludwig's reports in Bursian's 'Annual report on the progress of the science of classical antiquity' (*Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1876-8).

"During the last seven years some general surveys have appeared of the development of Romance philology. Thus F. Neumann reported on Romance philology during the last two years in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, new series, IV. Karl Sachs in an address printed in Herrig's *Archiv*, vol. 54, treated of 'The present condition of the investigation of Romance dialects' (*Ueber den heutigen Stand der romanischen Dialectforschung*). Lastly Marius Sepet delivered in 1878 before the *Congrès bibliographique international* a short and rather one-sided report on *Les études relatifs à la litérature française du moyen âge.*

"I conclude with mentioning the writings which treat of the conception and method of Romance philology or its particular branches. These are a number of rather popular lectures. 'The science of language and modern languages' (*Sprachwissenschaft und neuere Sprachen*) by Breymann, Munich, 1876. *Storia letteraria e comparazione* by A. Graf, Torino, 1876. *La storia comparata delle letterature neo-latine*, and *Frederico Diez e la filologia romanza* by M. Angelo Canello in his *Saggi di critica letteraria*, Bologna, 1877. *Le letterature neo-latine nelle nostre Università* by Pio Rajna, printed in the *Nuova Antologia*, 1878, 15 January. *Cours d'Histoire de la langue Française*, Geneva, 1876, by E. Ritter. *L'enseignement de la philologie romane en France* and *La langue et la littérature française au moyen âge* by Boucherie (Montpellier, 1878 and 1881). *La langue et la littérature provençale* by Chabaneau, Paris, 1879. On the other hand, the 'Encyclopedia of the philological study of modern languages' (*Encyclopädie des philologischen Studiums der neueren Sprachen*) by the late Prof. B. Schmitz of Greifswald, which is now in its second

edition (Leipzig, 1875–7), must be characterised as thoroughly unscientific.

"May Romance Philology continue to shew a similar activity, but at the same time give greater attention to those parts which have hitherto been insufficiently cultivated! And especially may Romance scholars of all countries more and more sink petty jealousies and national antipathies, remembering that real science acknowledges Truth as its only aim!"

Conclusion.

With this report I conclude my address. The field covered this evening has been very extensive, reaching from the languages of naked barbarians that had no system of record, through the dialects of cultivated nations, which are equally unrecorded by the speakers, but which philologists are endeavouring to preserve as part of the material whence a science of language may be constructed; and then through some of the oldest records of language in the wedge-formed characters, down to the modern cultivated forms, which are themselves only descendants of some older European tongues, together with the principle of phonetics which underlies their outward transformation, and even some of the studies of the principles of philology which regulate their inward change. No one can glance over the contents of this address, which the kindness of friends in and out of the Society has enabled me to bring before you, and the array of treatises therein mentioned, without feeling what an enormous mass of work there is for a philologist to accomplish before he ventures upon more than a tentative construction of the science of language. Everybody in this world who is not dumb, is daily chattering. The very barbarians chatter as glibly as speakers of our most cultivated languages, and in their chattering make distinctions which the latter have not only not conceived, but which they find it difficult even to conceive as habitually conceived. What I have been enabled to lay before you concerni[illegible]ns and the

Andamanese, demonstrates this clearly enough. But upon what principles do they and we chatter? The daily, nay the momentary operations of life, those with which we are most familiar, become the most difficult subjects of investigation. We have to go out of ourselves, to see the phenomena in others before we can appreciate their significance. And hence the necessity of collecting foreign materials in abundance, to understand our home growth. Their own dialects are to the literary a really foreign growth, and hence the scattered materials which I have brought before you to-night are all contributions towards the understanding of language by viewing it beyond ourselves. Even the great work under Dr. Murray's editorship, which all of us must devoutly hope he will live to complete, while keeping to the cultivated domain of a single language, goes beyond ourselves at every turn by tracing the use of words historically, by shewing from actual record the words of different centuries, and thus forcing upon our attention the real growth of language, which is going on even now all about us without our noting it. We that read history, make history, more especially in words.

With few exceptions all who have helped me this evening are hard-working philologists. But these themselves, as the names they cite shew, are but sparse representatives of the great army which is vigorously endeavouring to conquer the immense, the multifarious, the ever variable problem of language. Like all sciences the science of language pays ill, except in the pleasure which it gives to its cultivators. All the more proud have we to be of the hosts which range themselves under its banners! That we have advanced and are advancing rapidly, an extremely cursory glance through a very few years is sufficient to shew. See how much Prof. Stengel has to record in his one department during the few years which have elapsed between the two periods for which you honoured me with your presidency. But it is like the old story of the climber—the more summits we surmount the more we see before us to overcome.

But I must conclude. Allow me first in your name to

tender the best thanks of the Philological Society to Messrs. Murray, Skeat, Bridges, Man, Temple, Jülg, Pinches, Sweet, and Stengel for their interesting and valuable contributions towards this evening's presidential address. For myself, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel that at my time of life it is practically impossible for me to be your President again. But I shall never forget your kindness in electing me temporarily at first to supply the place of that eminent Sanscrit scholar, Prof. Goldstücker, whom we lost so suddenly before the first year of his presidency had expired, and then in your re-electing me for the regular two years of office. I felt then, as I felt when you again called upon me to take the chair, that I was not a regular philologist, that in fact I indulged in too many other engrossing pursuits, and that in philology itself I was far too one-sided, far too much of a mere phonetist, to discharge the duties of your President with satisfaction—at least to myself. I regret that during my second presidency external and unexpected circumstances have prevented me from doing as much for the Society as a President ought to do. But you have kindly condoned my shortcomings, and I take leave of you as President—I hope still to be generally present at your meetings—with the most profound feeling of gratitude for the honour you have done me, in these three elections, and in your continued kind support of me while in this chair. I feel happy to think that my successor designate (Dr. Murray) is in every way fitter to direct your deliberations than myself. And therewithal I bid you heartily farewell.

II.—SOME LATIN ETYMOLOGIES.

By Prof. Postgate, M.A.

lûceo.

In Plaut. Cas. 1. 30 huic *lucebis* nouae nuptae facem and id. Curc. 1. 1. 9 lautus *luces* cereum occurs a remarkable active use of this verb. The meaning in both places is not merely the active side of *lucere* to shine; if *luces cereum* has anything to do with 'shining' it means to *hold* a shining taper, not to *make* a taper *shine*. The usage suggests two questions for our solution. (1) Can we find anything in the use of the other acknowledged compounds of *luceo* to shine to justify this use? (2) Failing that can we find another explanation of the word?

(1) It may be admitted that the *neuter* use of *luceo* for slaves or other persons carrying a light is both natural and supported by analogies. So *seruus praelucens*, a slave going in front with a light, Suet. Aug. 29, 'saepe natanti *praeluxi*' Stat. Silu. 1. 2. 89 'I often lighted his path before him in the waves,' and, in a metaphorical sense, Auson. Id. 6. 95 'his ego quaesiui meritum quam grande nepoti consul auus lumenque tuae *praeluceo* uitae,' where the verb has been taken actively without necessity or authority. The meaning is that 'my example is a lamp for thy feet,' 'a light for the life journey before thee.' It may further be admitted that *compounds* of *luceo* to shine might under certain circumstances take an active construction. Thus in Plaut. Bacch. 2. 3. 21 'Vulcanus Sol Luna Dies dei quattuor Scelestiorem nullum *hominem illuxere* alterum' the acc. is quite intelligible, being practically governed by the *in* of *illuxere* or the idea of motion which it contains. But it cannot be admitted that, if the simple *luceo* was originally neuter, this change of meaning and construction is anything but surprising. It is true that the original meaning of *luceo* may have been active and

the neuter a subsequent development, as in the Greek φαίνω which is also used absolutely of torches to show the way; compare δαὶς a 'torch.' And if this view is thought generally satisfactory, I shall not oppose it, although I would have preferred to see more examples of the active use. But I imagine that this is not very likely to happen. I pass then to the second inquiry.

2. There is an old word *pollueo*, *pollectura*—*polluctus*—*pollucere*—*pollicibilis* belonging to religious language which meant to 'offer' and is practically equivalent to *porricio* 'to stretch out in offering.' See the important evidence of Varro L. L. 6 § 54 Müller: 'polluctum subst. quod a porriciendo est fictum, cum enim ex mercibus libamenta porrecta sunt Herculi in aram, tum polluctum est.' There has been general agreement about the derivation of this word which is connected with Skt. *ri*, Germ. *reichen*, etc., by Vaniček Wbuch. p. 807 and the authorities there quoted. It does not then seem an unduly speculative proposal to see in the *luco* of Plautus *ll. cc.* the simple of this compound *pollueo* (por-lueo, cf. por-ricio, por-rigo, pol-liceo, etc.) and to take it in the sense of 'holding out' a taper or linkboy's torch. It is not strange if it got confused with the neuter verb *luceo* to shine, and it is not impossible that the above quoted use of *praeluceo* may be an outcome of the confusion. Such colourings of one word by another are not uncommon, especially in Latin and its descendants. One may be quoted here. *sumen* (suginen from sugo to 'suck' and therefore properly the breast) early obtained a special reference to the breast of a sow (*sus*), a favourite dish among the Romans. The association of the word with *sus* became finally so powerful that Juvenal even uses it for a sow, Sat. 12. 73.

lucuns and the so-called Latin termination *-uns*.

This with its diminutive *lucunculus* (Afranius, Statius, Petronius) is a rare word and means a kind of pastry or cake. It has however generally been assumed to be a pure Latin word and connected with *obliquus*, λοξός, *licinus* Vaniček p. 826,[1] in spite

[1] Lat. p. 169 (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1882).

of the fact that these confectioners' words are prevailingly Greek—in one place *lucuns* is coupled with *pemma* Varro ap. Non. 131. 24—in spite of the meaning of the word 'a flat pancake,' τηγανίτης Gloss. Lab., and in spite of its un-Latin termination *-uns*. Of this I only know three other instances: *Acheruns* (Gk. 'Αχέρων) *Opuns* ('Οποῦς) and *Arruns* Etruscan.[1] It seems to me to be certainly a *Lehnwort* and from the Greek πλακοῦς (πλακοῦντος), also a flat cake. The nasal may be either an echo of the gen. as seems to be the case in *Acheruns*, *Opuns* or indicate a nasalised vowel; cf. *thensaurus*, *Scaptensula*.[2] The loss of the initial consonant before *l* need not surprise us. Compare *laena*=Gr. χλαῖνα, and probably *linter*, *lunter*=Gr. πλυντήρ and more examples in native Lat. words in Corss. I.[2] 113.[3] For the change of *a* to *u* we have a very close parallel in *lucuna* a bye form of *lacuna*. The unfamiliar form of the word assisted the assimilation. Such simplifications are not uncommon in borrowed words. Either the memory is assisted by a borrowed word being provided with

[1] *Acheruns* is Plautine; *Opuns* in Long. Schol. Veron. Virg. Aen. 3. 705 (Neue). We know nothing about *flexuntes* (cited by Weise, *op. cit.* p. 45), if, indeed, that be the ancient form, which is doubtful. We certainly do not know what its *nom.* was. It is not the slightest justification for the assumption of a native origin to appeal to the other terminations in *-ns*, which are acknowledged to be genuine Latin endings, as *-ons* (*fons*, *frons*), *-ens* (*gens*), etc. We shall hear next that *-ins* is a native Latin termination. Those who still think that the support of *-ons*, *-ens*, etc., is sufficient for *-uns*, or that the analogy of Etruscan forms is any warrant for Latin, I would recommend first to consider why it is that we have *adiens*, *obiens*, and the like in the nom., while we have *adeuntem*, *obeuntem* in the acc., and so on throughout the stem; and then what they are to do with the following passage of Charisius, and the quotation from Pliny there, Inst. Gr. I. 17. p. 105 (Keil Gramm. Lat. I. p. 130), "Frus, haec frus, quia sic ab Ennio est declinatum annalium libro VII, russescunt frundes, non frondes, 'fros sine *n* littera ne faciat,' inquit Plinius 'frontis,' quasi non dicatur nisi frons τὸ μέτωπον quod se probare dicit quoniam antea cum *u* non recipiebat *n*, sed nec cum *u* uertet (*uertit* perf. seems rather required); Varro rerum rusticarum libro I 'ulmos et populos unde est fros,' idem antiquitatum Romanarum libro XV 'fros faenum messis.' In this passage the best MS. (N.) has qm̃ anticum (or unticum), v. ñ. recipiebat, *n. s.* nec cum ũ tet in o, i.e. quoniam antea cum *u* non recipiebat *ns* nec cum *u* uertet in *o*, nor do I see why Keil deviates from N. But the sense is clear. In old Latin *frons*, *a leaf*, was declined *frus*, *frundis*, *-uns* not being admissible, and the *n* was also omitted, even when the *o* was used. This, Pliny says, does not apply to *frons*, *frontis*.

[2] The former seems to be rather the case from the numerous instances in which Greek words in *-ας*, *-αντος*, became *-ans* in Lat. *Abans*, *Atlans* Cic. Tusc. 5. 3. 8 (Reg., Gud), Virg. Aen. I. 741, etc., *Pallans*, *Athamans*, *Garamans*. See the references in Neue, Formenlehre I. p. 148.

[3] It is worth adding that there is not a single Latin word beginning with *pins*.

new relations in the borrowing language and being adopted, so to speak, into a native family (Popular Etymology) or else the strain on it is lightened by the number of its separate constituent sounds being reduced to a minimum and especially by a particular vowel being pressed through all its syllables. This is the case too where a language is in a state of unsettled transition and is the key to several somewhat surprising phonetic changes, such as the predominance of *a* in Romance unaccented syllables where the Latin has *e i* or even *u*.

If my view of the word is correct, we shall have to recognize *lucuns* as a doublet of *placenta* (*πλακοῦντα*)[1] which has long been taken as a borrowing from the Greek.

lûcus and *lûcius*.

In his Etymological Dictionary (s.v. *lea*) Professor Skeat repeats the old derivation from *lucere* with the additional explanation that *lucus* means an 'open space in a wood.' This addition certainly relieves the etymology from its old absurdity and involves a perfectly possible change of meaning; compare *ἐν περιφαινομένῳ*, Od. 5. 476, for a clearing. But it is inadmissible from the fact that *lucus* does *not* mean an 'opening in a wood' in Latin for which the proper term is *nemus*. The sacred character of a *lucus* is well known. This is due to its consisting of *trees* whose sacred character with the ancients it is unnecessary to establish. A reference to the interesting passage in Lucan's Pharsalia III. 399 sqq. may however be permitted. Compare Hor. Epist. I. 6. 32 'uirtutem uerba putas et lucum ligna,' i.e. that sacred trees are only timber. The places where it is actually opposed to *nemus* are more conclusive for its meaning. So in Propertius IV. (V). 9. 24 *lucus* ubi umbroso fecerat orbe *nemus* 'Where the sacred *trees* (lucus) had made a *nemus* with their ring of shade.' The words are also opposed in Seneca Herc. Oet. 956, Tac. Germ. 9. Now it is quite true that the three words *lucus*, *nemus* and *silua* are used with a certain degree of looseness; and

[1] Amongst doublets and *Scheideformen*, [illegible] be mentioned *citrus*, *cedrus* from *κέδρος*; *alapa*, *colaphus* from *κόλαφος*; [illegible] *rhomphaea* from *ῥομφαία*.

that the proper meaning of *nemus* 'wooded pasture, glade' (= the Greek *νέμος*, with which indeed it is generally connected), has been enlarged to that of 'wood,' and that therefore *nemus* can be used for *lucus*, where the sacred character of the latter is not insisted on. Yet the *converse* is by no means true; and *lucus* the 'trees,' is never used for *nemus* the 'clearing' or 'opening' in the wood. A different etymology then is needed. A natural suggestion is that a collection of trees is named from its *shade*; and *lucus* I take to have meant originally 'shade,' and to be connected with the Gk. *λυγή* 'darkness,' *λυγαῖος* 'dark,' *ἠ-λύγ-η*, *ἤλυξ* 'darkness,' *ἠ-λυγ-αῖος* (with prosthetic *η*; cf. Curt. Gr. Et. 714) 'dark,' *ἐπ-ηλυγ-άζω* 'to draw a veil over' which have hitherto been underived. *collucare lucum* Cato de Re Rustica 139 is to 'make a clearing in a wood,' to remove its shade completely. Cf. Fest. ap. Paul. Diac. p. 50 (a passage which tends to show that, if *lucus* is to be connected with *colluco*, its sacred character was accidental and derived from the sacred character of its trees) *collucare* dicebant cum *profanae siluae* rami deciderentur officientes lumini; in p. 151 he explains it more exactly as *succisis* arboribus locum implere luce. So *sublucare* arborem Fest. p. 34 of pruning a tree, and *interlucare* and *interlucatio* more than once in Pliny of partial clearing. It will be observed that these verbs presume a simple **lucare* to 'clear of shade' to take its *lucus* from anything, as we speak of 'beheading' and of 'heading' and 'tailing' shrimps.

With *lucus* is connected, I believe, *lucius*, the name of a fish that lived in dark pools A ›n. Id. 10. 120

hic etiam Latio *risus* pra ›mine, cultor
stagnorum, querulis uis ii issima ranis,
lucius, obscuras ulna caer ›q lacunas
obsidet.

It seems not impossible that for *lu(c)scus*, the man one
of whose lights is darkened, Nachtigall are from
the same root LUK, LUG. ivative is
lúgeo which properly mea urning, in black
(uestis lugubri from the form
which is indicating a

state like *splendeo*, *flaueo*, *floreo*, etc. Hence the two derivations of it (1) connecting it with Gk. λύζω to sob and (2) with Gk. λυγίζω bend, Sk. *ruǵ* break in pieces must be set aside. For the meaning 'mourning' I may refer to the dictionaries. A good example is Mart. 14. 37 pullo lugentes uellere lanas. Other places are Cic. Sext. 14, Planc. 42, Serv. ad Aen. XI. 211, where he mentions the *habitus mutatio* as a distinctive feature of *luctus*.

III. — INITIAL MUTATIONS IN THE LIVING CELTIC, BASQUE, SARDINIAN, AND ITALIAN DIALECTS. By H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte.

The principal Celtic dialects, comprising Irish, Gaelic, and Manx amongst the Gaelic, and Welsh, Cornish, Breton, and Breton of Vannes amongst the Cambrian, are undoubtedly those which present more than any other the interesting property of regular initial mutations, suppressions, or additions at the beginning of words, determined by the forms or meanings of preceding words. Other dialects, however, as I showed for the first time in my "Osservazioni sulla pronunzia del dialetto sassarese" (prefixed to the translation of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew into this dialect by the late Canon Spano, London, 1866), possess regular initial mutations similar to those of the middle form of the Celtic, and also others not to be found in Celtic, but yet taking place in a similar manner under the influence of a preceding word. In the several Basque dialects, initial mutations, corresponding to those of the advanced form (the "provection" of Zeuss), peculiar to Cornish, Breton, and Breton of Vannes, are also to be observed, but only under the influence of *bai* (when meaning 'because' and not 'yes'), and of *ez* 'not.' Amongst the four principal dialects of the Island of Sardinia, Logudorese and Cagliaritan, both belonging to the Sardinian language (but, as I think, Non-Italian, although Neo-Latin), show initial mutations belonging to the middle form of the Celtic languages, without reckoning those they have in common with standard Italian or Tuscan. And this observation applies also to the third dialect of Sardinia, Sassarese, which is decidedly Italian, although not to the fourth, Tempiese, which, being even more Italian than the Sassarese, possesses hardly any initial mutation not to be found in Italian. Regular initial mutations influenced by a preceding

word as in Celtic, do certainly exist in Italian, but they do not belong to any of the four Celtic forms, middle, nasal, aspirated, or advanced ("provection"). I place them under a new form, which I call "weak," taking into consideration this very important fact, *viz.* that in Tuscan Italian, as well as in the majority of the real Italian dialects (such as Roman, the two Corsican, Tempiese, Sassarese, Sicilian, the two Calabrian, Neapolitan) initial consonants, although written single, are generally pronounced as they would be if written double. This strong pronunciation of consonants occurs not only at the beginning of any isolated word, or of any word beginning a sentence however short it may be, but also every time the consonant is not preceded by a word capable of determining the mutations constituting the "weak" form. It is, then, necessary to remember that, in Italian at least, the sounds which I represent in my tables by the symbols (bb, dd, ff, etc.), are the natural forms of consonants beginning their names in the Italian alphabet, and constituting their first or radical form (see note 5, p. 179). The sounds represented by the symbols (d, b, f, etc.), are, on the contrary, mere mutations of (bb, dd, ff, etc.), and are determined, as in Celtic, by a preceding word.

Before entering into further details on the initial mutations of Celtic, Basque, Sardinian, and Italian, it will be as well to remark first that they may be determined by two very different causes, according to the nature of the dialects. The first, or purely syntactic, depends on the meaning of the word and obtains in Celtic and Basque, while the second, not only syntactic but phonetic as well, belongs to Sardinian and Italian. As an instance, take the word "heart," as in all the Celtic, Sardinian, and Italian dialects here treated: 1°. Irish, *croidhe*, the Connaught pronunciation of which would be expressed phonetically and with the consonant and vowel symbols I have adopted and explained in the first table, by (kroïe); 2°. Gaelic, *cridhe*, pronounced according to the Inverness pronunciation (krîə); 3°. Manx, *cree*, pron. (krî); 4°. Welsh, *calon*, pr. (kállon); 5°. Cornish, *colon* (kólon); 6°. Breton of Léon, or simply "Breton," *caloun* (kálun);

7°. Breton of Vannes, or simply "Vannes," *kalon* (kalón); 8°. Logudorese, *coro* (kkóro); 9°. Cagliaritan, *coru* (kkóru); 10°. Sassarese, 11°. Tempiese, and 12°. Southern Corsican, *cori* (kkóri); 13°. Southern Calabrian and 14°. Sicilian, *cori* (kkóri); 15°. Northern Corsican, 16°. vulgar Florentine or rather Florentine "Cianesco," 17°. Pisan with Livornese, and 18°. Roman or rather "Romanesco Trasteverino;" 20°. Northern Calabrian, *core* (kkóre); 19°. Neapolitan, *core* (kkórə); 21°. Lucchese, *core* (kóre);[1] 22°. Standard Italian, *cuore* (kkuóre). All these words being isolated, occur under the radical form and begin with the voiceless sound expressed by (k), as in Celtic and vulgar Lucchese, or with its strong modification expressed by (kk), as in Sardinian and generally in Italian. Let us however prefix to them any of those words capable of determining an initial mutation, and we shall perceive, as in the following examples, that (k) has been mutated either into voiced (g), as in Celtic generally, Sardinian, and Sassarese, or has remained unaltered, as in Scottish Gaelic, or been entirely suppressed, as in vulgar Lucchese, while the strong modification (kk) has been mutated into the simple (k), as in standard Italian and the majority of its dialects, or into (h), as in vulgar Florentine, or otherwise suppressed, as in vulgar Pisan or Livornese. Thus: 1°. Irish, *bhur gcroidhe* (wər grə'ie) *your heart*, instead of (wər krə'ie); 2°. Gaelic, *bhur cridhe* (vür krîə), *id.*; 3°. Manx, *nyn gree* (*nh*əng grî), *id.*, instead of (*nh*əng krî); 4°. Welsh, *dy galon* (də gállon), *thy heart*, inst. of (də kállon); 5°. Cornish, *de golon* (de gólon), *id.*, inst. of (de kólon); 6°. Breton, *da galoun* (da gálun), *id.*, inst. of (da kálun); 7°. Vannes, *ha galon* (ha galón), *id.*, inst. of (ha kalón); 8°. Logudorese, *su coro tou* (ssu góro dóu), literally, *the heart thy*, inst. of (ssu kkóro dóu); 9°. Cagliaritan, *su coru tuu* (ssu góru dúu), *id.*, inst. of (ssu kkóru dúu); 10°. Sassarese, *lu to cori* (llu do góri), literally, *the thy heart*, inst. of (llu do kkóri); 11°. Tempiese, *lu to cori* (llu to kóri), *id.*, inst. of (llu to kkóri); 14°. Sicilian, *lu to cori* (llu to kóri), *id.*, inst. of (llu

[1] As a general rule, Lucchese substitutes the weak for the radical Italian form.

to kkór*i*); 12°. Southern Corsican, *u to cori* (u *to* kóri), *id.*, inst. of (u *to* kkori); 13°. Southern Calabrian, *u to cori* (u *to* kor*i*), *id.*, inst. of (u *to* kkor*i*); 15°. Northern Corsican, *u to core* (u *to* kór*e*), *id.*, inst. of (u *to* kkor*e*); 16°. Florentine, *ittò* core (ittó hór*e*), *id.*, inst. of (ittó kkór*e*); 17°. Pisan, *er tu 'ore* (*er* ttu ór*e*), *id.*, inst. of (*er* ttu kkór*e*); 18°. Roman, *er tu core* (*er* ttu kór*e*), *id.*, inst. of (*er* ttu kkór*e*); 20°. Northern Calabrian, *lu core tue* (llu kór*e* tú*e*), *the heart thy*, inst. of (llu kkór*e* tú*e*); 19. Neapolitan, *lo core tujo* (*u* kórə túyə), *id.*, inst. of (*u* kkórə túyə); 21°. Lucchese, *il tu 'ore* (il tu ór*e*), *the thy heart*, inst. of (il tu kór*e*); 22°. Standard Italian, *il tuo cuore* (il ttú*o* kuór*e*), *id.*, inst. of (il ttú*o* kkuór*e*).

However numerous may be the instances quoted, they will fail however to show the purely syntactic nature of the Celtic and the few Basque mutations, and the phonetic Sardinian and Italian. I shall speak of the Basque in my explanation of Table XII., which relates to the causative *bai* (bhái) and negative *ez* (es) in this language. The purely syntactic nature of the mutation in the Celtic languages (whatever the ancient original cause may or may not have been), is shown by the fact that the very same word, spelled and pronounced in the same way, may bring about two different forms of mutation in the initial sound of the word that immediately follows, as, for instance, by reason of its grammatical gender, independently of the nature of its final sound. In Irish, Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Cornish, Breton of Léon,[2] the possessive adjective expressed in English either by *his* or by *her*, is in both cases rendered by the same word: *a*, *a*, *e*, *ei*, *y*, *hé* (a, ə, e, ɛi, ə, *e*), respectively. Now, in Irish, Gaelic, and Manx, *a*, *a*, *e*, meaning *his*, governs the fourth or aspirated form of tion, and meaning *her*, almost always, the first or radical; in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, *ei*, *y*, *hé*, meaning *his*, the second or middle form, and, meaning *her*, the irated. The two Celtic branches differ very t respect in the application of the same principle.

(5) *his*, and *hé* (hi) means *her*. Ex. *i galon* (i galón), *his her heart*.

The following are instances: 1°. Irish, *a chroidhe* (a khrə'ie), *his heart*, and *a croidhe* (a krə'ie), *her heart*; 2°. Gaelic, *a chridhe* (ə khrîə), *his heart*, and *a cridhe* (ə krîə), *her heart*; 3°. Manx, *e chree* (e khrî), *his heart*, and *e cree* (e krî), *her heart*; 4°. Welsh, *ei galon* (ə́i gállon), *his heart*, and *ei chalon* (ə́i khállon), *her heart*; 5°. Cornish, *y golon* (ə gólon), *his heart*, and *y holon* (ə hólon), *her heart*; 6°. Breton, *hé galoun* (e gálun), *his heart*, and *hé c'haloun* (e khálun), *her heart*.

The Sardinian and Italian mutations are phonetic and independent of the grammatical character of the preceding word. The initial mutation of the second word is due solely to the original nature of the final sound of the first word, and not at all to the meaning of the whole word by which it is preceded (see my "Osservazioni sulla pronunziadel dialetto sassarese"); whatever may have been said to the contrary by Schuchardt (see "Romania," vol. iii. p. 13, note 1), who, as I think, must have not clearly understood my little Italian pamphlet, from which, however, he has derived a knowledge of a great number of facts previously unknown to him. The phonetic cause of the Non-Celtic or Non-Basque initial mutations is clear not only in the Italian dialects generally, but also in the two Sardinian and Sassarese. These three dialects make no exception, notwithstanding that they go so far in a purely morphological imitation of the Celtic mutations, as to simulate the second or middle form perfectly. In this respect they are, so to say, even more Celtic than the Scottish Gaelic, which has no middle form of mutation. In fact, (krîə) can only be aspirated in (khrîə), in this dialect, in which the middle form (grîə) does not exist. In Irish, Manx, Welsh, Cornish, Breton, Vannes, Logudorese, Cagliaritan, and Sassarese, on the contrary, besides the aspirated, nasal, advanced, and weak forms, which appear now in one, now in another, although never all in the same dialect, the middle form constantly obtains in all, as in (grə'ie, grî, gallón, gólon, gálun, golón, góro, góru, góri), respectively.

Observations on the Fifteen Tables.

Table I.

It is only by the adoption of phonetic symbols that the comparison of languages becomes possible. Words, in fact, ought to be studied as they are or as they have been heard, and not as they are seen on paper. It is necessary, however, that the usual spelling should constantly accompany the phonetic symbols, because words, unfortunately, are not known to the despotic public at large as they ought reasonably to be written, but only as they are absurdly spelled. This I have done in my quotations and examples, either by writing in the text the entire words in both orthographies, or by printing in the tables in italics only those letters, digraphs, trigraphs, etc., of the usual spelling, which represent, whether logically or not, the phonetic symbols. With regard to this last, I only regret not having been able to make use of my own symbols, consisting of single signs for each sound, and to have been obliged to adopt digraphs, trigraphs, etc., which, however, always represent the same simple sounds, no matter in what dialect they occur. I remind my readers, therefore, that they should give their principal attention to the strict phonetic value of these symbols, and, as regards the common orthographies now in general use, that they should not forget that in Irish, Gaelic, Logudorese, Cagliaritan, and Sassarese, the spelling is intentionally etymological and antiphonetic; that in Manx it is in every respect absurd, pretending without any foundation to be phonetic, without being at the same time in the least etymological; that in Welsh, Cornish, Breton, Vannes, Basque, Italian, vulgar Florentine, Pisan with Livornese, Lucchese, Roman, Corsican, Tempiese, Sicilian, Calabrian, and Neapolitan, the spelling, without being strictly phonetic, is based, more or less, on phonetic principles, particularly in the Neapolitan, where the initial strong sounds are in a great number of modern books represented by double letters, con-

trary to the antiphonetic custom of all the other Italian dialects.

As the examples of the sounds given by means of Irish and dialectal words, which are not generally known, are hardly enough to guide the general reader, I add a brief explanation of some of the most difficult, referring, at the same time, to the numbers preceding the sounds, as they occur in my printed "Lists of vowels and consonants," occupying pp. 1293–1307 and pp. 1352–1357 of Alexander J. Ellis's "Early English Pronunciation." These numbers, for distinction's sake, are inclosed in [].

9. dy [135] is the voiced, explosive, and palatalized *dental*, differing both from [172], the Russian voiced, explosive, and palatalized *alveolar*, and from [246], the Hungarian voiced, explosive, and palatalized *palatal*.

12. *dh* [134], the voiced and *explosive dental*, differing both from 4 d [168], the common voiced and *explosive alveolar* 'd,' and from [240], the English voiced and *explosive palatal* 'd,' as well as from 8 dh [138], the voiced and *continuous dental* 'th' in 'thee.'

17. ggj [303], the voiced and *continuous guttural whish* in its strong modification, differing both from 18 ggy [336], the Italian voiced, *explosive*, and palatalized *guttural* in its strong modification, and from 7 ddzh [232], the Italian voiced and *continuous palatal whish* in its strong modification.

20. gj [302], the voiced and *continuous guttural whish* in its weak modification, differing both from 21 gy [335], the Italian voiced, *explosive*, and palatalized *guttural* in its weak modification, and from 11 dzh [231], the Italian voiced and *continuous palatal whish* in its weak modification, or from the English 'j' in 'jelly.'

25. *hw* [328], the voiceless, explosive, aspirated, and labialized guttural, only approaching to [81], the English aspirated and labial semi-vowel, according to those who still decline to pronounce 'wh' in 'which' as a simple 'w,' or 70 w [89], the labial semi-vowel.

30. kj [299], the voiceless and *continuous guttural whish* in

its weak modification, differing both from 36 ky [324], the Italian voiceless, *explosive*, and palatalized *guttural* in its weak modification, and from 61 tsh [224], the Italian voiceless and *continuous palatal whish* in its weak modification, or from the English 'ch' in 'child.'

32. kkj [300], the voiceless and *continuous guttural whish* in its strong modification, differing both from 34 kky [325], the Italian voiceless, *explosive*, and palatalized *guttural* in its strong modification, and from 64 ttsh [225], the Italian voiceless and *continuous palatal whish* in its strong modification.

41. *l* [141], the *voiced* and liquid *dental*, differing from

42. *lh* [131], the *voiced* and liquid *labio-lingual*. The Manx, 41 *l* [141], and the Irish, 42 *lh* [131], differ also from 38 lh [358], the Welsh *voiceless* and liquid *guttural*; [361], the Polish *voiced* and liquid *guttural*; [258], the English *voiced* and liquid *palatal*, and 37 l [197], the common *voiced* and liquid *alveolar* 'l.' Sassarese possesses the sounds 41, 38, and 37.

47. *nh* [178], the voiced, explosive, and *nasalized alveolar*, differing both from 45 n [175], the common *nasal alveolar*, and from [248], the English *nasal palatal*. The sound, 47 *nh*, may be very roughly and not exactly represented by 'dn.'

54 ry [269], the voiced, trilled, and *palatalized* palatal, differing from 52 r [266], the common voiced, trilled, and *non-palatalized* palatal 'r.'

65. ty [133], the voiceless, explosive, and palatalized dental, differing both from [165], the Russian voiceless, explosive, and palatalized *alveolar*, and from [238], the Hungarian voiceless, explosive, and palatalized *palatal*.

66. *t* [132], the voiceless and *explosive dental*, differing both from 58 t [159], the common voiceless and *explosive alveolar* 't,' and from [235], the English voiceless and *explosive palatal* 't,' as well as from 59 th [136], the voiceless and *continuous dental* 'th' in 'thin.'

69. *v* [127], the nasal continuous *labio-dental*, bearing the same relation to 67 v [118], the voiced continuous *labio-*

dental, or English 'v,' as 43 m [93], the nasal *labial*, or English 'm,' bears to 1 b [85], the voiced and explosive *labial*, or English 'b.'

71. *w* [98], the nasal and labial semi-vowel, bearing the same relation to 70 w [89], the labial semi-vowel, or English 'w,' as a nasal vowel bears to a non-nasal.

98. *s* [254], the voiceless, continuous, and *palatal* Spanish Basque 's,' differing both from 55 s [182], the voiceless, continuous, and rather *alveolar* English 's,' as well as from

99. ʃ [310], the voiceless, continuous, and *velar* [*gutturo-palatal*] French Basque 's.'

100. *ts* [234], the voiceless, continuous, and *double palatal* Spanish Basque 'ts,' differing from 60 ts [146], the voiceless, continuous, and *double alveolar* Italian 'z.' These sounds I call "double," because, in fact, they may be roughly and not exactly represented so: the latter, by 58 t [159], the voiceless and explosive *alveolar* immediately followed by 55 s [182], the voiceless and continuous *alveolar*; and the former, by [235], the voiceless and explosive *palatal* immediately followed by 99 ʃ [254], the voiceless and continuous *palatal*.

101. tʃ, the voiceless, continuous, and *double velar* French Basque 'ts' or 'x,' differing from the preceding Spanish Basque sound by the former being produced in the soft instead of the hard palate. This sound 'tʃ' is not to be found in my "Lists of Vowels and Consonants," where it should form [303″].

The first part of this table treats only of such consonants as are concerned in mutation. The second part gives the vowels and consonants not concerned in mutation, which are necessary to complete the phonetic representation of the words cited. No very great accuracy is here aimed at, for ex., 82 (ə) is used for the English sound represented by 'u' in 'cuff' and the French 'eu' or 'œu' in 'veuf' or 'cœur,' and generally any other related obscure vowels, although the French 'eu' in 'peu,' if it occurred in the words cited, would, as being too different from 'eu' in 'veuf,' be represented by (ø). In the same way 91 (ü) is used not only for French 'u,' but for any other sound nearly related to it. The use of the acute, as in (á), to mark tonic accent, and also

diphthongal emphasis, on short vowels, has been supplemented by that of the circumflex, as in (â=á), to represent the tonic accent, and also *diphthongal emphasis*, on long vowels.

Table II.

This table shows all the initial mutations of which the Celtic, Basque, Sardinian, and Italian radical sounds are capable. The first column shows the radical sound, and the second the sounds into which it is mutated, both expressed phonetically, according to the symbols given in the first table. No distinction of dialects is made in the second table, but the following tables, III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., XII., XIII., XIV., show the mutations proper to each dialect. I have not comprised amongst initial mutations those changes in words of the Basque and Sassarese dialects, which are not merely initial, but are due to the coalescence of the final sound of the preceding with the initial sound of the following word. Examples: 1°. Guipuscoan Basque, *onak dira, onak balira* (onatíra, onapalíra), *they are good, if they were good*, and in the Labourdin dialect, *onak dire, onak balire* (onatíre, onapalíre). 2°. Sassarese, *pal cadì, pal chistu* (ppakkadí, ppakkíllhu), *to fall, for this*; *pal quattru* (ppa*kkhw*áttru), *for four*; *pal gudì, pal ghettu* (ppagghudí, ppagghéttu), *to enjoy, for jewry*; *pal guantu* (ppa*gghw*ánttu), *for glove*; *pal te* (ppallhé), *for thee*; *pal dà* (ppa*ll*á), *to give*.

Table III. Irish.

The Irish language presents three forms of initial mutations: the middle, the nasal, and the aspirated. This is also the case with Manx and Welsh. These three dialects have two forms more than the Gaelic: the middle and the nasal, and also one form more (the nasal) and one form less (the advanced) than the Cornish and the two Breton dialects. The form called "eclipsis" by Irish grammarians comprises, under a single name, both the middle and nasal forms, and, accordingly, they express them by fixing to the radical consonant, which becomes silent, the consonant into which it has been mutated and which is therefore the only one pronounced.

In fact, the sounds (g, *dh*, dy, b, w, v), belonging to the middle, and (*nh*, ny, m), belonging to the nasal form, are etymologically, although antiphonetically, expressed in Irish by *gc*, *dt*, *bp*, *bhf*, *nd*, *mb*. The sound (ng), however, is not represented by *ngg*, but simply by *ng*, as in *bhur ngabhar* (wər ngówər) 'your goat,' instead of *bhur nggabhar*.

In the aspirated form in Irish, (*th*, ty) mutate into (h) and (s, sh) into (h, *th*, ty), but (f) is suppressed. Nothing of the sort occurs in Welsh, Cornish, and the two Breton dialects. In Welsh neither (f) nor (s) are subject to mutation at all, although (t) can be aspirated into (th). In Cornish and the two Breton dialects, although (t) is subject to be aspirated into (th) in the former and into (z) in the two latter, (s) possesses no aspirated form, being only capable of being mutated into (z) also in the middle form; while (f) is not subject to mutation in the two Breton dialects, and in Cornish, instead of being suppressed, (f) is mutated into (h).

Table IV. Gaelic.

Gaelic possesses only the aspirated form of mutation, and replaces the middle and nasal forms of Irish (see Table XI.), by the radical. Thus, the Irish *bhur dtonn*, *bhur nduine* (wər *dhə'nh*, wər *nhína*), *your wave*, *your man*, are in their Gaelic counterparts, *bhur tonn*, *bhur duine* (vür *thónh*, vür *dh*üínə).

Gaelic differs also from Irish in the pronunciation of *t*, *d* slender. Thus, *tír*, *Dia* (tyîry, Dyîə), *country*, *God*, in Irish, are *tir*, *Dia* (tshîry, Dzhi*a*) in Gaelic.

Table V. Manx.

Although the Manx dialect is the least known amongst the Celtic, I have studied it with more care than any others of the Gaelic branch, on account of certain peculiarities which it presents. About thirty years ago I went to the pretty little island of Man, and there I remained some weeks, taking up my abode partly in Douglas, partly in Ballaugh, from whence I paid frequent visits to the late Rev. J. E. Harrison,

Vicar of Jurby, who, with the late Rev. Th. Howard, Rector of Ballaugh, Rev. W. Drury, Vicar of Kirk Braddan, and other native gentlemen, but particularly with the assistance, at my request, of the countrymen throughout the island, decided some doubtful points concerning the phonetism and initial mutation of this dialect. My best thanks to the living and my best wishes for the departed! It is only in this small island, and the very small adjoining island of Calf of Man, belonging to the parish of Rushen, that Manx still exists, although, unfortunately, *in articulo mortis*. It is rarely heard, and only a minority of the natives can speak it. According to Mr. Jenner (see "Transactions of the Philological Society, 1875–6," p. 193), Kirk Arbory was in 1875 the only church in which Manx was used once a month. In 1852, however, it was used more or less in every parish church, although at present it is not heard even at Kirk Arbory.

The Manx dialect, as the Scottish Gaelic, replaces Irish (ty, dy), by (tsh, dzh). *Cheer*, *Jee* (tshîr, Dzhî), *country*, *God*, correspond in fact to Irish *tìr*, *Dia* (tyîry, Dyîə) and to Gaelic *tìr*, *Dia* (tshîry, Dzhî*a*).

With regard to the nasal form (see Table XI.), there is a difference between Manx and Irish. This form does not exist in Gaelic, as I have stated already, but in Manx the sound (b) exclusively is susceptible of it. In Irish, on the contrary, not only (b), but also (g, *dh*, dy) are liable to the nasal mutation, while Manx adopts the aspirated form for its own (g, d, *dh*, dzh), represented by *g*, *d*, *d*, *j*. Let us take the word *God* in the three Gaelic dialects: 1°. Irish, *Dia* (Dyîə); *ár Ndia* (ār Nyîə), *our God*; 2°. Gaelic, *Dia* (Dzhî*a*); *ar Dia* (ar Dzhî*a*), *id.*; 3°. Manx, *Jee* (Dzhî); *nyn Yee* (*nh*ən Yî), *id.* These instances clearly show that the government of the forms is not always the same in the three Gaelic dialects.

Although Manx is the most corrupted of the three in a general point of view, it possesses such striking initial mutations, not to be found in the other two, that they require some mention. I leave to others the task of explaining

in a satisfactory manner, either by the most ancient Irish, or by the two other modern dialects, the existence in Manx (see Table V.) of such initial mutations as the following: 1°. *(k) into (gh); 2°. *(k) into (*dh*); 3°. (k) into (h); 4°. (g) into (*nh*); 5. (g) into (ny); 6°. *(g) into (v); 7°. (g) suppressed; 8°. (h) into (*dh*); 9°. (h) into (dzh); 10°. (*dh*) suppressed; 11°. (*nh*) suppressed; 12°. (b) suppressed; 13°. (m) suppressed; 14°. (f) into (*dh*); 15°. (f) into (*nh*); 16°. (f) into (ny); 17°. (v) into (w); 18°. (s) into (*dh*); 19°. (s) into (k); 20°. (s) into (g); 21°. (s) into (*nh*); 22°. (s) into (b); 23°. (s) suppressed; 24°. *(sh) into (gh); 25°. (sh) into (ny); 26°. (sh) into (b). These mutations are sometimes very irregular, and the existence of a few of them, which I have marked *, may or may not be doubtful, as I have not been able to hear them from a Manxman's own mouth, but the majority of them do certainly exist in the spoken language, and all are confirmed either by the Manx Bible or by Cregeen's excellent Manx dictionary.

Table VI. Welsh.

The Welsh language is the only one in which three regular initial mutations in the same word are possible. In fact the sounds (k, t, p), written *c*, *t*, *p*, become (g, d, b) *g*, *d*, *b*, in the middle form; (ngh, nh, mh) *ngh*, *nh*, *mh*, in the nasal, and (kh, th, f) *ch*, *th*, *ph*, in the aspirated. Neither in Irish, nor in Manx, are (k; *th*, ty, tsh; p) *c*; *t*; *p*, subject to nasality, because words capable of determining this mutation either in the Irish sounds (g; *dh*, dy; b) *g*, *d*, *b*, or in the Manx sound (b) *b*, are only capable of determining the middle form mutations in (k; th, ty, tsh; p). Examples: 1°. Welsh, *tad* (tâd), *father;* (və nhâd) *fy nhad*, 'my father'; 2°. Irish, tál (*th*ôl), *adze;* (ār *dh*ôl) *ár dtál*, 'our adze'; 3°. Manx, thaal (*th*âl), *id;* (*nh*ən *dh*âl) *nyn dhaal*, 'id.' If, on the contrary, a word beginning with (b) be chosen for example, then the nasal mutation will appear in the three dialects: 1°. Welsh, *brawd* (brâud), *brother;* (və mrâud) *fy mrawd*, 'my brother'; 2°. Irish, *bráthair* (brôhiry), *brother*,

friar; (ār mrôhiry) *ár mbráthair*, 'our brother, friar'; 3°. Manx, *braar* (brêr), *brother;* (*nh*ən mrêr) *nyn mraar*, 'our brother.'

Table VII. Cornish.

Cornish, in the majority of those initial mutations which are not common to the whole Cambrian branch, follows the two Breton dialects (see Tables VIII. and IX.) and but rarely the Welsh, but in a few cases it follows its own peculiar course. It follows Breton in rejecting the Welsh nasal form, for which it substitutes the aspirated, as in *ow holon* (ō hólon), *my heart*, and corresponding to Breton *va c'haloun* (va khálun); to Vannes *me halon* (mə halón), but differing from Welsh *fy nghalon* (və nghállon), and not (və khállon), which would have to be written *fy chalon*, if it were in existence. The analogy of Cornish with Vannes is striking in the substitution of (h) for (kh) in the aspirated form of (k).

Cornish, Breton, and Basque possess the advanced form which is wanting, at least as a regular mutation, in all the other Celtic and Non-Celtic dialects, although it does not appear by the Cornish remains that the possessive adjective *your* is capable of governing this fifth Celtic form, as is always the case in the two Breton dialects with words beginning with (g, d, b). Examples: *bara* (bára), at Léon, and (bará), at Vannes, *bread;* and *hô para; hou pura* (ō para; hu pará), *your bread*, are not in Cornish, *bara; agas para* (bára; ágas pára), but *bara; agas bara* (bára; ágas bára), or rather (gus bára). On the other hand, the advanced form mutations sometimes take place in Cornish with the particle *ow* (ō), *in*, but not (as far, at least, as I have been able to discover) in the same way as in Breton; for the sound (d) is the only one in this language which admits of such a mutation, either under the influence of the particle *ó* (ō), and corresponding to Cornish *ow* (ō), or under that of the conjunctions *é*, *ma* (*e*, ma), *that*. In Vannes, *é* (*i*) represents both the particle *ow* and the conjunctions *é*, *ma*, of the

Breton of Léon. In Cornish, the particle *ow* not only mutates (d) into (t), but also the initial (g) into (k), (b) into (p), and, in a single instance only, so far as I know of, (gw) into (f). These last mutations do not occur in the Breton dialects, in which the aforesaid particles always determine the middle form or mutations of (g) into (kh) or (h) and of (gw, b, m) into (v). The following are examples: I. Cornish, 1°. guerthe (gwértha), 'to sell'; *ow guerthe* (ō kwértha), *selling;* 2°. *guyskel* (gwískel), 'to strike'; *ow fysky* (ō físki), *striking;* 3°. *dos* (dôz), 'to come'; *ow tos* (ō tôz), *coming;* 4°. *bew* (béu), 'to live'; *ow pew* (ō péu), *living:* II. Breton, 1°. *guerza* (gwérza), 'id.'; *ó c'hwerza* (ō khwérza), *id.;* 3°. *doñt* (dót), 'id.'; *ó toñt* (ō tót), *id.;* 4°. *béva* (béva), 'id.'; *ó réva* (ō véva), *id.;* 5°. *miret* (míret), 'to keep'; ô viret (ō víret), *keeping:* III. Vannes, 1°. *guerhein* (gwerhéin), 'id.'; *é huerhein* (*i* hwerhéin), *id.;* 3°. *dont* (dónt), 'id.'; *é tont* (*i* tónt), *id.;* 4°. *bihuein* (bihüéin), 'id.'; *é vihuein* (*i* vihüéin), *id.;* 5°. mirein (miréin), 'id.'; *é virein* (*i* viréin), *id.*

Cornish, in a single case quoted by Mr. E. Norris, follows Breton and not Welsh in admitting the middle form mutation of (s) into (z): *sendzhyn* (séndzhin), 'we consider;' *ny zendzhyn* (na zéndzhin), *we do not consider.* This sound in fact receives no initial mutation in Welsh, while in the two Breton dialects, under the influence of various preceding words, besides the negative conjunction, it is regularly mutated into (z): *sac'h*; *señtomp* (sákh; sétomp), 'bag; we obey;' *hé zac'h; né zeñtomp* (*e* zákh; ne zétomp), *his bag; we do not obey*, and in Vannes, *sah; señtamb* (sákh; sétámb); *é zah; ne zetamb* (*i* zákh; nə zétámb).

The sound (g), which in its middle form can only be suppressed in Welsh, may in Cornish not only be suppressed, as is generally the case, but also occasionally mutated into (w) or even (h). In Breton, (g), not being followed by (w), is regularly mutated into (kh), but in the Tréguier sub-dialect (g) (gw) is suppressed as it is in Welsh in every case, while in ordinary Léon Breton, the whole (gw) is mutated into a single (v). In Vannes, finally, (g) is constantly mutated into (h), but this is only very rarely the case in

Cornish. Examples: I. Cornish, 1°. *gavar* (gávar), 'goat;' *y avar* (e ávar), *his goat*; 2°. *golow* (gólō), 'light;' *y wolow* (e wólō), *his light*; (this mutation, which is peculiar to Cornish, occurs, according to Mr. R. Williams, in words beginning with 'go' or 'gu.') 3°. *guydn* (gwídn), 'white'; *byuh whydn, wydn* (bíuh hwídn, wídn), literally, *cow white*; II. Welsh, 1°. *gafr* (gávr), 'id.'; *ei afr* (ə́i ávr), *id.*; 2°. *goleu* (góləü) 'id.'; *ei oleu* (ə́i óləü), *id.*; 3°. *gwyn* (gwŭn), 'id.'; *buwch wyn* (bŭukh wŭn), *id.* III. Breton, 1°. *gaour* (gáur), 'id.'; *hé c'haour* (*e* kháur), *id.*; 2°. *goulou* (gúlu), 'id.'; *hé c'houlou* (*e* khulu), *id.*; 3°. *gwenn* (gwén), 'id.'; *bioc'h venn*, or *wenn* at Tréguier (bíok vén, wén), *id.* IV. Vannes, 1°. *gavr* (gávr), 'id.'; *é havr* (*i* hávr), *id.*; 2°. *goleu* (golə́), 'id.'; *é holeu* (*i* holə́), *id.*; 3°. *guen* (güén), 'id.'; *buoh huen* (büokh hüén), *id.*

Neither Cornish nor Breton possess the two mutations of Welsh (lh) and (rh), these being constantly replaced by (l, r): 1°. Welsh, *lloer; rhew* (lhôür; rhêu), 'moon; frost'; *ei loer; ei rew* (ə́i lôür; ə́i rêu), *his moon; his frost;* 2°. Cornish, *lur; rew* (lûr; réu), 'id.'; *y lur; y rew* (e lûr; e réu), *id.;* 3°. Breton, *loar; réô* (lóar; réō), 'id.'; *hé loar; hé réô*) (*e* lóar; *e* réō), *id.;* 4°. Vannes, *luer; réô* (lüér; *reô*), 'id.'; é luer; é réô (*i* lüér; *i reô*), *id.*

Cornish and Welsh entirely agree in the aspirated mutation of (t), as well as in the middle mutation of (d), but in the two Breton dialects, on the contrary, both (t) and (d), in the same cases, mutate into (z): Welsh, *tad* (tâd), *father*, is *tas* (tâz), in Cornish; *tâd* (tâd), in Breton; *tat* (tât), in Vannes; and *her father* is rendered in the same dialects respectively, by *ei thad* (ə́i thâd), *y thas* (e thâz), *hé zad* (*e* zâd), *hé zat* (*hi* zát); while Welsh *dyn* (dŭn), *man*, is *dean* (déan), in Cornish; *dén* (dén), in Breton; *dén* (dín), in Vannes; and *his man* is rendered respectively, by *ei ddyn* (ə́i dhŭn), *y dhean* (e dhéan), *hé zén* (*e* zén), é zén (*i* zín).

The middle mutations of (tsh) and (d) into (dzh), of which the first exists also in Manx, belong exclusively to the Cornish dialect, the only one of the Cambrian branch which possesses the sounds (tsh, dzh). These sounds are replaced

by (t, d, dh) in Welsh, and by (t, d, z) in the two Breton dialects: 1°. Cornish, *tshi* (tshéi), 'house'; *y dzhi* (e dzhéi), 'his house'; *dydh* (dídh), 'day'; *y dzhydh* and also *y dhydh* (e dzhídh, e dhídh), *his day;* 2°. Welsh, *ty, ei dy; dydd, ei ddydd* (tû, ŝi dû; dûdh, ŝi dhûdh), *id;* 3°. Breton, *tí, hé dí; deiz, hé zeiz* (tî, *e* dî; déiz, *e* zéiz), *id;* 3°. Vannes, *ti, é di; dé, é zé* (tí, *i* dí; d*i*, *i*, z*i*), *id.*

But the strangest Cornish mutation, which is not to be found in any of the Celtic languages, is the change of (f) into (h) after the definite article, as in *floh* (flôh), 'child'; *an hloh* (an hlôh), *the child.*

Table VIII. and Table IX. Breton Dialects.

The following mutations are proper to the Breton language, besides those of the advanced form belonging also, although imperfectly, to Cornish, and even, although rarely, to Basque: 1°. (g) mutated into (kh), and 2°. (gw) into (v), both in the Léon dialect or ordinary Breton, and 3°. (g) mutated into (h), and 4°. (h) into (g), both in Vannes Breton. They belong to the second or middle form; and, as all three have been mentioned in the last six lines of p. 169, I proceed at once to

Table X. and Table XI.

Table X. gives the possessive adjectives, as well as the definite and indefinite articles, in all the Celtic languages, while Table XI. shows the influence of the possessive adjectives on the initial mutations. The Arabic figures indicate the form of mutation of which the symbols that follow them are capable. The study of this table is highly important, on account of its showing the difference which exists amongst the Celtic dialects (even sometimes amongst those belonging to the same branch) in the government of the forms by the possessive adjectives, in the number of the forms, and in the sounds admitting of mutation.

TABLE XII. BASQUE.[3]

The only Basque words capable of producing regular, initial, and syntactic or grammatical mutations as in Celtic, are *bai* (bhái), *yes*, or, according to the Souletin dialect, *bei* (bhéi), and *ez* (és), *no, not*. The sounds which undergo mutation are (g, d, bh, s, sh), written *g, d, b, z, ch*, and the mutates themselves are (k, t, p, ts, tsh), written *k, t, p, tz, tch*. These mutations occur almost exclusively in the verb, and, according to the nature of the Basque dialects, some of them are obligatory, some optional, or even rejected. The Basque mutations all belong to the fifth or advanced form, proper to Breton and Cornish. The particle *ez* (és) always keeps its negative meaning, both when it is isolated and when it acts as a mutator, but the particle *bai, bei* (bhái, bhéi), as a mutator, loses its affirmative sense, and either assumes a causative signification answering to the conjunction *because*, or else it merely represents the obligatory government, called by Inchauspe "incidental," and by me "causative." Examples from the Labourdin dialect: I. BAI, 1°. *bai, ona da* (bhái, oná dá), *yes, he is good*; 2°. *ona baita* (oná bhaitá), replacing *ona bai da* (oná bhái dá), *because he is good;* 3°. *zein ona baita* (séin oná bhaitá), *who is good*, literally, *who because is good*, which, though simply impossible in English, is nevertheless imperatively required by the relative pronoun *zein* (séin), *who*—one of those words which in Labourdin govern the incidental or causative *baita* (bhaitá), and not the single *da* (dá), *is*—; contrary to what happens with the English *who*.

[3] Here I cannot help mentioning the following very interesting remark of my friend, Capt. Duvoisin, the translator of the Bible into the Labourdin Basque dialect, and one of the best philologists of the *Euskalerria*: "Voici une formation plus singulière, mais aussi plus rare; elle consiste à remplacer par un *m* et quelquefois par un *b* la première lettre du mot répété: *handi-mandiak* 'les grands de la terre,' *hautsi-mautsiak* 'les transactions ou accomodements,' *duda-mudak* 'les doutes ou perplexités,' *nahas-mahas* 'pêle et mêle,' *itsu-mitsuka* 'à l'aveuglette' (here the initial *m* constitutes an addition and not a mutation), *tira-biraka* 'par tiraillement,' *zurru-burru* 'mélange d'objets de peu de valeur.' Larramendi, Prol. du Dict., 2e édition, p. 192, dit dans ce dernier sens: *Lapiko bat zaduraz baduraz betea* 'marmite pleine de toute sorte d'ingrédients.' Cette citation est l'une des mille qu'on pourrait faire pour démontrer que le même esprit préside toujours au langage aux deux versants des Pyrénées." ('De la formation des noms dans la langue basque,' Paris, 1874, p. 8).

II. EZ, 1°. *ezta ona* (está oná), *he is not good*, replacing *ez da ona* (és dá oná); 2°. *ona ezpaita* (oná espaitá), replacing *ona ez bai da* (oná és bhái dá), *because he is not good;* 3°. *zein ona ezpaita* (séin oná espaitá), *who is not good.*

These instances show that the Basque initial mutations are purely syntactic like the Celtic, and not phonetic as the Sardinian and the Italian. If they were due merely to the diphthong *ai* of *bai* and to the *z* of *ez*, other words ended in *ai* or *z* ought to produce the same mutations; but this mutative power resides in the non-affirmative *bai* and in the negative *ez* as such, and not because of their ending in *ai* or *z*. In fact, *negarrez gaude*, 'we are weeping'; *negarrez daude*, 'they are weeping'; *negarrez baitaude*, 'because they are weeping'; *negarrez zaude*, 'thou art weeping'; *etsai gogorra*, 'the hard enemy'; *etsai damutua*, 'the repented enemy'; *ahaidea*, 'the relation' or 'kinsman, kinswoman'; *etsai bat*, 'an enemy'; *etsai zauritua*, 'the wounded enemy'; *aizea*, 'the wind,' etc., are not pronounced (negárres káude, táude, paitáude, tsáude; etʃái kogorrá, tamutúa; ahaiteá; etʃái pát, tsauritúa; aitseá), but (negárres gáude, dáude, bhaitáude, sáude; etʃái gogorrá, damutúa; ahaideá; etʃái bhát, sauritúa; aiseá). With the negative *ez* and the non-affirmative *bai*, on the contrary, the mutations of (g, d, bh, s, ts) into (k, t, p, ts, tsh) will, may, or may not take place, as I stated before, according to the nature of the dialects. (See the Table.)

Table XIII. Sardinian and Italian Dialects.

These dialects, like the Celtic and Basque, are subject to regular initial mutations determined by a preceding word, but the cause of these changes is phonetic, and not purely syntactic as in the two last-named languages. When, for instance, the Sassarese Italian dialect of Sardinia mutates (kk) of (é kkárri), written *è carri*, 'it is flesh,' into (g) of (lla gárri), written unphonetically *la carri*, 'the flesh,' it does so on account of the original final sounds of the Latin words *est* and *illa*, the first ended in a consonant and the second in

an atonic vowel, although each of their Sassarese successors, *è*, *la*, ends in a vowel. The meaning and grammatical nature of these words are not taken into consideration, but only the phonetic nature of the original final sounds in Latin, which determines or does not determine, as the case may be, not only the mutations of the Sassarese, but also those of the other Italian dialects in most cases, and of the Sardinian without exception.

The Sardinian language, which ought not to be confounded with the two other dialects of the Island of Sardinia—Sassarese and Tempiese,—is divided into two dialects: 1°. Logudorese or central, the representative of the Sardinian language; 2°. Cagliaritan or southern Sardinian, the dialect of the capital of the island. As the Sassarese mutations, in spite of the very decided Italian character of the dialect to which they belong, are nearer to the Sardinian than to the Italian, I shall speak first of Logudorese, Cagliaritan, and Sassarese, and secondly of Tempiese, Southern Corsican, Florentine, Pisan with Livornese, Lucchese, Roman, and Neapolitan, these being the Sardinian and Italian dialects from which the Table XIII. gives some instances of mutation.

And beginning with Logudorese, Cagliaritan, and Sassarese, I am very glad to repeat in English what I stated in Italian in 1866, that these three very important Neo-Latin dialects are the only ones in Europe, and very likely in the world, that are in possession of the second or middle form of mutation of the sounds (kk, tt, pp) into (g, d, bh), exactly as in all the Celtic dialects excepting Scottish Gaelic; for the minute difference between (kk; tt; pp; d; bh) and (k; t, *th*; p; *dh*; b), according to the dialects, is quite evanescent in this particular case. (See Tables III., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX.) Examples: 1°. Irish *croidhe, tonn, port* (krə'ie, *thə'nh*, pə'r*th*), mutated into *gcroidhe, dtonn, bport* (grə'ie, *dhə'nh*, bə'r*th*); II°. Manx, *cree, tonn, purt* (krî, *thónh*, pə'rt), into *gree, donn, burt* (grî, dh*ónh*, bə'rt); III°. Welsh, *calon, tad, pen* (kállon, tâd, pén), into *galon, dad, ben* (khállon, dâd, bén); IV°. Cornish, *colon, tas, pedn* (kólon, tâz, pédn), into *golon, das, bedn* (gólon, dâz, bédn); V°. Breton, *kaloun, tâd, penn*

(kálun, tâd, pén), into *galoun, dâd, benn* (gálun, dâd, bén); VI°. Vannes, *kalon, tat, pen* (kalón, tát, pén), into *galon, dat, ben* (galón, dát, bén); VII°. Logudorese, *coro, terra* 'earth,' *pane* 'bread' (kkóro, ttérra, ppáne), into (góro, dérra, bane), although antiphonetically written *coro, terra, pane*; VIII°. *coru, terra, pani* (kkóru, ttérra, ppáni), into (góru, dérra, báni), antiphonetically written *coru, terra, pani*; IX°. Sassarese, *cori, terra, pani* (kkóri, ttérra, ppáni), antiphonetically written *cori, terra, pani*. For the meaning and mutators of the preceding and following words, see the Tables.

The mutations of (kk, *kkw*, tt, tts, pp, ff, vv, ss) into (g, gw, d, dz, bh, bh, bh, z)[4] belong to Logudorese, Cagliaritan, and Sassarese; and, although only three of them are to be found in all the Celtic dialects, except the Scottish Gaelic, of the other five, two exist in one or more of them, and three are undoubtedly moulded on the law of initial mutations; as every strong voiceless sound is mutated into its corresponding weak voiced form: 1°. Logudorese, *quadros, cibu, fusos, velenos, sapados*, prônounced, according as they are radical or mutated, (*kkw*ádros, ttsíbhu, ffúzos, vvelénos, ssápados), or (*gw*ádros, dzíbhu, bhúzos, bhelénos, západos): 2°. Cagliaritan, *quarras, cittadi, fillus, vizius, serras* (*kkw*árras, *gw*árras; ttsittádi, dzittádi; ffíllus, bhíllus; vvítsius, bhítsius; ssérras, zérras); 3°. Sassarese, *quaranta, zelu, figghi, veni, sordu* (*kkw*aránta, *gw*aránta; ttsélu, dzélu; ffíggi, bhíggi; vvéni, bhéni: ss*ó*ll*u*, z*ó*ll*u*).

The mutation of (kky) into (gy) belongs also to the middle form and may occur in Logudorese and Cagliaritan: 1°. Logudorese, *chietu* (kkhyétu, gyétu); 2°. Cagliaritan, *chiete* (kkyéte, gyéte).

The mutation of (bb) into (bh), belonging to Cagliaritan and Sassarese, may be compared to that of (b) into (v)

[4] It will be observed that the strong sounds (ff, bb, vv) are all mutated into (bh) in their weak form. This astonishes Mr. Schuchardt (see "Romania," vol. iii. p. 12, l. 31), but his astonishment will cease, if he consider that in Logudorese, Cagliaritan, and Sassarese the sound (bh) is always given to the letters *b* and *v* occurring between two vowels; a circumstance explaining in a very satisfactory way why (bh) may be the weak mutation not only of (bb), but also of (vv) and (ff), and even of (pp). See the Table.

occurring in the middle form of all the Cambrian, and in the aspirated form of all the Gaelic dialects, as well as in the weak of southern Corsican: 1°. Cagliaritan, *baccas* (bbákkas, bhákkas); 2°. Sassarese, *bozi* (bbódzi, bhódzi); 3°. Welsh, *bara*, *fara* (bára, vára); 4°. Cornish, 5°. Breton, *bara*, *vara* (bára, vára); 6°. Vannes, *bara*, *vara* (bará, vará); 7°. Irish, *biadh*, *bhiadh* (bîə, vîə); 8°. Gaelic, *biadh*, *bhiadh* (bîəgh, vîəgh); 9°. Manx, *beaghey*, *veaghey* (bî*a*ghe, vî*a*ghe), 'food'; 10°. Southern Corsican, *bonu* (bbónu, vónu).

The initial suppression of Logudorese (bb) and (dd) is quite analogous to that of (g) in the Welsh, Cornish, and Tréguier Breton middle form; of (s) in the Manx middle form; of (f) in the aspirated form of all the Gaelic dialects; of (g, *dh*, *nh*, *b*, m, s) in the Manx aspirated form; of (vv) in Tempiese and vulgar Florentine; and finally, of (kk) in Pisan, and (k) in Lucchese; 1°. Logudorese, *boes*; *dinari* (bbóes, óes; ddinári, inari); 2°. Welsh, *gafr*, *afr* (gávr, ávr); 3°. Cornish, *gavar*, *avar* (gávar, ávar); 4°. Tréguier, *gwenn*, *wenn* (gwén, wén); 5°. Manx, *sliack*, *liack* (slyák, lyák); 6°. Irish, *fear*, *fhear* (fár, ár); 7°. Gaelic, *fear*, *fhear* (fér, ér); 8°. Manx, *fer*, *er* (fér, ér); *gweeder*, *weeder* (gwîdhər, wîdhər); *dwoaie*, *woaie* (*dh*óī, óī); *noi*, *oi* (*nh*óī, óī); *bwoaillee*, *woaillee* (bóīle, óīle); *mwannal*, *wannal* (mwána*l*, wána*l*); *sleih*, *leih* (sléi, léi); 9°. Tempiese, *vinu* (vvínu, ínu); 10°. Florentine, *verità* (vveritá, eritá); 11°. Pisan, *carca* (kkárkka, árkka); Lucchese, *cani* (káni, áni).

The curious mutation of Cagliaritan (ttsh) into (zh) is certainly not wanting in analogy with the middle form changes in general, (dzh), which is not far from (zh), being the voiced sound indicated by theory as the middle mutation of (ttsh): *cenas* (ttshénas, zhénas).

The mutation of Sassarese (ddzh) into (y) is, so to speak, identical with that of Gaelic and Manx (dzh) into (y), belonging to the aspirated form: 1°. Sassarese, *gianni* (ddzhánni, yánni); 2°. Gaelic, *Dia*, *Dhia* (Dzhîa, Yîa); 3°. Manx, *Jee*, *Yee* (Dzhî, Yî).

Tempiese and Southern Corsican mutate (kkj) and (ggj) into (kj) and (y), the first mutation belonging to the weak

form of standard Italian (Table XIV.), and the second being similar to the mutation I have just mentioned of Sassarese (ddzh) and Gaelic and Manx (dzh) into (y): 1°. Tempiese, *chiai; ghianda* (kkjái, kjái; ggjándda, yándda); 2°. Southern Corsican, *chiusa; ghialli* (kkjúsa, kjúsa; ggjálli, yálli).

The vulgar Florentine, particularly the so-called "parlare delle Ciane di Camaldoli," mutates (kk, kky, *kkw*, ttsh, ddzh) into (h, hy, *hw*, sh, zh). The first three mutations recall to my mind those of Irish, Gaelic, and Manx (*th*, s, sh); Irish (ty); Gaelic and Manx (tsh); and Cornish (f), all into (h), and belonging to the aspirated form: 1°. Florentine, *cosa, chiama; quando; ciabattini; gente* (kkósa, hósa; kkyáma, hyáma; *kkw*ánd*do*, *hw*ánd*do*; ttshabattíni, shabattíni; ddzhéntte, zhéntt*e*); 2°. Irish, *tonn, thonn; tir, thir; súil, shúil; sith, shith* (*thə'nh*, hə'*nh*; tyîry, hîry; sûly, hûly; shî, hî); 3°. Gaelic, *tonn, thonn; tìr, thìr; sùil, shùil; sìth, shìth* (*th*ónh, hónh; tshîry, hîry; sûly, hûly; shîh, hîh); 4°. Manx, *tonn, honn; cheer, heer; sooill, hooill; shee, hee* (*th*ónh, hónh; tshîr, hîr; súly, húly; shî, hî); 5°. Cornish, *floh, hloh* (flóh, hlóh).

Pisan with Livornese changes (kky) into (y), and (*kkw*) into (v), while Lucchese mutates its initial and exceptionally "weak" (ky) and (*kw*) into (y) and (w), or also (vu). See note 1, p. 157. Examples: 1°. Pisan, *chiacchieroni* (kkyakky*e*róni, yakky*e*róni); *quello* (*kkwé*ll*o*, vé*l*l*o*); 2°. Lucchese, *chiesta* (kyésta, yésta); *guaresima* (*kw*arézima, warézima), *questo* (*kw*ésto, vuésto).

The Roman dialect, particularly the "romanesco trasteverino," shares with the vulgar Florentine the mutation of (ttsh) into (sh), and (which the Florentine does not) mutates (ss) into (tts) after a preceding word that ends in (l), (n) or (r). This happens also in the middle of the word; but it is not my intention to speak of middle mutations. The Roman dialect, moreover, is fond of giving to (dzh) and (b) the strong sounds of (ddzh) and (bb), even when the preceding word requires the weak form in standard Italian. Examples: 1°. *cercà* (ttsherkká, sherkká); 2°. *sale* (ssál*e*, ttsál*e*); 3°. *che giova? mi giova* (kk*é* ddzhóva? mmi ddzhóva), instead of

(mmi dzhóva), 'what avails it? it does me good'; 4°. *che botte! la botte* (kk*e* bb*ó*tt*e!* lla bb*ó*tt*e*), instead of (lla b*ó*tt*e*), 'what a tun! the tun.'

The Neapolitan dialect presents a very curious mutation of (vv), which sometimes, as in standard Italian, may be weakened into (v), and sometimes mutated into (b) or even (bb). Examples: 1°. *voglio* (vvólyə), 'I will'; *varca* (vvárkk*a*), 'boat'; 2°. *lo voglio vedè* (*u* vólyə ved*é*), 'I wish to see him'; *la varca* (a várkk*a*), 'the boat'; 3°. *lo vvoglio vedè* (*u* bólyə ved*é*), 'I wish to see that'; *le vvarche* (*e* bbárkkə), 'the boats.'

What can be the cause of the mutation of (*u* vólyə) of the second quotation into (*u* bólyə) of the third, the mutator being phonetically the same in both instances? In the second quotation, (*u*) represents Latin *illum*, but in the third, Latin *illud;* and, although Schuchardt admits (see Romania, vol. iii. p. 25, l. 19) that (d) acts as a mutator, he does not say why (m) does not act as such. By those, however, who admit, as I do, that final Latin *m* (and I do not go so far as to say that it is entirely null, even in its effects), is only good, *more Lusitanico*, for nasalizing the vowel by which it is preceded; *illum* (illũ), ought to be considered as a word ended in an atonic vowel, and, as such, capable of determining the sixth or weak initial mutation in the succeeding word, according to the general laws of standard Italian; although, it must be admitted, that these laws are not without their exceptions, especially on account of some differences existing between the Italian dialects in the quantity and quality of the mutators.

In conclusion, I wish to draw attention to the fact that in this Table XIII. I have not given those weak form mutations which are common both to these dialects and to standard Italian.

Table XIV. Standard Italian.

This far-famed classical language, which, after all, in spite of whatever may be said to the contrary, is nothing but the Tuscan dialect, in its Florentine variety, literarily fixed in

the thirteenth century by the three great Tuscan luminaries of the Italian language, the Florentine Dante, the Aretine Petrarca, and the Certaldese Boccaccio; although (confessedly or not) adopted by all the Italians, is not to be heard equally well pronounced throughout the Peninsula. The strong radical sounds (recalling to mind the Hebrew letters with *dāghêsh*) are, generally speaking, either neglected or not pronounced in their proper places, except in Tuscany and Rome, although the south of Italy makes a great use of them. The north, on the contrary, and even Lucca, as an exception, neglect them sadly, so far as to pronounce, for instance, *a casa*, 'home,' adverbially, not (akkása), as it ought to be, but (akása), as if they were Spaniards, Portuguese, Frenchmen, or modern Greeks; while others are not ashamed to say (akáza) with voiced (z)! I have followed the Tuscan Florentine custom, which, with very few exceptions, is also the Roman in this particular, in giving the strong sounds exhibited by this Table XIV.

With regard to the name "weak form," I shall only observe that, although in my opinion, at least from the Italian point of view, the strong sounds expressed in the common orthography by a single consonant[5] constitute the

[5] The statement that the initial single consonants at the beginning of the isolated Italian words, or even of initial or medial syllables preceded by a consonant, are pronounced as if they were written double, is exact only by approximation, although quite sufficient for every practical purpose. It is impossible, in fact, for a Tuscan to perceive any difference, for instance, between the sound given to the initial single *p* of *pappa*, 'pap' (a soft food for infants), or of *il pane*, 'the bread,' or of *talpa*, 'mole,' and the, strictly speaking, really double sound expressed by *pp* of the same word *pappa*, which is pronounced (ppáppa) and not (páppa). A physiological difference exists nevertheless between the two, if we admit Mr. Havet's very interesting analysis of the sometimes double, sometimes triple, sound expressed by two similar consonants occurring in the middle of a word. (See "Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris," vol. ii. p. 76). Of the sound of the initial consonants Havet does not speak, but I am quite convinced by the arguments of this distinguished philologist of the correctness of the analysis of the medial double consonants; and this in spite of the contrary opinion of Mr. Schuchardt (see "Romania," vol. iii. p. 7, note 2), who gives no other reason against Mr. Havet's physiological explanations, than the mere assertion of his not being at all convinced by them. The double voiceless and explosive consonant between two vowels expresses in fact, as Havet says, two sounds slightly different from each other and separated by a stop which I would phonetically express by (·). If the two explosive consonants are voiced, the stop is replaced by a resonance capable of being continued only for a very short time, while the two voiced consonants remain perfectly explosive, and it is only to the voiced resonance that continuity is due. The same applies to the two explosive liquid and nasal consonants, so that between them a liquid or nasal resonance takes place,

radical form, very much in the same way as the Hebrew grammarians considered radical their letters with *dāghêsh;* it will be very easy for any one disagreeing with me in my appreciation of this matter, to consider my weak as his radical and my radical as his strong form.

of which the duration is indefinite and to which alone continuity is due. The sounds (b, d, g, l, m, n), therefore, are not capable, contrary to what Schuchardt suggests, of any quantity, and his reasons do not convince me in the least. These resonances, voiced, liquid, and nasal, constitute as many independent vowels as there are voiced, liquid, or nasal consonantal pairs, and may be pronounced isolated and, when liquid or nasal, even sung. These last differ entirely from the ordinary simple sounds called "nasal vowels," which are rather nasalized than nasal. If it were desirable to express them in a strictly phonetic way (which is altogether out of question at present), I would indicate the voiced resonance by (ˇ); the liquid, by (ˆ); and the nasal, by (¯), while the strong initial simple sound I would continue to express by a double consonant without (·). Examples: I°. 1°. *poppa* (ppóp·ppa), 'woman's breast'; *tetto* (ttét·tto), 'roof'; *coccola* (kkók·kkola), 'berry'; 2°. *babbo* (bbábˇbo), 'papa'; *daddolo* (ddádˇdolo, 'insipid jest'; *leggo* (llégˇgo), 'I read'; 3°. *lulla* (llúlˆla), 'side boards of the bottom of a cask'; 4°. *nonno* (nnónˇno), 'grand-father'; *mamma* (mmámˇma), 'mamma.' II°. 1°. *campo* (kkámppo), 'field'; *monte* (mmóntte), 'mountain'; *solco* (ssólkko), 'furrow'; *corpo* (kkórppo), 'body'; 2°. *gamba* (ggámbba), 'leg'; *mondo* (mmónddo), 'world'; *verga* (vvérgga), 'rod'; 3°. *torlo* (ttórllo), 'yolk'; 4°. *olmo* (ólmmo), 'elm-tree'; *urna* (úrnna), 'urn.' III°. 1°. *il padre* (il ppádre), 'the father'; *il tiglio* (il ttílyo), 'the linden-tree'; *il cane* (il kkáne), 'the dog'; *per caso* (pper kkázo), 'by chance'; 2°. *per battere* (per bbát·ttere), 'to beat'; *uom dabbene* (uóm ddabˇbéne), 'honest man'; *il gozzo* (il ggóttso), 'the ggoitre'; 3°. *con lui* (kkon llúi), 'with him'; 4°. *al noce* (al nnótshe), 'at the walnut-tree'; *per mare* (pper mmáre), 'by sea.' It will be observed that the strong sound occurs after the stop, but not after the resonances. This is easily accounted for in admitting their vowel nature. In fact, in (ppóp·ppa), the sound following the stop is strong only on account of the weak (p) by which it is preceded at the end of the first syllable of the word before the stop. According to these phonetic appreciations, in all the words of the Florentine "cianesca" variety, in which the article *il*, after having lost its final *l*, coalesces with the following noun, the strong sound of the correct language ceases to be initial and becomes medial; and, as such, it will be pronounced (only in a strictly phonetic and rather theoretical sense) in one of the following ways: 1°. as a simple strong sound, if the Italian initial sound is continuous and voiceless; 2°. as a double sound, the first being weak and ending the syllable before the stop, while the second beginning a new syllable after the stop is pronounced strong; if the initial consonant is explosive and voiceless in Italian; 3°. as two weak sounds separated by a resonance, if the Italian explosive initial consonant is voiced, liquid, or nasal. Examples: *il bastone* (il bbastóne, *ital.*; ibˇbastóne, *flor.*), 'the stick'; *il cavallo* (il kkaválˆlo; ik·kkaválˆlo), 'the horse'; *il chiasso* (il kkyásso; iky·kkyásso), 'the noise'; *il ciglio* (il ttshílyo; ittshílyo), 'the eye-brow'; *il dente* (il ddéntte; idˇdéntte, 'the tooth'; *il filo* (il ffílo; iffílo), 'the thread'; *il gallo* (il ggálˆlo), igˇgálˆlo), 'the cock'; *il ghiaccio* (il ggyáttsho; igyˇgyáttsho), 'the ice'; *il guanto* (il ggwántto; igwˇgwántto), 'the glove'; *il giglio* (il ddzhílyo; iddzhílyo), 'the lily'; *il mare* (il mmáre; imˇmáre), 'the sea'; *il nodo* (il nnódo; inˇnódo), 'the knot'; *il petto* (il ppét·tto; ip·ppét·tto), 'the breast'; *il quadro* (il *kkw*adro; i*kw·kkw*ádro), 'the picture'; *il re* (il rré; irré), 'the king'; *il sole* (il ssóle; issóle), 'the sun'; *il triplo* (il ttríplo; it·ttríplo), 'the triple'; *il vino* (il vvíno; ivˇvíno), 'the wine'; *il zio* (il ttsio; ittsío), 'the uncle'; *il zero* (il ddzéro; iddzéro), 'the zero.'

It is only amongst the Caucasian languages and in Italian that the initial strong sound occurs; at least so far as I know. Schiefner, with whom I had in London a long conversation about the Caucasian sounds, assured me, in hearing from

Table XV.

The generally admitted classification of the Celtic dialects differs from that which I propose in this Table: 1°. In not giving an independent place, as separate languages, to the ancient Gaelic, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton languages so well studied by Zeuss, in spite of their differing from the living or only lately dead languages about as much as ancient differs from modern French. 2°. In considering Irish and Scotch Gaelic as two distinct dialects, while I think that the four principal forms of speech used in Ireland—Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and Ulster—with the three principal forms of speech used in Scotland—Southern, Interior, and Northern—mingle one with the other without solution of dialectal continuity. The Munster sub-dialect, for instance, differs more from that of Ulster than this does from Southern Scotch Gaelic. These seven sub-dialects, in my opinion, constitute one single dialect, which I call "Hiberno-Scotch." 3°. In not giving to Manx all the linguistical importance it deserves. If this true second dialect of the "Gaelic language in its much wider sense" were in reality what it appears to be in its absurd orthography, it would be even more entitled to be regarded as an independent language of the Gaelic branch than Cornish is of the Cambrian. The difference of Manx from Irish and even Scottish Gaelic, however, is great, and not all attributable to Manx orthography, and any one willing to compare these three forms of speech in a scientific manner will not fail to be convinced that if Manx be not entitled to be called a language, it is certainly more than a sub-dialect, although no one would be justified in denying its nearer relation to Scottish than to Irish Gaelic. It must, moreover, be well understood that it does not follow in the least from this nearer degree of affinity that Irish and Scotch Gaelic

my mouth the sounds (kk; k·kk) of the Italian word *cucco*, 'favourite child,' that they are the same as those of the Kasikumuk *kkukku* (kkuk·kku), 'nipple,' and quite distinct from the Upper German dialectal initial k, followed either by aspiration or any sort of stop. In his "Kasikumükische Studien," St. Petersburg, 1866, p. 2, he expresses himself so about the nature of the Kasikumuk double sounds: "Diese Laute bloss als Verdoppelungen anzusehen hat in sofern seine Schwierigkeiten, als dieselben nicht nur im Inlaute, sondern auch im Anlaute vorkommen."

are not much nearer one to the other than either of them is to Manx. 4°. In admitting two Welsh dialects instead of three sub-dialects as they really are, according to inquiries throughout Wales made by myself in company with the much-regretted Mr. Robert Jones, the well-known Welsh scholar. These sub-dialects were considered by the ancient Welsh grammarians as three distinct dialects, but they do not differ enough to be called more than sub-dialects. 5°. In admitting four instead of two Breton dialects. The forms of speech of Léon, Tréguier, and Cornouaille, without speaking of their varieties, constitute, in fact, three sub-dialects of one single dialect, while the Vannes dialect is the second of the Breton language. 6°. In not recognizing in the Vannes dialect the Lower and Upper sub-dialects in the same manner that I admit three sub-dialects in the Breton dialect properly so called. The two Vannes sub-dialects, it must be admitted, differ enough to be regarded as more than simple varieties, and the whole Vannes dialect is not nearer to the first Breton dialect than Manx is to Scotch Gaelic.

The word "Gaelic," unfortunately, is employed in four different senses. It is applied to the "Gaelic" (1) branch, comprising one single language, which is also called the "Gaelic" (2) language. This is subdivided into the "Gaelic" (3) (or "Hiberno-Scotch" Gaelic) dialect, comprising the four Irish and the three Scottish sub-dialects, and the Manx dialect. The name of "Gaelic" (4) finally, is very improperly given to the collection of the three Scottish sub-dialects, which are no more particularly Gaelic than the four Irish and the Manx. In the first sense "Gaelic" means very improperly "Non-Cambrian"; in the second, not improperly, the sole language of the Gaelic branch; in the third, improperly, "Non-Manx"; and in the fourth, very improperly, "Non-Irish."

[illegible] I conclude my paper, I must not fail to acknowledge the obligation I am under to Mr. A. J. Ellis, for the [illegible] he has so kindly taken, both in the revision of my [illegible] and for some valuable suggestions in the arrangement [illegible] the sounds.

I.—SOUNDS REPRESENTED BY SYMBOLS AND COMPARED WITH THOSE OF OTHER LANGUAGES.

See note at end of Part II. of this Table.

PART I.—*Consonants occurring in Initial Mutations.*

1. b. E. *b*ee.	20. gj. T. la *ghi*esgia, *the church.*	39. ll. I. ste*ll*a, *star.*	58. t. F. *t*as, *heap.*
2. bb. I. go*bb*a, *hump.*	21. gy. I. la *ghi*anda, *the acorn.*	40. ly. I. fi*gl*io, *son.*	59. th. E. *th*in.
3. bh. S. ha*b*a, *bean.*	22. *ggw.* I. a*ggu*anto, *I seize.*	41. *l.* M. *l*aue, *hand.*	60. ts. I. la *z*ia, *the aunt.*
4. d. F. *d*oux, *sweet.*	23. *gw.* I. di *gu*anto, *of glove.*	42. *lh.* Ir. *l*ámh, *hand.*	61. tsh. E. lee*ch.*
5. dd. I. I*dd*io, *God.*	24. h. E. *h*and.	43. m. E. *m*ad.	62. tt. I. ma*tt*o, *mad.*
6. ddz. I. ro*zz*o, *coarse.*	25. *hw.* Fl. di *qu*ando, *of when.*	44. mm. I. fia*mm*a, *flame.*	63. tts. I. pa*zz*o, *mad.*
7. ddzh. I. Ma*ggi*o, *May.*	26. hy. Fl. si *ch*iama, *he is called.*	45. n. F. *n*ez, *nose.*	64. ttsh. I. ca*cc*ia, *hunting.*
8. dh. E. *th*ee.	27. k. E. *c*alf.	46. ng. E. si*ng*er.	65. ty. Ir. *t*irm, *dry.*
9. dy. Ir. *D*ia, *God.*	28. kh. G. *d*ach, *roof.*	47. *nh.* Ir. bea*n*, *woman.*	66. *th.* Ir. *t*alamh, *earth.*
10. dz. I. la *z*anzara, *the gnat.*	29. khy. G. mi*ch*, *me.*	48. nn. I. ca*nn*a, *reed.*	67. v. E. *v*ine.
11. dzh. E. ra*g*e.	30. kj. T. la *chi*ai, *the key.*	49. ny. F. di*gn*e, *worthy.*	68. vv. I. a*vv*entura, *adventure.*
12. *dh.* Ir. *d*oun, *brown.*	31. kk. I. bo*cc*a, *mouth.*	50. p. E. *p*ea.	69. *v.* Ir. fé*imh*, *mild.*
13. f. E. *f*oe.	32. kkj. T. ve*cch*iu, *old.*	51. pp. I. co*pp*a, *cup.*	70. w. E. *w*ine.
14. ff. I. sta*ff*a, *stirrup.*	33. *kkw.* I. a*cqu*a, *water.*	52. r. E. *r*ay.	71. *w.* Ir. sa*mh*rad, *summer.*
15. g. E. *g*o.	34. kky. I. o*cch*io, *eye.*	53. rr. I. te*rr*a, *earth.*	72. y. E. *y*et.
16. gg. I. ve*gg*o, *I see.*	35. *kw.* I. la *qu*aglia, *the quail.*	54. ry. Ir. gei*r*, *tallow.*	73. z. E. *s*eal.
17. ggj. T. o*ggh*i, *to-day.*	36. ky. I. la *chi*acchiera, *the babble.*	55. s. E. *s*o.	74. zh. E. plea*s*ure.
18. ggy. I. ra*ggh*iare, *to bray.*	37. l. F. *l*ait, *milk.*	56. sh. E. *sh*e.	75. ' (*suppression*).
19. gh. D. *g*oed, *good.*	38. lh. W. *ll*aw, *hand.*	57. ss. I. ca*ss*a, *case.*	76. + (*addition*).

PART II. *Vowels and Consonants necessary to complete the phonetic representation of the words cited.*

77. *a*. F. chat, *cat*.	F. cœur, *heart*.	88. *u*. E. book.	98. *s*. B. su, *fire* (*Spain*).
ä. E. father.	83. *i*. E. milk.	89. u. F. tout, *all*.	99. *ʃ*. B. su, *fire* (*France*).
78. *a*. E. man.	84. i. E. believe.	ü. E. fool.	100. *ts*. B. otso, *wolf* (*Spain*).
79. *e*. E. bed.	I. E. believe.	90. ũ. P. um, *one*.	101. *tʃ*. B. otso, *wolf* (*France*).
F. mètre, *metre*.	85. *o*. E. not.	91. ü. F. sur, *upon*.	102. (*long quantity*)
ē. E. where.	F. botte, *boot*.	ũ. F. sûr, *certain*.	103. ' (*tonic accent, and also diphthongal emphasis, on short vowel*).
F. tête, *head*.	*ō*. E. all.	92. *ggh*. Sa. pal gudl, *to enjoy*.	104. ^ (*tonic accent, and also diphthongal emphasis, on long vowel*).
80. *ẽ*. F. vin, *wine*.	F. or, *gold*.	93. *gghw*. Sa. pal guantu, *for glove*.	For the signs · ˘ ^ ~ see Note 5.
81. *e*. F. bonté, *goodness*.	E. more.	94. kkh. Sa. pal cadl. *to fall*.	
82. *ə*. E. cuff.	86. *õ*. F. bon, *good*.	95. *kkhw*. Sa. pal quattru, *for four*.	
F. veuf, *widower*.	87. *o*. F. pot, *pot*.	96. llh. Sa. pal te, *for thee*.	
ə̃. E. fur.	*ô*. F. dôme, *dome*.	97. *ll*. Sa. pal da, *to give*.	

N.B. – B. Basque; D. Dutch; E. English; F. French; Fl. Florentine; G. German; I. Italian; Ir. Irish; M. Manx; P. Portuguese; S. Spanish; Sa. Sassarese; T. Tempiese; W. Welsh.

II.—INITIAL MUTATIONS IN CELTIC, BASQUE, SARDINIAN, AND ITALIAN.

Radical Sounds.	Mutations.	Rad. S.	Mutations.	Rad. S.	Mutations.
1. b	m, p, v, w, '	19. k	*dh*, g, gh, h, kh, khy, ngh, '	37. p	b, f, mh
2. bb	b, bh, v, '	20. kk	g, h, k, '	38. pp	bh, p
3. d	dh, dzh, gh, h, n, t, z	21. kkj	kj	39. r	ry
4. dd	d, '	22. *kkw*	*gw*, *hw*, *kw*, v	40. rr	r
5. ddz	dz	23. kky	gy, hy, ky, y	41. rh	r
6. ddzh	dzh, y, zh	24. *kw*	w, vu	42. s	b, *dh*, g, h, k, *nh*, *th*, ts, z, '
7. dy	ny, y	25. ky	y	43. sh	b, gh, h, ny, tsh, ty
8. dzh	y	26. lh	l	44. ss	s, tts, z
9. *dh*	gh, *nh*, '	27. ll	l	45. t	d, nh, th, z
10. f	*dh*, h, *nh*, ny, v, w, '	28. ly	l	46. tsh	dzh, h, th, y
11. ff	bh, f	29. *l*	ly	47. tt	d, t
12. g	gh, h, k, kh, ng, *nh*, ny, v, w, y, '	30. *lh*	l, ly	48. tts.	dz, ts
13. gg	g	31. m	mh, v, *v*, w, *w*, '	49. ttsh	sh, tsh, zh
14. ggj	y	32. mm	m	50. ty	dy, h
15. ggy	gy	33. n	nh	51. *th*	*dh*, h
16. gw	f, ', v	34. *nh*	n, ny, '	52. v	w
17. *ggw*	*gw*	35. nn	n	53. vv	b, bb, bh, v, '
18. h	dzh, *dh*, g	36. ny	n	54. +[1]	g, dzh, *dh*, h, *nh*, ny, t, tsh, ty, *th*, y

[1] Additions to an initial vowel, determined by a preceding word, occur in Irish, Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Cornish, and archaic Basque. The Irish additions belong either to the nasal or to the aspirated form; the Manx, either to the middle or to the aspirated; the Gaelic, Welsh, and Cornish, to the aspirated; the archaic Basque, to the advanced. (See Tables III., IV., V., VI., VII., XII.)

PART II. *Vowels and Consonants necessary to complete the phonetic representation of the words cited.*

77. a. F. chat, *cat.*	F. cœur, *heart.*	88. *u.* E. book.	98. *s.* B. su, *fire* (*Spain*).
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6. ddzh	dzh, y, zh	24. *kw*	w, vu	42. s	b, *dh*, g, h, k, *nh*, *th*, ts, z, '
7. dy	ny, y	25. ky	y	43. sh	b, gh, h, ny, tsh, ty
8. dzh	y	26. lh	l	44. ss	s, tts, z
9. *dh*	gh, *nh*, '	27. ll	l	45. t	d, nh, th, z
10. f	*dh*, h, *nh*, ny, v, w, '	28. ly	l	46. tsh	dzh, h, th, y
11. ff	bh, f	29. *l*	ly	47. tt	d, t
12. g	gh, h, k, kh, ng, *nh*, ny, v, w, y, '	30. *lh*	l, ly	48. tts.	dz, ts
13. gg	g	31. m	mh, v, *v*, w, *w*, '	49. ttsh	sh, tsh, zh
14. ggj	y	32. mm	m	50. ty	dy, h
15. ggy	gy	33. n	nh	51. *th*	*dh*, h
16. gw	f, ', v	34. *nh*	n, ny, '	52. v	w
17. *qgw*	*gw*	35. nn	n	53. vv	b, bb, bh, v, '
18. h	dzh, *dh*, g	36. ny	n	54. +[1]	g, dzh, *dh*, h, *nh*, ny, t, tsh, ty, *th*, y

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III.—IRISH.

Symbols.	I. Radical Form.	S.	II. Middle Form.	S.	III. Nasal Form.	S.	IV. Aspirated Form.
1. k	*c*roidhe, *heart*	g	bhur *gc*roidhe, *your heart*	.....	....	kh	a *ch*roidhe, *his heart*
k	*c*iall, *sense*	g	bhur *gc*iall, *your sense*	.....	....	khy	a *ch*iall, *his sense*
2. g	*g*abhar, *goat*	.....	....	ng	bhur *ng*abhar, *your goat*	gh	a *gh*abar, *his goat*
g	*g*iolla, *boy*	.....	....	ng	bhur *ng*iolla, *your boy*	y	a *gh*iolla, *his boy*
3. *th*	tonn, *wave*	*dh*	bhur *dt*onn, *your wave*	.....	....	h	a *th*onn, *his wave*
4. ty	*t*ír, *country*	dy	bhur *dt*ír, *your country*	.....	....	h	a *th*ír, *his country*
5. *dh*	*d*uine, *man*	.....	....	*nh*	bhur *nd*uine, *your man*	gh	a *dh*uine, *his man*
6. dy	*D*ia, *God*	.....	....	ny	bhur *Nd*ia, *your God*	y	a *Dh*ia, *his God*
7. *nh*	*n*ámhaid, *enemy*	.....	....	.....	....	ny	a *n*ámhaid, *her enemy*
8. p	*p*ort, *bank*	b	bhur *bp*ort, *your bank*	.....	....	f	a *ph*ort, *his bank*
9. b	*b*árr, *top*	.....	....	m	bhur *mb*árr, *your top*	w	a *bh*árr, *his top*
b	*b*iadh, *food*	.....	....	m	bhur *mb*iadh, *your food*	v	a *bh*iadh, *his food*
10. m	*m*áthair, *mother*	.....	....	.....	....	*w*	a *mh*áthair, *his mother*
m	*m*í, *month*	.....	....	.....	....	*v*	a *mh*í, *his month*
11. f	*f*uil, *blood*	w	bhur *bhf*uil, *your blood*	.....	....	'	a *fh*uil, *his blood*
f	*f*ear, *man*	v	bhur *bhf*ear, *your man*	.....	....	'	a *fh*ear, *his man*
12. s	*s*úil, *eye*	.....	....	.....	....	h	a *sh*úil, *his eye*
s	*s*úil, *eye*	.....	....	.....	....	*th*	an *ts*úil, *the eye*
13. sh	*s*íth, *peace*	.....	....	.....	....	h	a *sh*íth, *his peace*
sh	*s*íth, *peace*	.....	....	.....	....	ty	an *ts*íth, *the peace*
14. *lh*	*l*ámh, *hand*	.....	....	.....	....	ly	a *lh*ámh, *her hand*
15. r	*r*uaig, *run*	.....	....	.....	....	ry	a *rh*uaig, *her run*
16. (vowel)	áthair, *father*	.....	....	.....	....	+h	a *h*áthair, *her father*
	áthair, *father*	.....	....	.....	....	+*th*	an *t*áthair, *the father*
	inneach, *woof*	.....	....	.....	....	+ty	an *t*inneach, *the woof*
	áthair, *father*	.....	....	+*nh*	bhur *n*áthair, *your father*	.....	....
	inneach, *woof*	.....	....	+ny	bhur *n*inneach, *your woof*	....	....

IV.—GAELIC.

Symbols.	I. Radical Form.	S.	IV. Aspirated Form.	Symbols.	I. Radical Form.	S.	IV. Aspirated Form.
1. k	*c*ridhe, *heart*	kh	a *ch*ridhe, *his heart*	11. m	*m*àthair, *mother*	v	a *mh*àthair, *his mother*
k	*c*iall, *sense*	khy	a *ch*iall, *his sense*	12. f	*f*ear, *man*	'	a *fh*ear, *his man*
2. g	*g*abhar, *goat*	gh	a *gh*abhar, *his goat*	13. s	*s*ùil, *eye*	h	a *sh*ùil, *his eye*
g	*g*ille, *boy*	y	a *g*ille, *his boy*	s	*s*ùil, *eye*	*th*	an *t-s*ùil, *the eye*
3. *th*	*t*onn, *wave*	h	a *th*onn, *his wave*	14. sh	*s*ìth, *peace*	h	a *sh*ìth, *his peace*
4. tsh	*t*ìr, *country*	h	a *th*ìr, *his country*	sh	*s*ìth, *peace*	tsh	an *t-s*ìth, *the peace*
5. *dh*	*d*uine, *man*	gh	a *dh*uine, *his man*	15. *lh*	*l*àmh, *hand*	l	a *l*àmh, *her hand*
6. dzh	*D*ia, *God*	y	a *Dh*ia, *his God*	16. ly	*l*inn, *age*	l	a *l*inn, *her age*
7. *nh*	*n*àmhaid, *enemy*	n	a *n*àmhaid, *her enemy*	17. r	*r*uith, *run*	ry	a *r*uith, *her run*
8. ny	*n*imh, *poison*	n	a *n*imh, *her poison*	18. (vowel)	athair, *father*	+ h	a *h*-athair, *her father*
9. p	*p*ort, *port*	f	a *ph*ort, *his port*	athair, *father*	+ *th*	an *t*-athair, *the father*	
10. b	*b*àrr, *top*	v	a *bh*àrr, *his top*	inneach, *woof*	+ tsh	an *t*-inneach, *the woof*	

V.—MANX.

Symbols.	I. Radical Form.	S.	II. Middle Form, or Irregular Mutations replacing it.	S.	III. Nasal Form.	S.	IV. Aspirated Form, or Irregular Mutations replacing it.
1. k	*c*ree, *heart*	g	nyn *g*ree, *your heart*	.....	....	kh	e *ch*ree, *his heart*
k	*k*eeayll, *sense*	g	nyn *g*eeayll, *your sense*	.....	....	khy	e *ch*eeayll, *his sense*
k	*k*ing, *heads*	gh	nyn *gh*ing, *your heads*	.....	....	kh	e *ch*ing, *his heads*
k	*k*eaghil, *change thou*	.....	....	.....	....	*dh*	cha *d*eaghil, *did not change*
k	*q*uing, *yoke*	g	nyn *g*uing, *your yoke*	.....	....	h	e *wh*ing, *his yoke*
2. g	*g*oayr, *goat*	.....	....	.....	....	gh	nyn *gh*oayr, *your goat*
g	*g*uilley, *boy*	.....	....	.....	....	y	nyn *y*uilley, *your boy*
g	*g*arrish, *to jeer*	.....	....	.....	....	*nh*	er *n*arrish, *have jeered*
g	*g*iall, *to promise*	ny	cha *ny*iall, *do not promise*	.....	....	y	cha *y*iall, *did not promise*
g	*g*ow, *to get*	v	cha *v*ow, *not get*	.....	....	gh	cha *gh*ow, *did not get*
g	*g*weeder, *curser*	.....	....	.....	....	'	e weeder, *his curser*
3. h	*h*ooar, *got*	.....	....	.....	....	*dh*	cha *d*ooar, *got not*
h	*h*ig, *will come*	dzh	cha *j*ig, *will not come*	.....	....	.....	....
4. *th*	*t*onn, *wave*	*dh*	nyn *d*onn, *your wave*	.....	....	h	e *h*onn, *his wave*
5. tsh	*ch*eer, *country*	dzh	nyn *j*eer, *your country*	.....	....	h	e *h*eer, *his country*
tsh	*ch*iamble, *temple*	y	nyn *gh*iamble, *your temple*	.....	....	h	e *h*iamble, *his temple*
6. d	*d*ellal, *dealing*	.....	....	.....	....	gh	nyn *gh*ellal, *your dealing*
7. *dh*	*d*ooinney, *man*	.....	....	.....	....	gh	nyn *gh*ooinney, *your man*
dh	*d*woaie, *hatred*	.....	....	.....	....	'	e woaie, *his hatred*
8. dzh	*J*ee, *God*	.....	....	.....	....	y	nyn *Y*ee, *your God*
9. *nh*	*n*oid, *enemy*	.....	....	.....	....	ny	e *n*oid, *her enemy*
nh	*n*oi, *against him*	.....	....	.....	....	'	oi, *against*
10. p	*p*urt, *port*	b	nyn *b*urt, *your port*	.....	....	f	e *ph*urt, *his port*
11. b	*b*aare, *top*	.....	....	m	nyn *m*aare, *your top*	v	e *v*aare, *his top*
b	*b*uighey, *jaundice*	.....	....	m	nyn *m*uighey, *your jaundice*	w	e *w*uighey, *his jaundice*
b	*b*woaillee, *fold*	.....	....	m	nyn *m*woaillee, *your fold*	'	e woaillee, *his fold*

								v	e *voir*, *his mother*
12.	m	*m*oir, *mother*	.....	....	.....	....		w	e *w*hinneel, *his sleeve*
	m	*m*huinneel, *sleeve*	.....	....	.....	....		'	e wannal, *his neck*
	m	*m*wannal, *neck*	.....	....	.....	....		'	e er, *his man*
13.	f	*f*er, *man*	v	nyn *v*er, *your man*	.....	....		'	e adeyr, *his prophet*
	f	*ph*adeyr, *prophet*	v	nyn *v*adeyr, *your prophet*	.....	....		'	e astyr, *his evening*
	f	*f*astyr, *evening*	*nh*	sy *n*astyr, *in the evening*	.....	....		*dh*	cha *d*oshil, *did not open*
	f	*f*oshil, *to open*	*nh*	cha *n*oshil, *do not open*	.....	....		'	e irrinys, *his truth*
	f	*f*irrinys, *truth*	ny	sy *n*irrinys, *in the truth*	.....	....		w	e *w*ondeish, *his advantage*
14.	v	*v*ondeish, *advantage*	.....	....	.....	....		h	e *h*ooill, *his eye*
15.	s	*s*ooill, *eye*	.....	....	.....	....		*th*	y *t*ooill, *the eye*
	s	*s*ooill, *eye*	.....	....	.....	....		h	e *h*aggyrt, *his priest*
	s	*s*aggyrt, *priest*	*dh*	nyn *d*aggyrt, *your priest*	.....	....		k	yn *c*leih, *the people*
	s	*s*leih, *people*	.....	....	.....	....		'	e leih, *his people*
	s	*s*leih, *people*	.....	....	.....	....		k	yn *c*lat, *the rod*
	s	*s*lat, *rod*	g	nyn *g*lat, *your rod*	.....	....		b	cha *b*aill, *did not wish*
	s	*s*aill, *to wish*	*nh*	cha *n*aill, *do not wish*	.....	....		b	cha *b*liack, *did not like*
	s	*s*liack, *to like*	'	cha liack, *do not like*	.....	....		h	e *h*ee, *his peace*
16.	sh	*sh*ee, *peace*	.....	....	.....	....		tsh	yn *ch*ee, *the peace*
	sh	*sh*ee, *peace*	.....	....	.....	....		tsh	yn *ch*eh, *the hide*
	sh	*sh*eh, *hide*	gh	nyn *gh*eh, *your hide*	.....	....		b	cha *b*ione, *did not know*
	sh	*sh*ione, *to know*	ny	cha *n*ione, *do not know*	.....	....		ly	e *l*aue, *her hand*
17.	*l*	*l*aue, *hand*	.....	....	.....	....		ly	e *l*hott, *her wound*
	l	*l*hott, *wound*	.....	....	.....	....		r	e *r*oie, *her run*
18.	rh	*r*oie, *run*	.....	....	.....	....		r	e *r*heynn, *her division*
	rh	*r*heynn, *division*	.....	....	.....	....		.....	....
19.	(a o w e l)	aase, *grow*	+g	*g*aase, *growing*	.....	....		+h	e *h*ayr, *her father*
		ayr, *father*	.....	....	.....	....		+*dh*	cha *d*obbree, *did not work*
		obbree, *to work*	+*nh*	cha *n*obbree, *do not work*	.....	....		+*nh*	nyn ollagh, *your cattle*
		ollagh, *cattle*	.....	....	.....	....		+dzh	cha *j*eeck, *did not pay*
		eeck, *to pay*	+ny	cha *n*eeck, *do not pay*	.....	....		+ny	yn innagh, *the woof*
		innagh, *woof*	.....	....	.....	....		+y	*y*eearree, *a desire*
		eearree, *desire*	.....	....	.....	....		y	yn *y*rjid, *the height*
		*a*rdjid, *height*	.....	....	.....	....			

VIII.—BRETON.

Symbols.	I. Radical Form.	S.	II. Middle Form.	S.	IV. Aspirated Form.	S.	V. Advanced Form.
1. k	*k*aloun, *heart*	g	hé *g*aloun, *his heart*	kh	hé *c'h*aloun, *her heart*	.....	....
2. g	*g*aour, *goat*	kh	hé *c'h*aour, *his goat*	.....	....	k	hô *k*aour, *your goat*
3. gw	*gw*enn, *white*	v[1]	bioc'h *v*enn, *cow white*	.....	....	k	hô *kw*enn, *your white*
4. t	*t*âd, *father*	d	hé *d*âd, *his father*	z	hé *z*âd, *her father*	.....	....
5. d	*d*én, *man*	z	hé *z*én, *his man*	.....	....	t	hô *t*én, *your man*
6. p	*p*enn, *head*	b	hé *b*enn, *his head*	f	hé *f*enn, *her head*	.....	....
7. b	*b*ara, *bread*	v	hé *v*ara, *his bread*	.....	....	p	hô *p*ara, *your bread*
8. m	*m*amm, *mother*	v	hé *v*amm, *his mother*	.....	....	.....	....
9. s	*s*ac'h, *bag*	z	hé *z*ac'h *his bag*	.....	....	.....	....

[1] In the dialect of Tréguier, "w" is used in this case instead of "v," and in ordinary Léon Breton "gw" is replaced by "v," as in *gwenn*.

IX.—BRETON OF VANNES.

Symbols.	I. Radical Form.	S.	II. Middle Form.	S.	IV. Aspirated Form.	S.	V. Advanced Form.
1. k	*k*alon *heart*	g	é *g*alon, *his heart*	h	hé *h*alon, *her heart*	.....	....
2. h[1]	*h*oet, *wood* (*forest*)	g	é *g*oet, *his wood*	.....	....	.....	....
3. g	*g*avr, *goat*	h	é *h*avr, *his goat*	.....	....	k	hou *k*avr, *your goat*
4. t	*t*at, *father*	d	é *d*at, *his father*	z	hé *z*at, *her father*	.....	....
5. d	*d*én, *man*	z	é *z*én, *his man*	.....	....	t	hou *t*én, *your man*
6. p	*p*en *head*	b	é *b*en, *his head*	f	hé *f*en, *her head*	.....	....
7. b	*b*ara, *bread*	v	é *v*ara, *his bread*	.....	....	p	hou *p*ara, *your bread*
8. m	*m*am, *mother*	v	é *v*am, *his mother*	.....	....	.....	....
9. s	*s*ah, *bag*	z	é *z*ah, *his bag*	.....	....	.....	....

[1] Words beginning with "h" in their radical form sometimes improperly replace "k" by "h." Such words as *hoet*, a synonym of *koet*, have a middle form, which is not the case when initial "h" represents "kh" (written *c'h*) in ordinary Breton.

X.—CELTIC POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS; DEFINITE, AND INDEFINITE ARTICLES.

	Irish.	Gaelic.	Manx.	Welsh.	Cornish.	Breton.	Breton of Vannes.
My	mo, m'	mo, m'; am	my, m'	fy, f'	ow, a, ma	va, ma[1]; am	me, mem, men
Thy	do, d', t', h'	do, d'; ad	dty, dt'	dy	de, da	da, ta[2]; az[3]	ha, té[7]
His	a, na	a, '	e	ei; 'w	y, a, e	hé, hi[4], hec'h[5]	é
Her	a	a	e	ei; 'w	y, a, hy	hé	hé
Our	ár	ar	nyn, ny	ein	agan, gan, an gen, agyn, gyn	hon, hor, hol[6]	hun, hur, hul
Your	bhur	bhur	nyn, ny	eich	agas, gas, as, ages ges, es, 'z agys, gys, ys, agus, gus	hô, hoc'h	hou
Their	a	an, am	nyn, ny	eu, ill; 'w	aga, a, agei gei, ge, y	hô	ou
The m.	an; 'n	an, am; n	y, yn, 'n	y, yr, 'r	an, en, 'n	ann, ar, al	en, er, el
gen.	an	an, a'	y, yn	....	an, en	....	....
The f.	an, 'n	an, a', 'n	y, yn, 'n	y, yr, 'r	an, en, 'n	ann, ar, al	en, er, el
gen.	na	na	ny	....	an, en	....	....
The pl.	na	na	ny	y, yr, 'r	an, en, 'n	ann, ar, al	en, er, el
gen.	na	nan, nam	ny	....	an, en	....	....
A, An	....	....	ny	....	un	eunn, eur, eul	un, ur, ul

[1] Used in the Tréguier and Cornouaille sub-dialects. [2] Used in the Tréguier and Cornouaille sub-dialects.
[3] See Note 2 to Table XI. [4] Used in the Tréguier sub-dialect. [5] Used in the Tréguier sub-dialect.
[6] Obsolete. [7] Used in the Lower sub-dialect.

XI.—INFLUENCE OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS ON THE INITIALS.[1]

	Irish.	Gaelic.	Manx.	Welsh.	Cornish.	Breton.	Breton of Vannes.
My	4. k, g, *th*, ty, *dh*, dy, p, b, m, f, s, sh	4. k, g, *th*, tsh, *dh*, dzh, p, b, m, f, s, sh	4. k, g, *th*, tsh, d, *dh*, dzh, p, b, m, f, v, s, sh	3. k, g, t, d, p, b	4. k, t, tsh, p	4. k, t, p	4. k, t, p
Thy	4. k, g, *th*, ty, *dh*, dy, p, b, m, f, s, sh	4. k, g, *th*, tsh, *dh*, dzh, p, b, m, f, s, sh	4. k, g, *th*, tsh, d, *dh*, dzh, p, b, m, f, v, s, sh	2. k, g, t, d, p, b, m, lh, rh	2. k, g, t, tsh, d, p, b, m, f	2[2]. k, g, gw, t, d, p, b, m, s	2. k, h, g, t, d, p, b, m, s
His	4. k, g, *th*, ty, *dh*, dy, p, b, m, f, s, sh	4. k, g, *th*, tsh, *dh*, dzh, p, b, m, f, s, sh	4. k, g, *th*, tsh, d, *dh*, dzh, p, b, m, f, v, s, sh	2. k, g, t, d, p, b, m, lh, rh	2. k, g, t, tsh, d, p, b, m, f	2. k, g, t, d, p, b, m, s	2. k, h, g, t, d, p, b, m, s
Her	4. *nh*, *lh*, r, (vow.)	4. *nh*, ny, *lh*, ly, r, (vowel)	4. *nh*, *l*, rh, (vow.)	4. k, t, n, p, m, (vowel)	4. k, t, tsh, p	4. k, t, p	4. k, t, p
Our	2. k, *th*, ty, p, f 3. g, *dh*, dy, b, (vow.)	....	2. k, *th*, tsh, p, f, s, sh 3. b 4. g, d, *dh*, dzh	.... 4. (vowel)	....	.... 4. k, t, p	.... 4. k, t, p
Your	2. k, *th*, ty, p, f 3. g, *dh*, dy, b, (vow.)	....	2. k, *th*, tsh, p, f, s, sh 3. b 4. g, d, *dh*, dzh	....	....	5. g, d, b	5. g, d, b ....
Their	2. k, *th*, ty, p, f 3. g, *dh*, dy, b, (vow.)	....	2. k, *th*, tsh, p, f, s, sh 3. b 4. g, d, *dh*, dzh	.... 4. (vowel)	.... 4. k, t, tsh, p	.... 4. k, t, p	.... 4. k, t, p

[1] The Arabic figures indicate the form of mutation to which the succeeding sounds are liable, 1 radical, 2 middle, 3 nasal, 4 aspirate, 5 advanced.

[2] When *az* is used for "thy," it governs the radical form.

XII.—BASQUE CAUSATIVE "BAI" AND NEGATIVE "EZ."

Symbols.	I. Radical Form.	S.	V. Advanced Form.
	1) Spanish Basque Guipuscoan Dialect.		
1. g	*gen*duen	k	ez*k*enduen, ez genduen
2. d	*d*iozute	t	ez*t*iozute, ez diozute
3. b	*b*edi	p	ez*p*edi, ez bedi
4. s	*z*era	ts	e*tz*era, ez zera
	2) Spanish Basque Biscayan Dialect.		
1. g	*g*enduban	k	ez genduban, ez*k*enduban
2. d	*d*eutsazube	t	ez deutsazube, ez*t*eutsazube
3. b	*b*edi	p	ez bedi, ez*p*edi
4. s	*z*ara	ts	ez zara, e*tz*ara
	3) Spanish Basque Northern High Navarrese Dialect of Lizaso in "Valle de Ulzama."		
1. g	*gi*ñuen	.....	baigiñuen ez giñuen
2. d	*d*iozie	t	bai*t*iozie ez*t*iozie
3. b	*b*edi	p	ez*p*edi
4. s	*z*ara	ts	bai*tz*ara e*tz*ara
	4) Spanish Basque Southern High Navarrese Dialect of Elcano in "Valle de Egües."		
1. g	*g*indue	k	bai*k*indue ez*k*indue
2. d	*d*ioze	t	bai*t*ioze ez*t*ioze
3. b	*b*edi	p	ez*p*edi
4. s	*z*ara	ts	baizara e*tz*ara
	5) French Basque Labourdin Dialect.		
1. g	*gi*nuen	k	bai*k*inuen ez*k*inuen
2. d	*d*iozue	t	bai*t*iozue ez*t*iozue
3. b	*b*edi	p	ez*p*edi
4. s	zare	ts	bai*tz*are e*tz*are
7. (vowel)	aiz	+ t	bai*t*aiz [1] ez aiz
	6) French Basque Souletin Dialect.		
1. g	*g*ünian	k	bei*k*ünian ez*k*ünian
2. d	*d*eyozie	t	bei*t*eyozie
3. b	*b*edi	p	ez*p*edi
4. s	*z*ira	ts	bei*tz*ira e*tz*ira
6. (vowel)	iz	+ h	be*h*iz e*h*iz

[1] Archaism, for *baihais* or *bai-ais*.

7) French Basque Western Low Navarrese Dialect of Saint-Étienne-de-Baïgorry.				8) French Basque Eastern Low Navarrese Dialect of Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port.			
1. g	*g*iniin	k	baiginiin, bai*k*iniin ez giniin, ez*k*iniin	1. g	*g*indien	k	baigindien ez gindien
2. d	*d*akozii	t	bai*t*akozii, baidakozii ez*t*akozii, ez dakozii	2. d	*d*akozie	t	bai*t*akozie, baidakozie ez*t*akozie, ez dakozie
3. b	*b*edi	p	ez bedi, ez*p*edi	3. b	*b*edi	p	ez bedi, ez*p*edi
4. s	*z*ira	ts	baizira, bai*tz*ira ez zira, e*tz*ira	4. s	*z*ira	ts	baizira, bai*tz*ira ez zira, e*tz*ira
.....	....	.....	....	5. sh	*ch*ira	tsh	baichira, bai*tch*ira ez chira, e*tch*ira
.....	....	.....	....				

English Translation of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, preceded, or not, by the Causative or by the Negative.

1. g	*we had it*	k	*because we had it* *we had not it*	5. sh	*thou art* (infant.)	tsh	*because thou art* *thou art not*
2. d	*you have it to him*	t	*because you have it to him* *you have not it to him*	6. (vow.)	*thou art* (m. f.)	+h	*because thou art* *thou art not*
3. b	*let him be*	p	*let him not be*	7. (vow.)	*thou art* (m. f.)	+t	*because thou art* *thou art not*
4. s	*thou art* (respect.)	ts	*because thou art* *thou art not*				

XIII.—SARDINIAN AND ITALIAN DIALECTS.

Symbols.	Dial. See note at end.	I. Radical Form.	S.	Other Forms differing from the Standard Italian.
1. kk	L.	caddos, *horses*; sos caddos, *the horses*	g	quimbe caddos, *five horses*
kk	L.	chelu, *sky*; est chelu, *it is sky*	g	su chelu, *the sky*
kk	L.	quantu, *how much*; a quantu, *to how much*	g	de quantu, *of how much*
kk	C.	carrus, *cars*; is carrus, *the cars*	g	cincu carrus, *five cars*
kk	C.	cherubinus, *cherubs*; is cherubinus, *the cherubs*	g	cincu cherubinus, *five cherubs*
kk	C.	quercu, *oak*; est quercu, *it is oak*	g	su quercu, *the oak*
kk	S.	carri, *flesh*; è carri, *it is flesh*	g	la carri, *the flesh*
kk	S.	cheddi, *weeks*; tre cheddi, *three weeks*	g	li cheddi, *the weeks*
kk	F.	cosa, *thing*; che cosa, *what thing*	h	la cosa, *the thing*
kk	F.	chesto, *this*; a chesto, *to this*	h	di chesto, *of this*
kk	P.	carca, *crowd*; che carca, *what crowd*	'	la carca, *the crowd*
kk	P.	che, *what*; a che, *to what*	'	di che, *of what*
1″. k	Lu.	cani, *dogs*; tre cani, *three dogs*	'	i cani, *the dogs*
k	Lu.	chimia, *chemistry*; è chimia, *it is chemistry*	'	la chimia, *the chemistry*
2. kky	L.	chietu, *quiet*; est chietu, *he is quiet*	gy	homine chietu, *quiet man*
kky	C.	chiete, *quiet*; cun chiete, *with quiet*	gy	sa chiete, *the quiet*
kky	F.	chiama, *he calls*; se chiama, *if he call*	hy	si chiama, *he is called*
kky	P.	chiacchieroni, *prattlers*; tre chiacchieroni, *three prattlers*	y	e' chiacchieroni, *the prattlers*
2″. ky	Lu.	chiesta, *asked*; è chiesta, *it is asked*	y	cosa 'iesta, *thing asked*
2‴. kkj	T.	chiai, *keys*; tre chiai, *three keys*	kj	li chiai, *the keys*
kkj	Co.	chiusa, *shut*; fu chiusa, *it was shut*	kj	porta chiusa, *door shut*
3. *kkw*	L.	quadros, *pictures*; sos quadros, *the pictures*	*gw*	quimbe quadros, *five pictures*
kkw	C.	quarras, *bushels*; is quarras, *the bushels*	*gw*	cincu quarras, *five bushels*
kkw	S.	quaranta, *forty*; a quaranta, *to forty*	*gw*	di quaranta, *of forty*
kkw	F.	quando, *when*; se quando, *if when*	*hw*	di quando, *of when*
kkw	P.	quello, *that*; a quello, *to that*	v	di quello, *of that*

3'.	ku	Lu	*gunculina, lent ; à gunculina, it is lent*	u	[illegible] gunculina; [illegible]
	ku	Lu	*gunulu, this ; u gunulu, is this*	u	[illegible] gunulu, [illegible]
5.	ppi	T	*ghilinda, [illegible] ; à ghilinda, it is [illegible]*	i	[illegible] ghilinda; [illegible]
	[illegible]	T	*ghanda, [illegible] ; à ghanda, it is [illegible]*	i	[illegible]
	[illegible]	T	*ghinnà, to hold ; u ghinnà, to hold*	i	[illegible]
	[illegible]	T.	*gnulu, just ; à gnulu, it is just*	i	[illegible]
	[illegible]	Co.	*ghilità, to throw ; u ghilità, to throw*	i	[illegible]
	[illegible]	Co.	*ghialli, cocks ; tra ghialli, three cocks*	i	[illegible]
	[illegible]	Co.	*ghi, turns ; tra ghi, three turns*	i	[illegible]
	[illegible]	Co.	*gnulità, judgment ; un gnulità, a judgment*	i	[illegible]
7.	tt	L.	*taulna, tables ; una taulna, the tables*	il	[illegible]
	tt	C.	*tempna, time ; ent tempna, it is time*	il	[illegible]
	tt	S.	*torri, towers ; tra torri, three towers*	il	[illegible]
8.	tta	L.	*ellu, food ; ent ellu, it is food*	ile	[illegible]
	tta	L.	*sinzulna, goats ; una sinzulna, the goats*	ile	[illegible]
	tta	C.	*cittadi, town ; ent cittadi, it is a town*	ile	[illegible]
	tta	C.	*siringonia, dew-worms ; la siringonia, the dew worms*	ile	[illegible]
	tta	S.	*celu, sky ; in celu, in heaven*	ile	[illegible]
	tta	S.	*tselu, heaven ; in selu, in the sky*	ile	[illegible]
9.	ttah	C.	*cenna, supper ; la cenna, the supper*	ile	[illegible]
	ttah	C.	*cambrlanna, chamberlains ; la cambrlanna, the chamberlains*	ile	[illegible]
	ttah	V.	*cenci, rags ; tra cenci, three rags*	ile	[illegible]
	ttah	V.	*cainettini, cobblers ; tra cainettini, three cobblers*	ile	[illegible]
	ttah	R.	*cerca, to search ; a cerca, to search*	ile	[illegible]
	ttah	R.	*cammella, cakes so called ; tra cammella, three of these cakes so called*	ile	[illegible]
10.	dd	L.	*dinaru, money ; lent dinaru, he takes money*	'	[illegible]
12.	dzh	S.	*ginestri, brooms ; tra ginestri, three brooms*	'	[illegible]
	dzh	S.	*gianni, doors ; tra gianni, three doors*	'	[illegible]
	dzh	V.	*gente, people ; s'a gente, there is somebody*	'	[illegible]
	dzh	V.	*gioca, play ; 'ma gioca, I don't play*	'	[illegible]
14.	pp	L.	*pecora, sheep ; una pecora, the sheep*	'	[illegible]
	pp	C.	*pecora, boys ; a pecora, the boys*	'	[illegible]
	pp	S.	*pecciu, cards ; tra pecciu, three cards*	'	[illegible]

(Continued in next page.)

XIII.—SARDINIAN AND ITALIAN DIALECTS (*continued from last page*).

Symbols.	Dial. See note at end.	I. Radical Form.	S.	Other Forms differing from the Standard Italian.
15. bb	L.	*boes*, *oxen*; sos *boes*, *the oxen*	'	deghe *boes*, *ten oxen*
bb	C.	*baccas*, *cows*; is *baccas*, *the cows*	bh	dexi *baccas*, *ten cows*
bb	S.	*bozi*, *voices*; tre *bozi*, *three voices*	bh	li *bozi*, *the voices*
bb	Co.	*bonu*, *good*; è *bonu*, *he is good*	v	u *bonu*, *the good*
bb	Co.	*vecchiu*, *old*; è *vecchiu*, *he is old*	v	u *vecchiu*, *the old*
16. ff	L.	*fusos*, *spindles*; sos *fusos*, *the spindles*	bh	octo *fusos*, *eight spindles*
ff	C.	*fillus*, *sons*; is *fillus*, *the sons*	bh	ottu *fillus*, *eight sons*
ff	S.	*figghi*, *figs*; tre *figghi*, *three figs*	bh	li *figghi*, *the figs*
17. vv	L.	*velenos*, *poisons*; sos *velenos*, *the poisons*	bh	de *velenos*, *of poisons*
vv	C.	*vizius*, *vices*; is *vizius*, *the vices*	bh	de *vizius*, *of vices*
vv	S.	*veni*, *veins*; tre *veni*, *three veins*	bh	li *veni*, *the veins*
vv	T.	*vinu*, *wine*; è *vinu*, *it is wine*	'	lu *vinu*, *the wine*
vv	F.	*verità*, *truth*; in *verità*, *in truth*	'	le *verità*, *the truth*
vv	N.	*voglio*, *I will*; lo *voglio* vedè, *I will see him* (*pron.* voglio, *not* vvoglio)	b	lo *vvoglio* vedè, *I will see that*
vv	N.	*varca*, *boat*; la *varca*, *the boat* (*pron.* varca, *not* vvarca)	bb	le *vvarche*, *the boats*
18. ss	L.	*sapados*, *Saturdays*; sos *sapados*, *the Saturdays*	z	septe *sapados*, *seven Saturdays*
ss	C.	*serras*, *saws*; is *serras*, *the saws*	z	setti *serras*, *seven saws*
ss	S.	*sordu*, *deaf*; è *sordu*, *he is deaf*	z	lu *sordu*, *the deaf*
ss	R.	*sale*, *salt*; è *sale*, *it is salt*	tts	er *sale*, *the salt*

N.B.—C. means *Cagliaritan*; Co., *Southern Corsican*; F., *vulgar Florentine*; L., *Logudorese*; Lu., *vulgar Lucchese*; N., *Neapolitan*; P., *Pisan with Livornese*; R., *Roman*; S., *Sassarese*; T., *Tempiese*.

XIV.—STANDARD ITALIAN.

Symbols.	I. Radical Form.	S.	VI. Weak Form.
1. kk	cani, *dogs;* uomini e cani, *men and dogs*	k	i cani, *the dogs*
kk	*chi*cchere, *small cups;* bicchieri e *chi*cchere, *glasses and small cups*	k	le *chi*cchere, *the small cups*
2. kky	*chi*avi, *keys;* usci e *chi*avi, *doors and keys*	ky	le *chi*avi, *the keys*
3. *kkw*	*qua*glie, *quails;* tordi e *qua*glie, *thrushes and quails*	*kw*	le *qua*glie, *the quails*
4. gg	*ga*mbe, *legs;* braccia e *ga*mbe, *arms and legs*	g	le *ga*mbe, *the legs*
gg	*ghi*ri, *dormouses;* talpe e *ghi*ri, *moles and dormouses*	g	i *ghi*ri, *the dormouses*
5. ggy	*ghi*ande, *acorns;* castagne, o *ghi*ande, *chestnuts, or acorns*	gy	le *ghi*ande, *the acorns*
6. *ggw*	*gu*erra, *war;* o *gu*erra, o pace, *either war, or peace*	*gw*	la *gu*erra, *the war*
7. tt	*te*rra, *earth;* gettare a *te*rra, *to throw upon the ground*	t	vaso di *te*rra, *earthen vessel*
8. tts	*zi*a, *aunt;* zia e nepote, *aunt and niece*	ts	la *zi*a, *the aunt*
9. ttsh	*ce*ra, *wax;* mele e *ce*ra, *honey and wax*	tsh	la *ce*ra, *the wax*
ttsh	*ci*abattini, *cobblers;* calzolai e *ci*abattini, *shoe-makers and cobblers*	tsh	i *ci*abattini, *the cobblers*
10. dd	*do*nna, *woman;* o uomo, o *do*nna, *either man, or woman*	d	la *do*nna, *the woman*
11. ddz	*za*nzare, *gnats;* nè mosche, nè *za*nzare, *neither flies, nor gnats*	dz	le *za*nzare, *the gnats*
12. ddzh	*gi*gli, *lilies;* rose e *gi*gli, *roses and lilies*	dzh	i *gi*gli, *the lilies*
ddzh	*giu*ggiole, *jujubes;* nocciuole e *giu*ggiole, *hazel-nuts and jujubes*	dzh	le *giu*ggiole, *the jujubes*
13. nn	*no*tte, *night;* dì e *no*tte, *day and night*	n	di *no*tte, *by night*
14. pp	*pi*edi, *feet;* tre *pi*edi, *three feet*	p	i *pi*edi, *the feet*
15. bb	*bo*cca, *mouth;* a *bo*cca, *by word of mouth*	b	la *bo*cca, *the mouth*
16. mm	*me*le, *apples;* tre *me*le, *three apples*	m	le *me*le, *the apples*
17. ff	*fi*glia, *daughter;* t'è *fi*glia, *she is thy daughter*	f	una *fi*glia, *a daughter*
18. vv	*vi*no, *wine;* è *vi*no, *it is wine*	v	un certo *vi*no, *a certain wine*
19. ss	*sa*le, *salt;* è *sa*le, *it is salt*	s	il mio *sa*le, *my salt*
20. ll	*lu*na, *moon;* sole e *lu*na, *sun and moon*	l	questa *lu*na, *this moon*
21. rr	*ra*pa, *turnip;* nè *ra*pa, nè cavolo, *neither turnip, nor cabbage*	r	una *ra*pa, *a turnip*

N.B.—*The sounds* kk, kky, kkw, gg, ggy, ggw, tt, tts, ttsh, dd, ddz, ddzh, nn, pp, bb, mm, ff, vv, ss, ll, rr, *when they occur between two vowels, are expressed, in common orthography, by* cc *or* cch, cchi, qqu *or* cqu, gg *or* ggh, gghi, ggu, tt, zz, cc *or* cci, dd, zz, gg *or* ggi, nn, pp, bb, mm, ff, vv, ss, ll, rr, *respectively.*

XV.—CLASSIFICATION OF THE CELTIC DIALECTS.

Celtic Family.

A. Gaelic Branch.	Cambrian Branch.
I. Ancient Gaelic Language (extinct).	III. Ancient Welsh Language (extinct).
II. Gaelic Language.	IV. Welsh Language.
a. Hiberno-Scotch Gaelic Dialect.	c. . . . . (*no independent dialect*).
1. Munster Sub-dialect. } Irish Gaelic.	9. Northern Sub-dialect.
2. Leinster Sub-dialect. } Irish Gaelic.	10. South-eastern Sub-dialect.
3. *Connaught Sub-dialect.* } Irish Gaelic.	11. South-western Sub-dialect.
4. Ulster Sub-dialect.[1] } Irish Gaelic.	V. Ancient Cornish Language (extinct).
5. Southern Sub-dialect. } Scotch Gaelic.	VI. Cornish Language (lately extinct).
6. Interior Sub-dialect. } Scotch Gaelic.	d. . . . . (*no independent dialect*).
7. Northern Sub-dialect. } Scotch Gaelic.	12. . . . . (*no independent sub-dialect*).
b. Manx Dialect.	VII. Ancient Breton Language (extinct).
8. . . . . (*no independent sub-dialect*).	VIII. Breton Language.
	e. Breton Dialect.
	13. *Léon Sub-dialect.*
	14. Tréguier Sub-dialect.
	15. Cornouaille Sub-dialect.
	f. Vannes Dialect.
	16. Lower Sub-dialect.
	17. Upper Sub-dialect.

[1] According to Mr. Ravenstein ("Journal of the Statistical Society," vol. xlii. p. 582), in the Baronies of Lower Glenarm and Cary, in north-western Antrim, Province of Ulster, a Scotch Gaelic dialect identical with that of Kintyre, in Argyleshire, is still spoken by a small number of Irishmen, but it is very nearly extinct.

N.B.—The names of the sub-dialects printed in italics are those of the representatives of the whole language.

IV.—SPOKEN PORTUGUEZE. By Henry Sweet, M.A.

The following sketch is the rezult of a careful study with an educated nativ of Lisbon.[1] I hav also had an opportunity of hearing the Oporto pronunciation, tho only cazualy.

The only other help I hav had has been Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's paper *On Portuguese Simple Sounds* (Trans. 1880–1, pp. 23–41), together with the dictionaries of Vieyra and João de Deus (Diccionario Prosodico por A. de Carvalho e J. de Deus, Lisbon, 1878), which latter was first made known to English foneticians by the Prince, and is especialy valuabl as it is the only complete pronouncing dictionary of the language there is.

But my apreciation of the sounds differs considerably in sum respects from that of Deus, whom the Prince generaly follows. I am told that Deus is a nativ of Algarves—the extreme south of Portugal. It is therfor possibl that his divergencies, both from his countrymen and myself, may be partly, at least, dialectal. All that I can do is to put my obzervations on record, with the conviction that where I hav erd, it has not been from want of care and conscientiousness.

SOUNDS.

The following ar the vowels:

1. ɐ	(a)	amámos (*we luvd*)	ä·mamuʃs.[2]
2. I	(ī)	desejoso (*dezirous*)	dïzï·ʒozu
3. ɨ	(ë).	*See* 19.	
4. ɨʃ	(ën).	*See* 20.	
5. ɪ	(ä)	amamos (*we luv*)	ä·mämuʃs.

[1] J. C. Mardel, Esq., of 2, Gresham Buildings, Guildhall Street, London.

[2] I hav now returnd tō Bell's plan of putting the stress-mark *befor* insted of after the element on which the stress begins. Vowel-quantity is generaly medial, and does not require to be markt.

6. ɹ̃	(*än*)	irmã (*sister*)	ir·mä*n*.
7. ɾ	(i)	si (*himself*)	si.
8. ɾ̃	(i*n*)	sim (*yes*)	si*n*.
9. ɾ	(e)	vê (*see!*)	ve.
10. ɾ̃	(e*n*)	vento (*wind*)	ve*n*tu.
11. ɾ	(æ)	pé (*foot*)	pæ.
12. ɨ	(u)	chuva (*rain*)	ʃuvä.
13. ɨ̃	(u*n*)	um (*one*)	u*n*.
14. ɟ	(o)	boa (*good* fem.)	boä.
15. ɟ̃	(o*n*)	bom (*good* masc.)	bo*n*.
16. ɟ	(*o*)	pó (*dust*)	p*o*.

diphthongs:

17. ɹɾ	(ai)	mais (*mor*)	maiʃs.
18. ɹɨ	(au)	mau (*bad*)	mau.
19. ɾɾ	(ëi)	tenho (*I hav*)	tëiñu.
20. ɾɾ̃	(ë*n*i*n*)	tem (*has*)	të*n*i*n*.
21. ɹɾ	(äi)	maior (*greater*)	mäi·or.
22. ɹɾ̃	(ä*n*i*n*)	mãe (*mother*)	mä*n*i*n*.
23. ɹɨ	(äu)	ao (*to the*)	äu.
24. ɹɨ̃	(ä*n*u*n*)	irmão (*brother*)	ir·mä*n*u*n*.
25. ɾɨ	(iu)	viu (*he saw*)	viu
26. ɾɾ	(ei)	reis (*kings*)	rreiʃs.
27. ɾɨ	(eu)	eu (*I*)	eu.
28. ɾɾ	(æi)	réis (*reals*)	rræiʃs.
29. ɾɨ	(æu)	céo (*sky*)	sæu.
30. ɨɾ	(ui)	fui (*I was*)	fui.
31. ɨɾ̃	(u*n*i*n*)	muito (*much*)	mu*n*i*n*tu.
32. ɟɾ	(oi)	boi (*ox*)	boi.
33. ɟɾ̃	(o*n*i*n*)	põe (*puts*)	po*n*i*n*.
34. ɟɾ	(*o*i)	jóia (*jewel*)	ʒoiä.

and consonants:

35. ɷ	(*l*)	filho (*sun*)	fi*l*u
36. ɷ	(r*r*)	raro (*rare*)	rraru.
37. ɷ	(l,*x*)	mal (*bad*)	mal.
38. ʒ	(ʃ)	chá (*tea*)	ʃa.
39. ʒ	(ʒ)	já (*alredy*)	ʒa.

40.	ƨ	(ʃs)	gostos (*plezures*)	goʃstuʃs.
41.	ƨ	(ʒs)	pasmo (*wunder*)	paʒsmu
42.	s		faço (*I do*)	fasu.
43.	s		aza (*wing*)	azä.
44.	>	(f)	favor (*favor*)	fä·vor.
45.	ɔ	(v)		
46.	ʟ	(ñ)	banho (*bath*)	bañu.
47.	ɔ	(n,)	nono (*ninth*)	nonu.
48.	F	(m)	minimo (*least*)	minimu.
49.	ɑ	(k)	casa (*house*)	kazä.
50.	ɑ	(g)	amigo (*frend*)	ä·migu.
51.	ɔ	(t,)	tudo (*all*)	tudu.
52.	ɔ	(d,)		
53.	ɔ	(p)	papa (*pope*)	papä.
54.	ɔ	(b)	bebo (*I drink*)	bebu.

Vowels.

The following table will show the relation of the Portugueze vowels to the general system:

	I	I(ʃ)			
	I(ʃ)	I(ʃ)	I		
		I		I(ʃ)	
I(ʃ)					
I(ʃ)			I		

I now proceed to details.

1. I (a): I·FIFIƨ *amámos* 'we luvd' pret.; I *ha* 'has'; ɔIω·ωIω *palrar* 'chatter'; IsI *aza* 'wing'; ωIɑωIFI *lagrima*

'tear' sbst.; ɑʃɔɪ̀ *gato* 'cat.' Aparently identical in formation with the English ʃ, except that, like all Portugueze sounds, it is formd with the mouth wide open, which givs it a higher tone, and might make an inexperienced ear imagine it to be advanced (ʃ˕).

2. ɪ̈ (ï): ɯɪ̈sɪ̈·ɛʃsɪ̀ *desejoso* 'dezirous'; ɑɪ̈ *que* 'what'; sɪ̈·sʃω *cessar* 'cease'; ωɪ̈sɪ̈·ɒ[ɾɪ̀zs *recebemos* 'we receiv.' Closely rezembls the North Welsh *u*, but is deeper and mor guttural in tone. The Welsh sound is ɪ˕, the Portugueze normal ɪ̈, perhaps slightly ɪ˔. When I round the two vowels, the Welsh one becums the Swedish *u* in *hus*, while the Portugueze vowel becums the corresponding Norwegian *u*.

5. ɪ (ä): ɪ·ɾɪɾɪ̀zs *amamos* 'we luv'; sɪ̈·ɾɪɲɪ *semana* 'week'; ɑɪzs·ɔɪɲɪ *castanha* 'chestnut'; ɒɪωɪ *para* 'for.' I cannot agree with the Prince's identification of this sound with the E. ɩ of *man*; it seems to me to be nearly identical with the first element of our diphthong in *how*, which is perhaps rather ɪ˕ than normal ɪ.

6. ɪs (*än*): ɪω·ɾɪs *irmã* 'sister'; ωɪs *rã* 'frog'; ɾɪ·sɪs *maçã* 'apl'; ɪsɲɪ̀ *anno* 'year'; ɯɪs·sɪsɯɪ̀ *dançando* 'dancing'; ɒωɪsɑɪ̀ *branco* 'white'; ɑɪsɔɪ̀ *campo* 'field.' I agree with the Prince in considering Portugueze nazality in this, as in all the other nazal vowels, to be less strong than in French, the uvula being, I supoze, less lowerd. This sound closely rezembls the bleat of a sheep.

It may be noted here that the nazality of a vowel followd by a stop is not entirely uniform thruout, an aproximation to the pozition of the stop being made towards the end of the vowel. This is most noticeable befor the lip stops. Thus *tambem* 'also' might almost be writn ɔɪsɔs·ɒɪsɪs, distinct, however, from *tam bem* 'as well'=ɔɪsɪs·ɒɪsɪs.

7. ɪ (i): sɪ *si* 'himself'; ɪ *e* 'and'; ɯɪɪ *dia* 'day'; ɯɪ·ɔɪsɪω *difficil* 'difficult'; ɾɪɲɪɾɪ̀ *minimo* 'least.' Seems to becum ɾ when unstrest befor another vowel, as in ɔɪ·ɾɪωɾɪ *familia* 'family.'

8. ɪs (*in*): sɪs *sim* 'yes'; ɑɪs *quinze* 'fifteen'; ɪs·ɑωɪzs *ingles* 'English'; ɪsɯɪ̀ *indo* 'going.'

9. [(e) : >[*vê* 'see!'; >[ω *ver* 'see' inf.; ɑɪ·ɒ[ωɪ *cabello* 'hair'; ωɨɪ·ɑ[sɪ *riqueza* 'riches'; s[zɔɪ *sexto* 'sixth'; >[ꞟɪzs *vêmos* 'we see'; s[ɯɪ *cedo* 'erly.'

10. [ʃ (*en*) : >[ʃɔɪ *vento* 'wind'; ɔ[ʃωɪ *tenro* 'tender'; ɒ[ʃɜɪ *penna* 'pen'; ω[ʃ·ɒω]ω *lembrar* 'remember.'

11. ɪ (æ) : ɒɪ *pé* 'foot'; ɪ *é* 'is'; ɪωɪ *era* 'was'; >ɪωɪ *velho* 'old'; ɯɪꞟɪzs *démos* 'we gave'; ɒɪɯωɪ *pedra* 'stone'; ɒɪɒzs *bebes* 'thou drinkest.' Vieyra's dictionary, like the ordinary Portugueze spelling, distinguishes only *ê* [and *é*, which a-priori may be either ɪ or [, and I am not able to advance beyond this twofold distinction, but altho I hear the open sound mainly as ɪ, I do not undertake to say pozitivly that [does not ocur also. Deus, followd by the Prince, splits up the open *e* into two varieties, which he marks *é* and *è* respectivly, calling the former 'acute' (agudo), the latter 'open' (aberto), but without any further information as to the nature of the difference between them. Neither my teacher nor I coud perceiv the slightest difference between Deus's *é* in *decimo, pessimo,* and his *è* in *peça, depressa,* etc. Deus also writes *é* in many words where I can only hear [, and where Vieyra writes *ê*.

12. ɨ (u) : zɨ>ɪ *chuva* 'rain'; ωɨɨɪ *rua* 'street'; >ɨꞟɨ *fumo* 'smoke'; ɒɨωɔɨ·ɑ[zs *Portuguez* 'Portugueze.' Becums ɨ when unstrest befor another vowel, as in ɑɨ]ωɔɨ *quarto* 'fourth'; ωʃʃɑɨɪ *lingua* 'tung.' *wisth* 'whist' is ɨʃzɔ.

13. ɨʃ (u*n*) : ɨʃ *um* 'one' masc.; sɨʃ·sɨʃ *zumzum* 'humming'; ʒɨʃɑɪ *nunca* 'never'; zɨʃ·ɨ *chumbo* 'led.'

14. } (o) : ɒ}ɪ *boa* 'good' fem.; ɪ·>} *avô* 'grandmother'; ɑɪ·ɔ}ωs *quatorze* 'fourteen'; }·ɔ}ʒɨ *outono* 'autumn'; ɒ}ɑɨ *pouco* 'few.'

15. }ʃ (o*n*) : ɒ}ʃ *bom* 'good' masc.; }ʃωɪ *honra* 'honor;' ω}ʃɑɨ *longo* 'long'; s}ʃɒωɪ *sombra* 'shade.'

16. } (*o*) : ɒ} *pó* 'dust'; }ωɪ *ora* 'now'; }ωɨzs *olhos* 'eyes'; ɒω}ɑɨ·ω]ω *procurar* 'seek.'

We now cum to the diphthongs. The elements of these ar always formd with perfect clearness, so as to sugest a dissyllabic pronunciation to an English ear.

17.]ɾ (ai) : ꞟ]ɾzs *mais* 'mor'; s]ɾ *sahe* 'goes out'; ɒ]ɾ *pae*

'father'; ʃɾɪ *aia* 'nurse'; ɐʃɾ·ɔʃʊɪ *gaivota* 'gul'; ɒʃɾɛɨ *baixo* 'low.'

18. ʃɨ (au): ꞓʃɨ *mau* 'bad'; ɑʃɨ·sɪʃɨ *caução* 'caution'; ɑʃɨsɪ *causa* 'cauz'; ɔʃɨʊɪ *fraude* 'fraud.'

19. ɭɾ (ëi): ʊɭɾɨ *tenho* 'I hav'; ʊɭɾɪ *lenha* 'wood'; ɔɭɾɨ *venho* 'I cum'; ɔɭɾɪ *venha* 'let him cum.' This is the only way in which close *e* befor *nh* is pronounced, the combination [ɭ not existing. I was for a long time quite at a loss to analyze this sound, but am now tolerably sure of the first element. I am not certain whether the ɾ should be writn or not, as it is possibl that the diphthongic efect may be due simply to the tranzition from the ɭ to the ɭ.

20. ɭɾʃ (ënin): ʊɭɾʃ *tem* 'has'; ɭɾʃ *em* 'in'; sɭɾʃ *sem* 'without'; ʃꞓɭɾʃ *homem* 'man': ɒʃɾɭɾʃ *poem* 'they put.'

21. ɪɾ (äi): ꞓɪɾ·ʃʊ *maior* 'greater'; ɐɪɾ·ʃʊɪ *gaióla* 'cage.' This pronunciation of unaccented *ai* ocurs only in a few words.

22. ɪɾʃ (änin): ꞓɪɾʃ *mãe* 'mother.' Only in this word, where the nazality is due to the same forward influence of the ꞓ as in ꞓʃ *mim* 'me.'

23. ɪɨ (äu): ɪɨ *ao* 'to the'; ɪɨʃ *aos* 'to the' pl.; sɪɨ·ʊʃʊɨ *saudade* 'longing.' Compare ɪɾ (21).

24. ɪɾʃ (änun): ʃʊ·ꞓɪɾʃ *irmão* 'brother'; ꞓɪɾʃʃ *mãos* 'hands'; ɪꞓɪɾʃ *amão* 'they luv'; ɑɨʊɪ·sɪɾʃ *coração* 'hart.'

25. ʃɨ (iu): ɔʃɨ *viu* 'he saw.'

26. [ɾ (ei): ʊ+[ɾʃ *reis* 'kings'; [ɾ *hei* 'I hav'; ɑʊ[ɾɨ *creio* 'I believ'; ꞓɪ·ʊ[ɾʊɪ *madeira* 'wood'; s[ɾʃ *seis* 'six'; ɑ[ɾ·ꞓʃʊ *queimar* 'burn'; ɔ[ɾʊɨ *feito* 'made.'

27. [ɨ (eu): [ɨ *eu* 'I'; ʊ[ɨ *deu* 'he gave'; [ɨ·ʊʃʊɪ *Europa* 'Europe'; ʊ[ɨʃ *Deus* 'God.'

28. ɪɾ (œi): ʊ+ɪɾʃ *réis* 'reals' (muney); ɔʃ·ɪɾʃ *fieis* 'faithful' plur.; ɪ·ɔɪɾʃ *anneis* 'rings.' The singulars ar ʊ+ʃ·ʃʊ *real*, ɔʃ·ɪʊ *fiel*, ɪ·ɔɪʊ *annel*. ɪɾ seems to ocur only in this way, as the rezult of inflectional contraction.

29. ɪɨ (œu): sɪɨ *céo* 'sky'; ɔɪɨ *véo* 'veil'; ʒɪ·ɒɪɨ *chapéo* 'hat.'

30. ɨɾ (ui): ɔɨɾ *fui* 'I was'; ɨɾ *hui!* 'alas!'; ɪ·sɨɾʃ *azues* 'blue' plur.

31. ɫſſ (u*nin*): ꝼɫſſʊɫ *muito* 'much.' The nazalization is due to the ꝼ, and does not apear to be universal out of Lisbon.

32. }ſ (oi): ɒ}ſ *boi* 'ox'; >}ſ *foi* 'he was'; ʊ}ſzſ *dous* 'two'; ɑ}ſ·ʊ]ʊɫ *coitado* 'mizerabl.'

33. }ſſ (o*nin*): ɒ}ſſ *põe* 'puts'; ɒ}ſſzſ *pões* 'puttest';]·s}ſſzſ *acções* 'actions'; ɑ]·ꝼ}ſſzſ *Camões*.

34. }ſ (*oi*): ɛ}ſɪ *jóia* 'jewel'; ſ·ɯ}ſ *heroe* 'hero'; ɯ}ſzſ *roes* 'rolls'; s}ſzſ *soes* 'suns.' The singulars of the last two ar ɯ}ɯ *rol* and s}ɯ *sol*.

Consonants.

The following table wil show the general relations of the consonants:

			ɯ		s s	z z			> ⩾
—		ɯ	ɯ				—	—	—
	ɑ ɑ			ʊ ʊ			ɒ ɒ		
—		ſ	ɾ				ꝼ		

35. ɯ (*l*): >ſɯɫ *filho* 'sun'; >]ɯɪ *falha* 'crack'; ⩾ſɯɫ *velho* 'old'; ꝼɪ·ɯ}ɯ *melhor* 'better'; sɪ·ꝼſɯ *semelhe* 'may rezembl.'

36. ɯſ (r*r*): ɯſ]ɯɫ *raro* 'rare.' Mor forward than in English, being formd quite close to the teeth-rim. This is the only consonant which admits of distinctions of quantity. ɯ seems to be formd by a singl trill, ɯſ by two or three, and is often, tho not necessarily, utterd with greater force. ɯſ is the sound of *rr* as in ɑ]ɯſɫ *carro* 'cart,' compard with ɑ]ɯɫ *caro* 'dear,' ɒſɯſɫ *perro* 'obstinate,' }·ɯſ}ɯ *horror*. Also of initial *r* as in >}ſɪ ɯſ}ꝼɪ *foi a Roma* 'went to Rome,' compared with ɪ·ɯ}ꝼɪ *aroma*. *r* befor the point conss. ʊ, ʊ, ɾ,

especialy the last, is aparently stronger than befor other conss., being almost ɯɨ, as in ɑɫɯɔɫ *curto* 'short,' ɔ[ɯɔɪ *verde* 'green,' ɑ]ɯɔɪ *carne* 'flesh.'

37. ɯ‹ (l, *x*): ꞁ]ɯ *mal* 'bad'; [ɯ *eile* 'he'; sɪ·ɔɪɯ *civil* 'civil'; s}ɯ *sol* 'sun';]·ɯ[ɪɪ *alem* 'beyond'; s[ɯɪɔɯɪ *celebre* 'famous'; ɔ]ɯsɫ *falso* 'false'; sɪɯɔɪ *silva* 'brambl'; ɯ] *lá* 'there'; ɑɯ]ɯɫ *claro* 'clear.' The Portugueze *l*, especialy when final or when followd by another consonant, sounds quite different from the French and German ɯ\ as in *elle, hell,* and aproaches the guttural Russian *l*, being also distinct from the English *l*. It is aparently formd with the back of the tung in the c-pozition, which draws the point-contact from the teeth on to the gums, sum distance from the teeth. Acording to my teacher it is formd on the same part of the palate as ɔ—that is, further back than ɯ.

38. ɛ (ʃ): ɛ] *chá* 'tea'; ɑɫɛɪ·ɛ]ɯ *cuchichar* 'whisper'; ɯɨ}ɛɫ *roxo* 'red.'

39. ɛ (ʒ): ɛ] *já* 'alredy'; ɔ[ɛɫ *Tejo* 'Tagus'; }ɛ *hoje* 'to-day.'

40. ɛɨ (ʃɨ): ɑ}ɛɔɫɛɨ *gostos* 'plezures'; ɛɔ] *está* 'is'; ɔ]ɛɨ *faz* 'does.'

41. ɛɨ (ʒɨ): ɔ]ɛɨꞁɫ *pasmo* 'wunder'; ɔ[ɛɔɯɪ *desde* 'sinse'; ɪɛɨ·ꞁ}ɯɪ *esmola* 'alms.'

These two sounds ar formd in a pozition between ɛ and s.

42. s (s): ɔ]sɫ *faço* 'I do'; sɪ·s]ɯ *cessar* 'cease'; ɯɪs *disse* 'he said.' My teacher finds that he forms s and s with the tip of the tung against the lower teeth, but that he cannot form either ɛ or ɛɨ with the tung in this pozition, but is compeld to raize the tip towards the palate.

43. s (z):]sɪ *aza* 'wing'; s[ɯɫ *zelo* 'zeal'; ɯ}s *doze* 'twelv.'

44. ɔ (f): ɔɪ·ɔ}ɯ *favor* 'favor'; ɑɪ·ɯɨ]ɪ *garrafa* 'botl.'

45. ɔ (v): ɔ[ɔɫ *vivo* 'alive'; s[ɯɔ *serve* 'servs.'

46. ꞁ (ñ): ɔ]ꞁɫ *banho* 'bath'; ɔ[ꞁɫ *vinho* 'wine'; ɫꞁɪ *unha* 'nail'; sɪ·ꞁ}ɯ *senhor* 'sir'; ɪ·ɑ]ꞁ *acanhe* 'may frighten.'

47. ɔɨ (n) : ɔ}ɔɫ *nono* 'ninth'; ꞁɪ·ɔ[ɔɫ *menino* 'infant.' Formd in the same place as the English *n*.

48. ꝼ (m) : ꝼ[ɔ[ꝼ̀ *minimo* 'least'; ꝼ[ꞃꝼ̀ *mesmo* 'same.'

49. ɑ (k) : ɑ]ꞃ *casa* 'house'; ꞃ·ɑ[*aqui* 'here': >[ɑꞃ̀ *fixo* 'fixt.' ɑ, ꝋ and ꝺ ar pronounced without any escape of breth, =ɑ', etc.

50. ɡ (g): ꞃ·ꝼ[ɡ̀ *amigo* 'frend'; ɡω[ɡ̀ *Grego* 'Greek.' ɡ, ꝋ and ꝺ ar pronounced with a less energetic clozure than in English, so that they always aproximate to ɛ, ʋ, and ɜ respectivly, and sumtimes ar actualy opend, especialy between vowels. My teacher finds the E. *g* quite distinct from the Portugueze, altho he thinks the Portugueze *g* is closer after *s*, as in *rasgar* ω+ꞃɛꞃ·ɑ]ω.

51. ꝋ (t,): ꝋ̀ꝋ̀ *tudo* 'all'; >[ɜꝋ̀ *visto* 'seen'; ɔ}[ꝋ *noite* 'night.' In forming ꝋ and ꝋ the tip of the tung is protruded between the teeth.

52. ꝋ (d,): ꝋ]ꝋ̀ *dado* 'givn'; ꝋ[ꞃ *dia* 'day.' Aproaches very near in sound to the E. ʋ in *then*, from which it is sumtimes indistinguishabl.

53. ꝺ (p): ꝺ]ꝺꞃ *papa* 'pope'; ꝺω]ꝋ̀ *prado* 'meadow.'

54. ꝺ (b): ꝺ[ꝺ̀ *bebo* 'I drink'; ω[ꞃ·ꝺω]ω *lembrar* 'remember'; ꝺ[ꝺ *bebe* 'drinks.' Often almost indistinguishabl from ɜ.

Reprezentation and Ocurrence.

Portugueze spelling is sumwhat unsetld, the natural difficulty of symbolizing a complicated sound-system being aggravated by the retention of etymological spellings. I hav not atempted to carry out any consistent Portugueze orthografy in this paper.

The use of accents varies, and they ar writn universaly only in words where they ar required for distinctiv purposes. The acute accent is uzed to denote the name-sounds of the vowels: *á*], *é* [, *ó* }. [and } ar writn *ê*, *ô*. Nazality is markt sumtimes by the *til*, as in *irmã*, only the first element of a diphthong being markt, as in *mão*, sumtimes by an *m*, as in *sim*. *n* and *m*+cons. ar not pronounced separately, but act only as nazal modifiers of the preceding vowel. Hense the consonant ɟ, which would otherwize ocur in such words

as *longo, branco,* is wanting, as in French, these words being pronounced ɯ}ɾɛɫ, ɒɯɪɾɑɫ.

The only dubld consonants which differ in pronunciation from the corresponding simpl ones are *rr, ss, nn* and *mm,* and *cc* when=ɑs. Other dublings, which ocur chiefly in lerned words, ar unmeaning, as in *effeito, aggravar.*

Vowels.

a: ɾ, ɪ. In stress-syllabls ɾ, except befor nazals. When final *a*=ɾ is accented in many words, especialy monosyllabls such as *lá, chá,* to distinguish it from *a*=ɪ. Also in *á* and *ás,* contractions of *a a, a as,* and in preterits such as *amámos, tomámos* ɔɫ·ɾɾɫɾɾɾ. ɪ before *nh, n, m* followd by a vowel, except in the preterits just mentiond, in *banho, ganho* 'I gain,' and a few rare words in *anh-*. Unstrest *a* is ɾ in *alem* ɾ·ɯɫɾɾ, and regularly befor *l* followd by a cons. beginning another syllabl, as in *palrar* ɒɾɯ·ɯɾɯ, *alçar* ɾɯ·sɾɯ, *algum* ɾɯ·ɑɫɾ, *alcançar* ɾɯɑɪɾ·sɾɯ, *saltar* sɾɯ·ɔɾɯ, *aldeia* ɾɯ·ɯ[ɾɪ. Often befor silent *c* followd by a cons., as in *acção* ɾ·sɪɾɾ, *transacção* ɔɯɪsɾ·sɪɾɾ, *actor* ɾ·ɔ}ɯ. Similarly in *adaptação* ɪɯɾɔɪ·sɪɾɾ and other words. Also in *armar, alargar* ɪɯɾɯ·ɑɾɯ [ɪ in *marchar, carvão, arder,* etc.]; *relaxar* ɯɪɪɯɾ·zɾɯ; *ganhar* ɑɾ·ʟɾɯ (ɾ thruout); *sadio* sɾ·ɯɪɫ. ɪ not only in most unstrest syllabls of polysyllabic words, but also in the unstrest monosyllabic words *a* (articl, pronoun, prep.), *as* (plur. fem.), *mas* 'but.' Also in both syllabls of the uzualy unstrest dissyllabls *para* ɒɪɯɪ and *cada* ɑɪɯɪ.

ã, -an final (as in *gran*), *an, am* befor cons.=ɪɾ.

-am final=ɪɾɾ, as in *tam, amáram,* formerly writn *ão.*

ah !=ɾ.

Lisbon coloquializms ar *agua* ɾɾɑɾɪ, *sangue* sɾɾɾɑɪ, *janella* sɪ·ɪɪɯɪ.

ai: ɾɾ, ɪɾ, the latter only ocazionaly in unstrest syllabls (see p. 208).

ae: ɾɾ. *pae; taes, geraes* ɛɪ·ɯɾɾɾ, etc., plurals of *tal, geral.* So also in *sahe* sɾɾ 'goes out,' *sahes* sɾɾɾ, from *sahir* sɪ·ɾɯ.

ãe: ɪɾɾ. Only in *mãe.*

au: ʒɨ, ɪɨ, the latter only when unstrest (p. 208). In *saude* the vowels ar separated—sɪ·ɨʊɪ.

ao: ʒɨ, ɪɨ, the latter only when unstrest (p. 208).

ão: ɪɨɩ.

i, y: ɪ.

im, in+cons.: ɪɩ.

iu: ɪɨ, except when they belong to different syllabls, as in *viuva* ɔɪ·ɨɔɪ.

e: ɛ, ɩ, ɛɩ; ɪ, ɪ, the latter two only when unstrest. *ê, é* generaly writn when final to distinguish from the unstrest sounds. The distribution of ɛ and ɩ is iregular, but there ar sum inflectional changes which can be reduced to rule.

Nouns and adjectivs with ɛ in the masc. sg. keep it in the plur. and fem., except in the pronouns *ella, aquella, essa, esta,* which hav ɩ against the ɛ of the masc. *elle, aquelle, esse, este.*

The changes in verb-inflections, on the other hand, follow the same general rules as those of the ʒ-verbs. It must, of course, be understood that we ar concernd only with the stress vowels of the verbs, whether root or inflectional.

A) root vowels.

1) ɩ thruout. *a*) with certain exceptions, detaild under 2, in all verbs of the 1st conj.: *espero* ɪ·zɩɔɩʊɨ, *velas, cessa, levão, rega! soletre* sɨ·ʊɩɔʊɪ, *arredes, trepem.* *b*) the irregular verbs of the 2nd conj. *perder* and *querer* (see under inflection). *c*) the irregular verbs of the 3rd conj. *medir* and *(im)pedir.* *d*) the verbs of the 3rd conj., *(re)ferir, servir, advertir, vestir, seguir, repetir,* take *i* and ɩ.

2) ɛ thruout. *a*) befor *lh, ch, j, n* and *m* not followd by another consonant in verbs of the 1st conj., the following being the commonest of these verbs: *aconselhar, semelhar; fechar; gracejar; desejar, trovejar, manquejar, pejar, sobejar; serenar, acenar, condemnar* ɑʒɩʊɪ·ɔʒʊ, *penar; remar.* Exampls ar: *aconselho, fechas, troveja, condemnam, remes.* *b*) In *herdar* [ʊ·ʊʒʊ *pesar* 'griev' impers., [*pesar* 'weigh' having ɩ thruout], *chegar,* as in *herdo, pesa-me, chegue.*

3) The regular verbs of the 2nd conj. hav ɛ in the first sg.

pres. indic. and in the pres. subj., [in the rest of the pres. indic. and in the imper.: [*bebo, metta, recebes, cantamos*; [*beben, deve, mettem, bebe!*

4) In the irregular verbs it may be noted that *e* final is always [: *lê, sê, dê, vê*, also in the 2nd sg. presents *ses, les, des.* [also in *vede(s)*, and in *fez, estere, tere*, and in the subjj. *seja, enteja, veja.* See under Inflection.

B) inflectional vowels.

1) [*a*) in *-emos* 1st plur. of the future and subj. pres. of the 1st conj., pres. indic. of the 2nd conj., and pret. indic. of the regular 2nd conj.: *amaremos, beberemos, abriremos, faremos; amemos, demos; bebemos, fazemos; bebemos* pret. *b*) In the pret. indic. *-este(s)*, *-eram* and subj. pret. *-era* etc., *-esse* etc., of the regular 2nd conj.: *bebeste, bebestes, beberam; bebera, beberamos, bebessem. c*) In the infin. *-er: beber, fazer, ter. d*) In the 2nd fut. of the regular 2nd conj.: *beber, bebermos*, etc.

2) [In the pret. indic. *-este(s)*, *-emos, -eram*, subj. pret. *-era, -esse*, etc., and 2nd fut. of the irregular verbs *dar, estar; dizer, fazer, haver, poder, saber, trazer; querir, vir; por*, as in *tivesse, fizesses, demos, puzeram; houvera, viessemos; der, tivermos.*

The following lists include many of the commoner words, and will show the distribution of strest [and [in the other parts of speech.

[[illegible] *d* (letter *d*). *cera, haveres* pl. *pera; erro* [*erro* [illegible] *pero* [illegible], adj.; *terço, cerca, acerto, aperto,* [illegible] *d* artel, *elle, vel-o* etc., *estrella, zelo, cotovelo,* [illegible] *pelo, espelho, cabello; felpa. joelho, orelha, sobran-*[illegible] *vermelho, abelha; abbadessa; esse; interesse;* [illegible] *aveiresa, certeza* etc., *Ingleza* etc., [illegible] *despesa, mesa, treze. marquez,* [illegible] *tres, fresco, este, sexto* s[zoi, *besta* [illegible] *desde. trezeno, pequeno, feno,* [illegible] *seco. bodega, labrego; negro.* [illegible] *sede* 'thirst,' *seda* [illegible] *Pedro. sebo.*

ɪ. *e* (letter *e*), *é* 'is,' *café, até, pé. hera, colhér* 'spoon' (*colher* ɑɪ·ɯɪɯ 'gather') *vero, primavera, mulher; serra, terra, verso diverso, herva, inverno, certo, perto* 'near,' *aberto. ella* fem., *fiel, cruel* etc., *annel* ɟɪ·ɲɪɯ, *papel* etc., *amarello, janella, mel, aquella* fem., *pelle, bello; selva. velho, evangelho* ɮɪ·ɛɪɯɪ. *dez, esta* fem., *l'este* 'east,' *honesto* ʝ·ɲɪɛɜɪ, *festa, bésta* 'bow,' *mestre. inveja, Tejo, sexagesimo* sɪɑsɪ·ɛɪsɪfɪ. *essa* fem., *peça, pessimo, pressa. leve, neve, nevoa, breve. engenho. solemne* sɪ·ɯɪɲɪ. *leme. secca* 'drought' [*seca* sɪɑɪ 'dry' fem.]. *egua, cego, regra. secreto, sete. moeda, sede* 'see,' *remedio, credo; pedra. sebe; lebre, febre.*

ɪ. In Lisbon *mesa* is generaly fɪsɪ by forward influence of the f.

I, ɪ. *e* is I in the unstrest words *lhe, se, ne, que, te, lhes,* and in most unstrest syllabls, as in *preciso, nenhum* ɲI·ɪɪ, *ceremonia* sIɯI·fʝɲɪɪ, *necessario* ɲIsI·sʝɯɪ, *beneficentia* ɒIɲI-ɔI·sɪsɪɪ, even in *dezasete* ɯIsɪ·sɪɔ. Also befor two conss., as in *emprestar, vestir, quebrar, impertinente, perder.* Finaly it is often dropt.

e 'and' is always ɪ. Unstrest *e* regularly becums ɪ befor another vowel, as in *real* ɯɪɪ·ʝɯ, *semear* sIfɪ·ʝɯ, *beato. peor* is sumtimes writn *peior,* but always pronounced ɒɪ·ʝɯ. So also when the following vowel belongs to another word: ɑɪ ʝɯɪɛɜ sɪɜɜ *que horas são?* ɔʝɯɑɪɯɪɪ ɔɪɯ *folgo de o ver.*

Intial *e* befor *s*+cons. is regularly I, as in *estar, esperar, esmola* I·ɛɜfʝɯɪ, where it is often dropt. *ex-* followd by a vowel is ɪs-, as in *exemplo, existir, exhibir.* So also in *hesitar* ɪsɪ·ɔʝɯ.

Non-initial ɪ in *sexagesimo* sɪɑsɪ·ɛɪsɪfɪ.

In other cases initial *e* is I, which in familiar speech becums ɪ, as in *eterno* ɪ·ɔɪɯɲɪ, *heroe* ɪ·ɯʝɪ, *heretico* ɪ·ɯɪɔɪɑɪ, *effeito, educação.*

Unstrest ɪ ocurs in the ending *el,* as in *visivel* ɔɪ·sɪɔɪɯ; befor *l* followd by a consonant (compare ʝ), as in *delfim, delgado;* befor *cç*=s, as in *direcção* ɯɪɯɪ·sɪɜɜ; before *ct, pt*= ɔ, as in *director* ɯɪɯɪ·ɔʝɯ, *susceptivel* sɪsɪ·ɔɪɔɪɯ; and in other words, such as *reflexão* ɯɪɔɯɪ·sɪɜɜ, *vexar* ɔɪ·ɛʝɯ, *prégar* 'preach' [*pregar* ɒɯI·ɛʝɯ 'nail'], *védor* ɔɪ·ɯʝɯ 'overseer.'

enh:]ɾɾ. See p. 208.]ɾ in *engenho*.
em, en+cons.: [ɾ.
em final:]ɾɾɾ.
ei: [ɾ,]ɾ.
eu: [ɜ.
eo:]ɜ.
u: ɨ. **um**; **un**+cons.: ɨɾ.
ui: ɨɾ, ɨɾɾɾ.
o: }, ʒ; ɨ. The last only when unstrest. The first two often distinguisht as *ó, ó*, especialy when final.

The distribution of strest } and ʒ in verb inflection is as follows:

1) ʒ thruout. *a*) all verbs of the 1st conj. except *sonhar* (and perhaps sum others), including those whose *o*=} and ʒ when unaccented: *choro, oras* (inf. }·ɷ]ɷ), *consola, folgam* (inf. >}ɷ·ɑ]ɷ), *olhe* (inf. }·ɷ]ɷ), *gostes, tomem, toquem, roga, cobro*. *b*) the irreg. *poder* has ʒ in the same forms as these verbs, nl. pres. ind. and subj. (the imper. being wanting). *c*) *roer, doer* hav *ou* and ʒ. *d*) verbs of the 3rd conj. hav *u* and ʒ.

2) } thruout. *a*) in *sonhar: sonho, sonha, sonhem*. *b*) *soar, voar, coar* hav *ou* and }.

3) } and ʒ alternate in the regular 2nd conj. exactly like [and]—} in 1st sg. pres. indic., thruout subj. pres., ʒ elsewhere—whether the unstrest *o* is ɨ or }: } *corro, coma, corolhas, morem*; ʒ *mordes, chove, comem, corre!, solve* (inf. s}ɷ·ɑ[ɷ).

There ar lastly a few izolated forms of iregular verbs. The preterita *pude* from *poder* and *pos* from *por* hav }. In the latter verb *o* is } thruout befor *nh*, nl. in the pres. indic. and subj. *ponho, ponha*, etc.

We now cum to the changes in nouns and adjectivs. Many nouns and adjectivs ending in *o* with } in the sing. take ʒ in the plur. All adjectivs which make this change in the masc. plur. make it also in the fem. sg. and plur.

In feminin words the vowel of the plur. is always the same as that of the sing. The converse change of ʒ to } never occurs. The following ar typical examples:

ovo }ɾ 'egg': plur. *ovos* }ɾɾɾ.

novo ɲʒ>ɨ 'new'; pl. masc. ɲʒ>ɨʒʃ; fem. sg. ɲʒ>ɪ, pl. ɲʒ>ɪʒʃ.

In the following lists the ʒ-words which change their vowel in the plur., or plur. and feminin, ar markt with a *. Verb forms ar not givn except ocazionaly.

ʒ. *avô, pessoa, boa* aj. fem., *Lisboa. senhor, senhora, amor, favor*, etc., *inferior, flor, côr* 'culor,' *pôr* inf.; *torre, quatorze* ɑɪ·ɔʒɯsɪ, *corvo, *corno, forma* 'mould,' **porco* sbst., aj., *horto, *porto, *morto* aj. *bolo; bolsa, solto* aj. **olho, folha. roxo* aj., *pos* pret.; *mosca, gosto, posto* sbst., aj. *hoje. pescoço, fosse* vb., *moço, moça, doce, *grosso* aj. **formoso* etc., *doze, *esposo, esposa. enxofre, sofrego. *ovo, *novo* aj., *alcova, *povo. sonho, vergonha, ponho* vb. *outono, nono* aj., *dona. somos* vb., *fomos* vb., *nome, como, pomo. boca. *jogo, *fogo. roto* aj. *todo* aj.; *podre. sopa. lobo, loba, sob; sobre.*

ʒ. *só, avó, nó, pó. melhor, menor, historia, ora, hora, de cor* 'by hart'; *Jorge, forma* 'form,' *morte, porta. Hespanhol, oleo* ʒɯɾɨ, *sol, escola, polvora. vós, nós, vos; costa, poste. relogio, foge* vb. *vosso, nosso. cofre. nove. Antonio. homem, fome. logo. optimo* ʒɔʃɾɨ, *nota, bota. roda, moda, modo. copo; proprio. obra, cobra, pobre.*

Unstrest *o* is ɨ not only in syllabls, as in *amo, amoroso* ɪɾɨ·ɯʒsɨ, *Portugal* ɔɨɯɔɨ·ɑʒɯ, *impossivel* ʃɪɔɨ·sʃ>ɪɯ, but also in the unemfatic words *o, do, os, vos, nos* (of which *vós, nós* ar the emfatic forms), *por, porque* ɔɨɯɑɪ.

It is regularly ʒ when initial (except of course where=ʒɪ): *orar, horror, olhar, ocioso* ʒ·sɾʒsɨ, *officio, onerar, occasião* ʒɑɪ·sɾɪɾɪ, *opinião* ʒɔʃ·ɲɾɪɾɪ; *orvalho, ornar, orgulho, hostil, oppresso* ʒ·ɔɯɪsɨ, *obrar, obstante.* Also befor l+cons.: *solver, folgar, voltar, soldado.* Also in *polegar, monosyllabo* ɾʒɲʒ·sʃɯʒɔɨ, *profissão, provocar* ɔɯʒ>ɨ·ɑʒɯ etc.

It is ʒ in *córar* 'culor,' *adopção* ɪɯʒ·sɪɾɪ, *procurar, adoptar* ɪɯʒ·ɔʒɯ or ɪɯʒ·ɔʒɯ.

oh!=ʒ.

om, on+cons.: ʒɪ.

oi: ʒɾ, ʒɾ.

õe: ʒɪɾɪ.

ou: ʒ, ʒɾ. The latter is general in *dous*, and, in familiar

speech, in other words as well, such as *lousa, cousa, Sousa,* aparently chiefly befor *s*. *ou* is ɨ in the pret. 1st sg. of the iregular verb *saber*—*soube* sɨɒ.

Consonants.

h always silent. In *ha* 'has,' *has* 'hast' it servs to distinguish the clear ʃ sound from the ɾ of *a, as.*

r, rr, rh: ɯ, ɯʲ. Dropt in *vmᵉᵉ* ɜʃsfɪ·s[, ɜʃ·s[, which latter is sumtimes writn *você*—contractions of *vossa mercê.*

l: ɯ. Dropt in *arratel* ɾ·ɯʲʃɔɪ.

lh: ɯ.

s: s, s, *zʲ, zʲ.* s only when initial, and medialy after a cons. and befor a vowel; between vowels s; finaly befor a pauz *zʲ*; also *zʲ* befor a voiceless cons.; *zʲ* befor a voiced cons.: *sentar-se* s[ʲ·ɔʃɯs, *falso* ɜʃɯsɨ; *casa* ɑʃsɾ, *os outros* -ɨs ʃɔɯɨzʲ; *casas* ɑʃsɾzʲ; *visto* ɜ[zʲɔɨ, *está* zʲɔʃ, *os tempos* -ɨzʲ ɔ[ʲɔɨzʲ; *rasgo* ɯʲʃzʲɑɨ, *esmola* ɪ·zʲfʃɯɾ, *as mãos* -ɾzʲ fɾʲɨzʲ.

In such compounds as *monosyllabo, resentir, presentir* s is kept, but not in very familiar words, such as *resolver* ɯʲɪsʃɯ·ɜ[ɯ, *preservar* ɒɯɪsɪɯ·ɜʃɯ. s also in *transacção* ɔɯɾʲsʃ·sɾʲɨ, etc., *deshonra* ɯɪ·sʃʲɯɾ, *persistir.*

ç, ss: s.

z: s, *zʲ, zʲ.* s initialy and between vowels: *zombar* sʃʲ·ɒʃɯ, *vezes* ɜ[sɪzʲ. *zʲ* finaly befor pauz and befor voiceless cons., *zʲ* befor voiced cons.: *vez* ɜ[zʲ, *trez quartos* ɔɯ[zʲ ɑɨʃɯɔɨzʲ, *á luz de gaz* -ʃ ɯɨsʲɔɪ eʃzʲ. *traze* 'bring!' is pronounced ɔɯʃzʲ, as if the z wer final.

sc: zʲɑ, s. zʲɑ befor *a, u, o,* as in *escola, cresco* ɑɯ[zʲɑɨ. s befor *e, i,* as in *sciencia, discipulo, crescer, nascer.*

It wil be seen that altho theoreticaly s and s ought never to ocur at the end of a word, they frequently do so in speech by the dropping of final ɪ, as in *sentar-se, disse, doze.*

ch: z, ɑ. The latter only in words of lerned origin, such as *Christo, chris·tão, ·machina, parochia* ɒɾ·ɯʃɑɾʃɾ.

x: z, s, s, ɑs. s in *maximo, proximo* ɒɯʃsɪfɨ, *reflexão* ɯʲɪɜɯɾ·sʃʲɨ, *trouxe* etc., preterit of the iregular verb *trazer,* and sum others. s in *ex-* followd by a vowel, as in *examinar*

[sɪfɪ·ŋʃɯ. When the *ex* is followd by a consonant, the *x* has its regular sound, as in *explanar* [ɛsɒɯɪ·ŋʃɯ. ɑs in sum words of lerned origin, such as *sexagesimo* s[ɑsɪ·ɛɪsɪfɪt, *sexo* sɪɑsɪt, *crucifixo, flexivel* >ɯɪɑ·sɪ>ɪɯ.

j : ɛ.

w : ɨ, as in *wisth* 'whist.'

f, ph : >.

v : >. In Lisbon *travalho* is often ʊɯɪ·ɐʃɯɪt.

n : ŋ, ɩ. ŋ initialy and between vowels in the same word. ɩ finaly or befor a consonant. *nn* is ɩŋ, as in *anno, canna, panno; penna.* So also ar pronounced *alumno,* ɪ·ɯɪʊŋɪt *somno,* etc. Sum lerned words hav final ŋ. *amen* is ·ʃ·fɪŋ, or mor coloquialy ʃfɪɩɩ.

nh : ʟ.

m : f, ɩ, parallel to *n*. *mm* is sumtimes ɩf, as in *chamma* ɛʃɩfɪ, *immovel* ɪɩ·fʃ>ɪɯ, but aparently oftener simpl f, as in *dilemma* ɯɪ·ɯ[fɪ, *gomma* ɑʃfɪ, *commodo* ɑʃfɪɯɪt. *mn* is often simpl ŋ, as in *damnar* ɯʃ·ŋʃɯ, *condemnar, solemne* sɪ·ɯɪŋɪ.

c : ɑ, s. generaly dropt befor ç and *t* : *acção* ʃ·sɪɩɩ, *direcção* ɯɪɯɪ·sɪɩɩ, *character* ɑɪ·ɯʃʊɪɯ, *insecto* ɪɩ·sɪʊɪt, *fructo, victoria* >ɪ·ʊʃɯɪɪ. *succeder* is sɪsɪ·ɯɪɯ.

qu : ɑɩ, ɑ. ɑɩ befor *a, o,* as in *qual, quasi, quotidiano* ɑɩʃʊɪɯɪ·ŋɪt. Also befor *e, i,* in mor lerned words, such as *quinquagesimo* ɑɩɪɩɑɩɪ·ɛɪsɪfɪt, *liquido, eloquente* [ɯʃ·ɑɩ[ʊɪ. ɑ regularly befor *e, i,* as in *que* ɑɪ, *queimar, aqui* ɪ·ɑɪ, *quieto* ɑɪ·ɪʊɪt. Also befor *a* in *quatorze* ɑɪ·ʊʃɯs. *liquor* ɯɪ·ɑʃɯ is also writn *licor.*

g : ɑ, ɛ. Dropt befor *n* in *signal* sɪ·ŋʃɯ, *augmentar, Ignez,* ɪ·ŋ[ɩs. In other words, such as *digno, signo,* the *g* is sounded.

gu is ɑɩ befor *a, (o),* as in *guarda,* ɑ befor *e, i,* as in *guerra* ɑɪɯɩɪ, *aguia* ʃɑɪɪ.

t, th : ʊ.

d : ɯ.

p : ɒ. Dropt in *psalmo,* and generaly befor ç and *t* : *subscripção* sɪɒɩɩɑɯɪ·sɪɩɩ, *corrupção* ɑɪɯɩɪ·sɪɩɩ ; *septuagesima* sɪʊɪɪ·ɛɪsɪfɪ, *optimo* ʃʊɪfɪt, *excepto* [ɩs·sɪʊɪt.

b : ɒ. Dropt in *subtil* sɪ·ʊɪɯ.

Quantity, Stress, and Intonation.

For consonant-quantity see p. 209.

There is no markt distinction of long and short in the vowels, except that the vowels following the stress-syllabl ar shorter than those that precede it, which, together with the vowel of the stress-syllabl, ar half-long. Such a word as *visita* is therefor pronounced ɔʃ·sʃ·ʊɪ. So also *comida* ɑɪ·fʃʊɪ, *amamos* ɪ·fɪfɪz, *amigo*. English speakers must be careful not to shorten the unstrest ɪ in the last two words, as they ar apt to do from the associations of their own language. There is a tendency, as in other languages, to shortn the second of the two consecutiv unstrest vowels, thus the second *i* of *visitar* apears to be quite short. I apears to be generaly shorter than the other vowels, and in such a word as *necessario* ɲɪsɪ·sʒʊɾɪ the first vowel seems to be almost as short as the second. The vowels do not apear to be shortend befor mor than one consonant, as in *carro* compard with *caro, visto, quatro, quarto.*

Stress, too, is mor level than in English, the stress-syllabl being utterd with only a slight increase of force.

The intonation, lastly, is also evener. In English such a word as *Portugueze* is pronounced with a low level tone on the first two syllabls with a sudden rize and downward glide on the last, but in Portugueze in such a word as *coração* ɑɪʊɪ·sɪɐ̃ the falling tone with which the word is utterd when izolated is begun on the first syllabl, the voice gliding evenly down thru all three. An English ear, acustomd to a fresh rize or fall on the emfatic syllabl of a word, is apt to imagine that such a word as *coração* is strest on the first syllabl.

Vowel-Quality, Elision, and Contraction.

One remarkabl rezult of the shortening of after-stress vowels is that their vocality is diminisht until they ar pronounced with whisper (not breth) insted of voice. This is especialy noticeabl with final ɪ after a voiceless stop, as in

o Porto, where the difference between the full vocality of the first vowel and the whisper of the last is very markt — -ɨ ɒʃɯɔɨɒ. A cazual listener would eazily imagine that the final vowel was dropt altogether. But the only vowel that is regularly dropt is I, altho in such words as *noite* it is sumtimes difficult to determin whether the final sound is ɔ° or ɔIɒ. In the specimens I hav only ocazionaly markt the whisper.

When two unstrest vowels in different words cum together, they ar contracted as follows:

a a	I I	becums	ʃ
	ʃ I	„	ʃ
o o	ɨ ɨ	„	ɨ
a o	I ɨ	„	ʃ

The only contraction which is obzervd in writing is the first, in *á=a a*, *ás=a as*. Other exampls, which ar not exprest in writing, ar: *foi para a cama* >ʃɨ ɒIɯʃ ɑIFI, *espera até que eu volte* I·zɘɒIɯʃ ɔIɑIɨ ɜʃɯɔ. Of the others: *está acordado* zɘʃɑɨɯ ɯʃɯɨ. *rasgo o panno* ɯɘʃɛɘɨ ɒIɘɔɨ, *rego os prados* ɯɘIɛɨzɘ ɒɯʃɯɨzɘ; *rasga o panno* ɯɘʃɛɘʃ ɒIɘɔɨ, *rega os prados* ɯɘIɛʃzɘ ɒɯʃɯɨzɘ. The vowels rezulting from these contractions ar never whisperd, and this apears to be the main distinction between such sentences as *rasgo o panno* and *rasgo panno* ɯɘʃɛɘɨɒ ɒIɘɔɨ, altho, of course, ɨ from ɨ ɨ is naturaly at the same time pronounced with rather mor stress.

These contractions ar made only when the two words ar intimately conected.

VERB INFLECTIONS.

The 2nd pret. indic. sg. and plur. ar here givn in their literary forms, but in speech there is a tendency to make them into -zɘɔzɘ and -zɘɔIzɘ respectivly by the analogy of other verbal forms.

1 Conj. **amar** (chorar) I·FʃɯɔIɯ (zɨ·ɯʃɯ).

Pres.	amo (choro)	IFɨ (zʃɯɨ)
	amas	IFIzɘ (zʃ-)
	ama	IFI (zʃ-)

pl.	amamos	ɐ.mɐ.mus (-ɨʃ)
	amais	ɐ.mɐ.ʃ
	amam	ɐ.mɐ.ũ
Imperf.	amava	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ
	amavas	ɐ.mɐ.vɐʃ
	amava	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ
pl.	amavamos	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ.mus
	amaveis	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ.ʃ.
	amavam	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ.ũ
Pret.	amei	ɐ.mɐ.j
	amaste	ɐ.mɐ.ʃ
	amou	ɐ.mɐ.ɔ
pl.	amámos	ɐ.mɐ.mus
	amastes	ɐ.mɐ.ʃ
	amáram	ɐ.mɐ.ũ
Plup.	amára	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ
	amáras	ɐ.mɐ.vɐʃ
	amára	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ
pl.	amáramos	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ.mus
	amáreis	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ.ʃ
	amáram	ɐ.mɐ.vɐ.ũ
Fut.	amarei	ɐ.mɐ.ɾɐj
	amarás	ɐ.mɐ.ɾɐʃ
	amará	ɐ.mɐ.ɾɐ
pl.	amaremos	ɐ.mɐ.ɾɐ.mus
	amareis	ɐ.mɐ.ɾɐ.ʃ
	amarão	ɐ.mɐ.ɾɐ.ũ
Condit.	amaria	ɐ.mɐ.ɾiɐ
	amarias	ɐ.mɐ.ɾiɐʃ
	amaria	ɐ.mɐ.ɾiɐ
pl.	amariamos	ɐ.mɐ.ɾiɐ.mus
	amarieis	ɐ.mɐ.ɾiɐ.ʃ
	amariam	ɐ.mɐ.ɾiɐ.ũ
2nd fut.	amar	ɐ.mɐ.ɾ
	amares	ɐ.mɐ.ɾɐʃ
	amar	ɐ.mɐ.ɾ
pl.	amarmos	ɐ.mɐ.ɾmus
	amardes	ɐ.mɐ.ɾdɨʃ

	amarem	ɐ·ɾ]ɐ̃l ʃ
Imper.	ama	ɐɾɐ
pl.	amais	ɐ·ɾ]ɐʃ
Subj. pres.	ame	ɐɾ
	ames	ɐɾɐʃ
	ame	ɐɾ
pl.	amemos	ɐ·ɾ[ɾɨʃ
	ameis	ɐ·ɾ[ɐʃ
	amem	ɐɾ]ʃ
Subj. imp.	amasse	ɐ·ɾ]s
	amasses	ɐ·ɾ]sɨʃ
	amasse	ɐ·ɾ]s
pl.	amassemos	ɐ·ɾ]sɨɾɨʃ
	amasseis	ɐ·ɾ]s[ɐʃ
	amassem	ɐ·ɾ]s]ʃ
Infin.	amar	ɐ·ɾ]ɐ
Gerund	amando	ɐ·ɾɐ]ɐ̃ɨ
Partic. pret.	amado	ɐ·ɾ]ɐ̃ɨ

2 Conj. **beber** b ɨ·b[ɐ.

Pres.	bebo	b[bɨ
	bebes	b[bɨʃ
	bebe	b[b
pl.	bebemos	b ɨ·b[ɾɨʃ
	bebeis	b ɨ·b[ɐʃ
	bebem	b[b]ʃ
Imperf.	bebia	b ɨ·b[ɐ
	bebias	b ɨ·b[ɐʃ
	bebia	b ɨ·b[ɐ
pl.	bebiamos	b ɨ·b[ɐɾɨʃ
	bebieis	b ɨ·b[ɐʃ
	bebiam	b ɨ·b[ɐ̃ʃ
Pret.	bebi	b ɨ·b[ɨ
	bebeste	b ɨ·b[ɐʃɐ
	bebeu	b ɨ·b[ɨ
pl.	bebemos	b ɨ·b[ɾɨʃ
	bebestes	b ɨ·b[ɐʃɐʃ
	beberam	b ɨ·b[ɐɾɐ̃ʃ

Plup.	bebera	bɪ·bə[ɐ
	beberas	bɪ·bə[ɐʃ
	bebera	bɪ·bə[ɐ
pl.	beberamos	bɪ·bə[ɐɾɨʃ
	bebêreis	bɪ·bə[ɐʃ
	bebêram	bɪ·bə[ɐɾɐ̃
Fut.	beberei	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ɾ
	beberás	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ʃ
	beberá	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[
pl.	beberemos	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ɾɨʃ
	bebereis	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ʃ
	beberão	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ɾɐ̃
Condit.	beberia	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ɪ
	beberias	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ɪʃ
	beberia	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ɪ
pl.	beberiamos	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ɪɾɨʃ
	beberieis	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ɪʃ
	beberiam	bɪ·bɪ·ɐ[ɪɾɐ̃
2nd fut.	beber	bɪ·bə[ɐ
	beberes	bɪ·bə[ɐʃ
	beber	bɪ·bə[ɐ
pl.	bebermos	bɪ·bə[ɐɾɨʃ
	beberdes	bɪ·bə[ɐɾɐʃ
	beberem	bɪ·bə[ɐɾɐ̃
Imper.	bebe	bɪ·bɐ
pl.	bebei	bɪ·bɐ[ɾ
Subj. pres.	beba	bɐ[ɪ
	bebas	bɐ[ɪʃ
	beba	bɐ[ɪ
pl.	bebamos	bɐ·ɪɾɨʃ
	bebais	bɐ·ɪ[ʃ
	bebam	bɐ[ɪɾɐ̃
Subj. imp.	bebesse	bɪ·bə[s
	bebesses	bɪ·bə[sɪʃ
	bebesse	bɪ·bə[s
pl.	bebessemos	bɪ·bə[sɪɾɨʃ
	bebesseis	bɪ·bə[sɪʃ
	bebessem	bɪ·bə[sɪɾɐ̃

Infin. beber	bɪ·bɛʃω
Gerund bebendo	bɪ·bɛʃɐ̃ɫ
Partic. pret. bebido	bɪ·bɛʃɐ̃ɫ

3 Conj. **abrir** ɹ·bɐʃω.

This may be givn mor briefly.

Pres. abro ʒbɐɫ, abres ʒbɐɫzɨ, abre ʒbɐɫ; abrimos ɹ·bɐʃɾɨzɨ, abris ɹ·bɐʃzɨ, abrem ʒbɐɫɨɹ. *Imperf.* abria ɹ·bɐʃɹ. *Pret.* abri ɹ·bɐʃ, abriste ɹ·bɐʃzɐ̃, abriu ɹ·bɐʃɨ; abrimos ɹ·bɐʃɾɨzɨ, abristes ɹ·bɐʃzɐ̃zɨ, abriram ɹ·bɐʃωɹɨ̃. *Plup.* abrira ɹ·bɐʃωɹ. *Fut.* abrirei ɹbɐʃ·ωʃɾ. *Cond.* abriria ɹbɐʃ·ωʃɹ. *2nd fut.* abrir ɹ·bɐʃω. *Imper.* abre ʒbɐɫ; abri ɹ·bɐʃ. *Subj. pres.* abra ʒbɐɹ. *Subj. imp.* abrisse ɹ·bɐʃs. *Infin.* abrir ɹ·bɐʃω. *Ger.* abrindo ɹ·bɐʃɨɐ̃ɫ. *Ptc. prt.* abrido ɹ·bɐʃɐ̃ɫ.

Iregular Verbs.

-ar.

estar. *Pres.* estou ʒɐ̃}, estás ʒɐ̃ʃzɨ, está sɐ̃ʃ; estamos ʒɐ̃ɹɾɨzɨ, estais ʒɐ̃ʃɾzɨ, estão ʒɐ̃ɹɨ̃ɨ. *Imperf.* estava ʒɐ̃ʃ>ɹ. *Pret.* estive ʒɐ̃ʃ>, estiveste ʒɐ̃ʃ·>ʃzɐ̃, esteve ʒɐ̃ʃ>; estivemos ʒɐ̃ʃ·>ɾɨzɨ, estivestes ʒɐ̃ʃ·>ʃzɐ̃zɨ, estiveram ʒɐ̃ʃ·>ωɹɨ̃ɨ. *Plup.* estivera ʒɨʃ·>ωɹ. *Fut.* estarei ʒɐ̃ɹ·ωʃɾ. *2nd fut.* estiver ʒɨʃ·>ω, estiveres ʒɐ̃ʃ·>ωzɨ; estivermos ʒɐ̃ʃ·>ωɾɨzɨ, estiverdes ʒɐ̃ʃ·>ωɐ̃zɨ, estiverem ʒɐ̃ʃ·>ωɨɨ̃. *Imper.* está ʒɐ̃ʃ; estai ʒɐ̃ʃɾ. *Subj. pres.* esteja ʒɐ̃ʃɛɹ, estejas ʒɐ̃ʃɛɹzɨ; estejamos ʒɐ̃ɹ·ɛɹɾɨzɨ, estejais ʒɐ̃ɹ·ɛʃɾzɨ, estejam ʒɐ̃ʃɛɹɨ̃ɨ. *Subj. imp.* estivesse ʒɐ̃ʃ·>ɹs. *Infin.* estar ʒɐ̃ʃω. *Ger.* estando ʒɐ̃ɹɨɐ̃ɫ. *Ptc. prt.* estado ʒɐ̃ʃɐ̃ɫ.

dar. *Pres.* dou ɐ}, dás ɐʃzɨ, dá ɐʃ; damos ɐɹɾɨzɨ, dais ɐʃɾzɨ, dão ɐɹɨ̃ɨ. *Imperf.* dava ɐʃ>ɹ. *Pret.* dei ɐʃɾ, déste ɐɹzɐ̃, deu ɐʃɨ; démos ɐɹɾɨzɨ, déstes ɐɹzɐ̃zɨ, deram ɐɹωɹɨ̃ɨ. *Plup.* dera ɐɹωɹ. *Fut.* darei ɐɹ·ωʃɾ. *2nd fut.* der ɐɹω. *Imper.* dá ɐʃ; dai ɐʃɾ. *Subj. pres.* dê ɐʃ, dês ɐʃzɨ; dêmos ɐʃɾɨzɨ, deis ɐʃɾzɨ, deem ɐʃɨɨ̃ɨ. *Subj. imp.* desse ɐɹs. *Infin.* dar ɐʃω. *Ger.* dando ɐɹɨɐ̃ɫ. *Ptc.* dado ɐʃɐ̃ɫ.

-er.

ser. *Pres.* sou s}, és ɪz, é ɪ; somos s}ɦɪz, sois s}ɪz, são sɪɹɐ. *Imperf.* era ɪɯɪ. *Pret.* fui >ɪɾ, foste >}zɔ, foi >}ɾ; fomos >}ɦɪz, fostes >}zɔz, foram >}ɯɪɹɐ. *Plup.* fôra >}ɯɪ. *Fut.* serei sɪ·ɯɾ. *2nd fut.* for >]ɯ, fores >}ɯz, etc. *Imper.* sê s[; sede s[ɯ. *Subj. pres.* seja s[ɛɪ; sejamos sɪ·ɛɪɦɪz, sejais sɪ·ɛ]ɪz, sejam s[ɛɪɹɐ. *Subj. imp.* fosse >}s. *Inf.* ser s[ɯ. *Ger.* sendo s[ɯɪ. *Ptc.* sido sɪɯɪ.

ter. *Pres.* tenho ɔ]ɾɾɪ, tens ɔ]ɹɔz, tem ɔ]ɹɔ; temos ɔ[ɦɪz, tendes ɔ[ɹɯz, teem ɔ]ɹɔ [the artificial pron. is aparently ɔ[ɹ]ɹɔ]. *Imperf.* tinha ɔɪɾɪ. *Pret.* tive ɔɪ>, tiveste ɔɪ>ɪzɔ, teve ɔ[>; tivemos ɔɪ>ɪɦɪz, tivestes ɔɪ>ɪzɔz, tiveram ɔɪ>ɪɯɪɹɐ. *Plup.* tivera ɔɪ>ɪɯɪ. *Fut.* terei ɔɪ·ɯɾ. *2nd fut.* tiver ɔɪ>ɪɯ. *Imper.* tem ɔ]ɹɔ; tende ɔ[ɹɯ. *Subj. pres.* tenha ɔ]ɾɾɪ; tenhamos ɔɪ·ɾɪɦɪz, tenhais ɔɪ·ɾ]ɪz, tenham ɔ]ɾɾɪɹɐ. *Subj. pret.* tivesse ɔɪ>ɪs. *Infin.* ter ɔ[ɯ. *Ger.* tendo ɔ[ɹɯɪ. *Ptc.* tido ɔɪɯɪ.

haver. *Pres.* hei [ɾ, has]z, ha]; hemos [ɦɪz, heis [ɪz, hão ɪɹɐ. *Imperf.* havia ɪ>ɪɪ. *Pret.* houve }>, houveste }>ɪzɔ, houve }>; houvemos }>ɪɦɪz, houvestes }>ɪzɔz, houveram }>ɪɯɪɹɐ. *Plup.* houvera }>ɪɯɪ. *Fut.* haverei ɪ>ɪ·ɯɾ. *2nd fut.* houver }>ɪɯ. *Imper.* ha]; havei ɪ>[ɾ. *Subj. pres.* haja]zɪ; hajamos ɪ·ɛɪɦɪz. *Subj. imp.* houvesse }>ɪs. *Inf.* haver ɪ>[ɯ. *Ger.* havendo ɪ>[ɹɯɪ. *Ptc.* havido ɪ>ɪɯɪ.

dizer. *Pres.* digo ɯɪɔɪ, dizes ɯɪsɪz, diz ɯɪz; dizemos ɯɪ·s[ɦɪz, dizeis ɯɪ·s[ɪz, dizem ɯɪs]ɹɔ. *Imperf.* dizia ɯɪ·sɪɪ. *Pret.* disse ɯɪs, disseste ɯɪ·sɪzɔ, disse ɯɪs; dissemos ɯɪ·sɪɦɪz. *Plup.* dissera ɯɪ·sɪɯɪ. *Fut.* direi ɯɪ·ɯɾ. *2nd fut.* dissér ɯɪ·sɪɯ. *Imp.* dize ɯɪs; dizei ɯɪ·s[ɾ. *Subj. pres.* diga ɯɪɔɪ. *Subj. imp.* dissesse ɯɪ·sɪs. *Inf.* dizer ɯɪ·s[ɯ. *Ptc.* dito ɯɪɔɪ.

fazer. *Pres.* faço >]sɪ, fazes >]sɪz, faz >]z; fazemos >ɪ·s[ɦɪz, fazeis >ɪ·s[ɪz, fazem >]s]ɹɔ. *Imperf.* fazia >ɪ·sɪɪ. *Pret.* fiz >ɪz, fizeste >ɪ·sɪzɔ, fez >[z; fizemos >ɪ·sɪɦɪz. *Plup.* fizera >ɪ·sɪɯɪ. *Fut.* farei >ɪ·ɯɾ. *2nd fut.* fizer >ɪ·sɪɯ; *Imp.* faze >]s; fazei >ɪ·s[ɾ. *Subj. pres.* faça >]sɪ. *Subj. imp.* fizesse >ɪ·sɪs. *Inf.* fazer >ɪ·s[ɯ. *Ptc.* feito >[ɪɔɪ.

perder. *Pres.* perco [illegible], perdes [illegible], perde [illegible]; perdemos [illegible], perdeis [illegible], perdem [illegible]. *Subj. pres.* perca [illegible].

poder. *Pres.* posso [illegible], podes [illegible], póde [illegible]; podemos [illegible], podeis [illegible], podem [illegible]. *Imperf.* podia [illegible]. *Pret.* pude [illegible], pudeste [illegible], póde [illegible]; pudemos [illegible]. *Plup.* pudera [illegible]. *Subj. pres.* possa [illegible]; possamos [illegible]. *Subj. imp.* pudesse [illegible]. *Inf.* poder [illegible]. *Ptc.* podido [illegible].

querer. *Pres.* quero [illegible], queres [illegible], quer [illegible]; queremos [illegible], quereis [illegible], querem [illegible]. *Imperf.* queria [illegible]. *Pret.* quiz [illegible], quizeste [illegible], quiz [illegible]; quizémos [illegible]. *Plup.* quizera [illegible]. *Fut.* quererei [illegible]. *2nd fut.* quizer [illegible]. *Subj. pres.* queira [illegible]. *Subj. imp.* quizesse [illegible]. *Inf.* querer [illegible]. *Ptc.* querido [illegible].

saber. *Pres.* sei [illegible], sabes [illegible], sabe [illegible]; sabemos [illegible], sabeis [illegible], sabem [illegible]. *Imperf.* sabia [illegible]. *Pret.* soube [illegible], [illegible],[1] soubeste [illegible], soube [illegible]; soubemos [illegible]. *Plup.* soubera [illegible]. *Fut.* saberei [illegible]. *2nd fut.* souber [illegible]. *Imper.* sabe [illegible]; sabei [illegible]. *Subj. pres.* saiba [illegible]. *Subj. imp.* soubesse [illegible]. *Inf.* saber [illegible]. *Ptc.* sabido [illegible].

trazer. *Pres.* trago [illegible], trazes [illegible], traz [illegible]; trazemos [illegible], trazeis [illegible], trazem [illegible]. *Imperf.* trazia [illegible]. *Pret.* trouxe [illegible], trouxeste [illegible], trouxe [illegible]; trouxemos [illegible]. *Plup.* trouxera [illegible]. *Fut.* trarei [illegible]. *2nd fut.* trouxer [illegible]. *Imper.* traze [illegible], [illegible]; trazei [illegible]. *Subj. pres.* traga [illegible]. *Subj. imp.* trouxesse [illegible]. *Inf.* trazer [illegible]. *Ptc.* trazido [illegible].

ver. *Pres.* vejo [illegible], vês [illegible], vê [illegible]; vêmos [illegible], vêdes [illegible], vêem [illegible]. *Imperf.* via [illegible]. *Pret.* vi [illegible], viste [illegible], viu [illegible]; vimos [illegible], vistes [illegible], viram [illegible]. *Plup.* vira [illegible]. *Fut.* verei [illegible]. *2nd fut.* vir [illegible]. *Imper.* vê [illegible]; vede [illegible]. *Subj. pres.* veja [illegible]. *Subj. imp.* visse [illegible]. *Inf.* ver [illegible]. *Ger.* vendo [illegible]. *Ptc.* visto [illegible].

[1] This form is evidently due to the analogy of the preterit of *poder*.

-ir.

ir. *Pres.* vou >ʒ, vais >ʒʃzs, vai >ʒʃ; vamos >ɪfɨzs, ides ʃɔzs, vão >ɪɣɣ. *Imperf.* ia ʃɪ. *Pret.* fui >ɨʃ, foste >ʒzɔ, foi >ʒʃ; fomos >ʒfɨzs. *Plup.* fôra >ʒɯɪ. *Fut.* irei ʃ·ɯʃ. *2nd fut.* for >ʒɯ. *Imper.* vai >ʒʃ; ide ʃɯɨ. *Subj. pres.* vá >ʒ, vás >ʒzs, vá >ʒ; vamos >ɪfɨzs, vades >ʒɯzs, vão >ɪɣɣ. *Subj. pret.* fosse >ʒs. *Inf.* ir ʃɯ. *Ger.* indo ʃɯɨ. *Ptc.* ido ʃɯɨ.

vir. *Pres.* venho >ʃʃʃɨ, vens >ʃʃzs, vem >ʃʃɒ; vimos >ʃfɨzs, vindes >ʃɯzs, vem >ʃʃs. *Imperf.* vinha >ʃʃɪ. *Pret.* vim >ʃs, viéste >ʃ·ɪzɔ, veio >ʃʃɨ; viémos >ʃ·ɪfɨzs, viéstes >ʃ·ɪzɔzs, viéram >ʃ·ɪɯɪɣɣ. *Plup.* viéra >ʃ·ɪɯɪ. *Fut.* virei >ʃ·ɯʃ. *2nd fut.* vir >ʃɯ. *Imp.* vem >ʃʃɒ; vinde >ʃɯ. *Subj. pres.* venha >ʃʃʃɪ; venhamos >ɨ·ʃɪfɨzs. *Subj. imp.* viésse >ʃ·ɪs. *Inf.* vir >ʃɯ. *Ger.* vindo >ʃɯɨ. *Ptc.* vindo >ʃɯɨ.

pedir. *Pres.* peço pɪsɨ, pedes pɪɯzs, pede pɪɯ; pedimos pɨ·ɯʃfɨzs, pedis pɨ·ɯʃzs, pedem pɪɯʃʃs. *Subj. pres.* peça pɪsɪ.

NOTES ON COLOQUIALIZMS.

In the grammars and dialog-books *vmce*, sumtimes writn *vocemecê*, with the 3rd sg. of the verb, is stil givn as the polite form of adress. But in the upper classes this pronoun, which originaly was a true *pronomen reverentiae*, being a contraction of *vossa mercê* 'your grace,' afterwards sinking to a general form of adress to all respectabl peple, is not uzed in speaking to equals, the 3rd sg. of the verb without any pronoun being uzed insted, the 3rd plur. being uzed in adressing several peple. *vmce* itself has two forms: >ʒsfɨ·sʃ, which is uzed in adressing shopkeepers, etc., and a shorter one, >ʒ·sʃ, sumtimes writn *você*, which is uzed in adressing peple of a lower grade. Thus, one would say to a mule-driver aɪɯ>ʒ sʃɪ aʒpɒɨɯɨ >ʃʃɨ *Quer vmce* (or *você*) *um copo de vinho?* but to a servant in an upper-class house ->ʒsfɨ sʃɯʃ ɯʒ aʃɨ zsʃ>ɪ aʃ *V'mce dirá qu'eu estive aqui*, etc. Exampls of the uzual form wil be found in the sentences givn further on. The 2nd sg. is uzed to express familiarity and afection, as in other languages.

A peculiar feature of Portugueze, including the literary language, is the conjugation of the infinitiv after the analogy of the 2nd future. In the spoken language the group *ha de* 'has to,' as in *ha de fazer isso* [ɐ]ˈ ˈdɨ fɐˈzɐ ˈisu, is often regarded as a verbal form, and a plural is formd on the analogy of *bebem*, so that *hão de fazer isso* apears in the extraordinary form of [ɐ]ˈ ˈdɨ fɐˈzɐ ˈisu.

Most of the coloquial forms of the verbs hav been noted under Inflection. There is a curious substitute for the past partic. *ouvido* 'herd' in coloquial speech, nl. [ˈ]ˈ·ˈ·ˈ formd on the analogy of *visto* 'seen.'

SPECIMENS.

A) Sentences.

1. :ˈ·ˈ·ˈ·

4. -ai ɐ̃ˈsɐ̃ˈʃ ɐ̃ˈmɐˈ. -ʃʃ ɔ ˈʃɐiɐ ˈʃɐ̃ˈ : -ɐ̃ ʃ̃ˈsi
:ɐ̃ˈmɐˈ ɐ̃ˈɾ. ˈʃʃɐ̃ˈ ˈsɐˈfɔˈɾ ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈ ˈɐ̃ˈɾ. -ʃ ɐ̃ˈɾɐˈɾɐ̃ˈ ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈ
ˈɐ̃ˈ. ɔ ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈ ˈɔˈɾɐˈ. -l ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈ ˈʃɐ̃ˈʃ. -l ˈʃʃɐˈɾɐ̃ˈ ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈ
ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈ.

5. -ɐ̃ ɐ̃ˈsɐˈʃɐˈɾɐˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ɐ̃ˈmɐ ˈɐ̃ˈsɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈɔ : ɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈ
ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈɾɐ̃ˈʒ.

6. -l ˈɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ɐ̃ˈmɐˈɔˈɾ. : l ɔ̃ˈmɐˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈɔˈɾ.
ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈɔˈɾ. ; ɐ̃ˈmɐˈ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐˈɔ. ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈɔˈɾ.

7. -ɐ̃ˈɾ ɐ̃ˈmɐˈɔˈɾ. -ɾ ɔ̃ˈmɐˈ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ. ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ.
ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈ. ˈɐ̃ˈ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ—ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ
ˈɐ̃ˈmɐˈ.

8. -ɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ. ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ
ˈɐ̃ˈɾ, -ɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ. ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ
ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ ˈɐ̃ˈɾɐ̃ˈɔ

2.

ɐɔʃɐɹɐʃ ʃɐʁɐʃɐʁ ɔʃɐʁ, -ɐʃɔʃ ʃɐʃʃɐʃ ʃɐʃʃɐʃ,
-ɐʃɔ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ɐʃʃɐʁɐʃɔʃɐʁ ɐʃʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ,
ɐʃʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ,
-ɐʃɐʁ ɔʃɐʁɐʁ ɐʃʃɐʁɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ.
ʃɐʁɐʁ ʃɐʁ (!, ɐʃʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɐʁ!) ʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɐʁ ʃɐʁɐʁ
-ɔʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ɐʃʃɐʁ ; -ɐʃ ʃɐʁɐʁ ɔʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ,
ʃɐʁɐʁ ɐʃʃɐʁɐʁ ɐʃʃɐʁ, -ʃɐʁɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ.
-ɐʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ʃɐʁ ɐʃ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁɐʁ ʃɐʁ ɐʃʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ.
-ɐʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ, -ɐʃɔʃ ʃɐʁɐʁ ʃɐʁɐʁ
-ɐʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ɔʃɐʁʃɐʁ ɐʃʃɐʁɔʃɐʁʃɐʁ ɔʃɐʁ ɐʃʃɐʁɐʁʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ,
-ɐʃɔ ɔʃɐʁɔʃɐʁʃ ʃɐʁɔʃɐʁ ɔʃɐʁ ɔʃɐʁ ɔʃɐʁ.
-ʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ,
-ʃɐʁ ɔʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ,
-ʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ.
-ʃɐʁ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ ʃɐʁɔʃ.

A.

1. Tenha muito bons dias! Como está? Como passa? Não muito bem. Como está seu irmão? Elle terá gosto em o ver. Não terei tempo para ir vel-o hoje. Faça favor de sentar-se! Dá uma cadeira a este senhor! Tenho de fazer uma visita na visinhança. Tem pressa? Logo voltarei. Adeus, meu senhor! Beijo-lhe as mãos. Sou um seu criado.

2. Onde está teu amo? Ainda dorme? Está ja levantado? Não senhor, ainda esta na cama. Que vergonha estar ainda na cama a estas oras! Hontem á noite fui para a cama tão tarde que não me pude levantar cedo esta manhã. A que horas foi para a cama? Ás tres horas e meia. Que horas são? Que horas lhe paréce que são? Oito. Sim, oito! Já deram dez. Então é preciso que me levante depressa.

3. Como vai indo o seu Portuguez? Vai indo. Tem se adiantado? Bem longe d'isso: pouco ou nada tenho apren-

dido. Disseram-me que já o fallava bem. Quem tal lhe disse, enganou-se. Posso dizer algumas palavras de cór. Deve fallar sempre que tiver occasião. Receio sempre de fazer erros. Não tenha medo: a lingua é facil.

4. Conhece o senhor Mello? É antigo amigo meu: conheço-o desde pequeno. Iamos á escola juntos. Ha muito que o não vejo. Que idade tem? É velho ou moço? É homem de meia idade.

5. Paréce-me que vamos ter mudança de tempo: cheira-me que vamos ter chuva. Tanto melhor; será uma boa mudança.

6. Aquelle relogio tem o quer que é: é preciso ver para se mandar concertar. Se precisa d'alguma cousa, peça-me. Faça favor de me deitar esta carta no correio.

7. O que quer o senhor? Um par de luvas. Quanto custa? Quero dous ou trez lenços—lenços d'assoar. Quanto é tudo? Eu gasto geralmente uma moeda por semana, alem de casa e comida.

8. Tomára que cada um se occupasse com os seus negocios, e se não mettesse com os dos outros. Quanto menos tiverem que fazer um com outro melhor.

9. Que é isso? O que tem? Paréce assustado, como se alguma cousa tivesse succedido. Não; não ha nada importante—nada que valha a pena (de) mencionar. Que foi isto? Pareceu me ouvir uma bulha. Foi só o vento nas arvores.

B. 1.

As filhas do Mondego a morte escura
longo tempo chorando memoráram;
e por memoria eterna, em fonte pura
as lagrimas choradas transformáram:
o nome lhe puzeram que inda dura,
dos amores de Ignez, que alli passáram.
Vêde que fresca fonte rega as flores,
que lagrimas são agua, e o nome amores.

Camões.

2.

Brandas aguas do Téjo, que passando
por estes verdes campos que regaes,
plantas, hervas, flôres, e animaes,
pastores, nymphas, ides alegrando.
Não sei (ah, doces aguas!) não sei quando
vos tornarei a vêr; que magoas taes,
vendo como vos deixo, me causaes,
que de tornar já vou desconfiando.
Ordenou o destino, desejoso
de converter meus gostos em pesares,
partida que me vai custando tanto.
Saudoso de vós, d'elle queixoso,
encherei de suspiros outros ares,
turbarei outras aguas com meu pranto.

Camões.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

This paper was alredy set up in type, when Mr. Furnivall calld my atention to an articl on Portugueze sounds in the *Romania*, which he had just receivd: A. R. Gonçalves Vianna, Essai de phonétique et de phonologie de la langue Portugaise, d'après le dialecte actuel de Lisbonne (Romania, 1883, Janvier, xii. 45). It gives me great plezure to find that the subject has been taken up by a nativ fonetician so thuroly wel qualified as M. Vianna evidently is. I only wish his paper had been publisht two years ago: it would hav saved me an enormous amount of drudgery and groping about in the dark. But I hav the satisfaction of finding that in almost every case in which I differ from J. de Deus and the Prince, M. Vianna is on my side. In sum cases he differs from me, which is, however, aparently often the rezult of my not having been able to get at the natural coloquial speech—always a difficult aim to acomplish when one has not the advantage of a rezidence in the cuntry itself. I wil now

proceed to quote M. Vianna in all important cases of agreement with and difference from my own statements. His paper is so much fuller than mine (taking up nearly seventy close-printed pages) that it is quite impossibl for me to do justice to it, except by ernestly recomending it to all foneticians.

P. 4. I. '. . . . bien plus étouffé, bien plus fermé que l'*e* français de *me, le*.' G.V. 32.

ɨ. '. . . . tout à fait semblable à l'*a* atone de l'anglais *about, he gave me a book*.' G.V. 31. This accurate comparison inspires one with confidence in the author's identifications generaly. In my *Sound Notes* I hav exprest the E. unstrest *a* by ɨ.

5. ɨ. '. . . . plus ouvert que l'*è* français, *ä* allemand [=[H.S.]: un peu moins cependant que l'*a* bref anglais de *bad*, lequel ne se retrouve que dans quelques dialectes portugais, dans l'Algarve ou Beira-baixa, par exemple.' J. de Deus's *è* is, therefor, a broad provincial ɨ, and my refuzal to admit two open *a*s is fully justified.

ɨɪ. According to G.V. 33.4 *i* and *u* in diphthongs ar pronounced like the second elements in the E. diphthongs in *boy, now*, which means, of course, that they ar wide—ɪ, ʊ. For *ai* he givs the pron. aɪ (p. 35). I distinctly hear both elements narrow in this word, but I am not sure about the *i*.

6. G.V. p. 70. givs ɲɨʎ as the Lisbon pron. of *tenho*. He givs the same pron. of close *e* befor *j, lh, nh*, stating that befor *n* and *j* the ɨ may becum ɨɪ, as in *seja*. P. 37 he identifies the diphthong in *bem* with that in *mãe*, making them both ɨɪ or rather ɨɪ. After repeated hearings of my teacher's pron., I stil am inclined to maintain (tho not with perfect confidence) my own analysis. I hav herd *e* pron. ɨɪ by him in *seja, sejo*, but I hav herd only ɨ in *abelha* and the rest. G.V. analyzes the close *ei* of *rei* 'king' as ɨɪ: I stil hear it distinctly as ɨɪ.

7. *ch*. '. . . . est prononcée un peu plus en arrière que *r* simple. On trouvera individuellement des *r* vibrantes uvulaires, même parmi des gens qui prononcent *r* simple

comme une linguale.' G.V. 48. He seems to describe simple *r* as not being trild.

8. ɯ. 'Tandis que le bout de la langue s'appuie contre les gencives, ou plutôt contre les alvéoles des dents incisives supérieures, le dos s'en élève vers le point guttural.' G.V. 48. The description is identical with my own. As regards the distribution of the ɯ I was inclined to think that the *l* is guttural everywhere, even initialy, where the gutturality would naturaly be less markt, and after careful trials with my teacher, we both thought there was no difference between the *l* of *la* and that of *sal*. But it is quite possibl we may both be wrong. G.V. says (p. 49): 'le *l* gutturalisé du portugais ne peut que suivre la voyelle; il la gutturalise en même temps. . . . Il n'y a généralement que la voyelle *a* qui soit affectée par la prononciation de *l*, lorsque cette consonne est médiale, comme dans *malla, salla*. Bien des personnes, cependant, gutturalisent toutes les voyelles devant *l* dans le corps du mot, parce qu'elles gutturalisent aussi le *l* médial entre deux voyelles.'

ƨ, ɛ ar different from the French, and identical with the E. sounds; G.V. 46. The Portuguese sounds seem, however, to be narrow, not wide, as in E. The remarks in my text show that Bell's original analysis of *s* and *sh* was, in the main, corect, and that *sh* is realy an s aproximated to ʊ, and that he was il-advized in transpozing the value of his original symbols.

G.V. p. 46, says of Port. *x* and *j*, 'l'organe actif est un point de la surface supérieure de la langue, plus ou moins rapproché de son extrémité, selon que la voyelle précédente ou suivante est palatale ou gutturale.' This is mor clearly put p. 72: *xi*=ƨ·[(ils sont prononcés avec une partie de la surface de la langue plus près de sa partie moyenne, et sur la limite du palais et des gencives), *xa*=ƨ·] (un peu plus en avant, etc.).

His description of ƨ, ƨ is vague (p. 46): 'Les réduites *s* sourde et sonore ne sont que *x* et *j* atténués.' P. 48 he says of them that they 'deviennent plus palatalisées lorsqu'elles se trouvent en conjonction avec des voyelles palatales.' So, also, p. 72: *is*=[ƨ·, *as*=]ƨ·.

G.V. p. 49, says that *t* and *d* ar formd much nearer the teeth than the Fr. sounds, implying that they ar formd on the gums.

9. Acording to G.V. p. 50, *d* is generaly ʊ between vowels, even in different words. As to ɛ, he says, p. 46, that there ar no 'fricatives gutturales' in Portugueze.

10. G.V. p. 73, note, givs also the pron. of *quasi* as ɑɨ]ɾsſ.

13. Acording to G.V. p. 57, unstrest *e* and *i* both becum ſ befor ƨ and ɛ, while befor other cons. *i* keeps its full. sound, and *e* becums ɪ̈. 'Dans une suite de syllabes atones dont la voyelle sera toujours *i*, le dernier *i* seulement garde le son qui lui est propre; ceux des syllabes qui le précèdent se prononcent ɪ̈'. He givs as examples *ministro, militar* ꝼɪ̈·ɔſƨɾɔɯɫ, ꝼɪ̈ɯſ·ɔ]ɯ, *vicejar, privilegiado* ⊃ɪ̈sſ·ɛ]ɯ, ɒɯɪ̈⊃ɪ̈ɯſɛɾ·]ɯɫ. I cannot trace these laws in the pron. of my teacher.

P. 58 he gives the pron. of initial unstrest *em* as ſɩ, as in *entrar*. This my teacher admitted. He makes initial *e* ſ befor ƨ, ɛ, ſ befor other conss.: *elogio* ſɯɫ·ɛſɨ, *esposo* ſ·ƨɒ}sɫ. I find that the unstrest *e* befor *st*, etc., is so faintly sounded that its existence is often doubtful, but it sounds to me mor ɪ̈ than ſ or ſ.

16. *ou* generaly = } or } ɾindifferently, especialy befor ɯ. G.V. 61.

17. G.V. p. 68, does not giv nazality to the *e* of *penna*, etc.

18. Acording to G.V. p. 88, the differences of stress ar greater than in Italian, almost as great as in E.

The only mention of whisper by G.V. is where he atributes it to the second element of diphthongs, p. 33.

19. 'Ces élisions de l'*e* muet sont assez capricieuses.' G.V. 67.

24. G.V. 60, 1, gives *tei-em, doi-em, põi-em*, etc., with inserted *i*.

If my paper had apeard befor M. Vianna's, I might hav claimd the merit of having added considerably to our knoledg of the language; as it is, I can only claim that of having, with the help of Visibl Speech, perhaps defined the formation of sum of the sounds mor closely. I only hope that M. Vianna

may be induced to publish a complete grammar and chrestomathy of this beautiful and interesting language on a fonetic basis.

V. — THE BOSWORTH-TOLLER ANGLO-SAXON DICTIONARY. By James Platt, Jun., Esq.

Of this only the first half (*a—hwistlian*) has appeared, half of which (*a—firgenstréam*) is said in Toller's preface to have been "finally revised" at Bosworth's death, while so much progress had been made with "some succeeding sheets" that it would have been a matter of considerable difficulty to make any but slight alterations in them. It is a pity the University did not cancel the whole on the author's death. We cannot suppose that a wish to avoid trouble or expense or anything but regard for Bosworth's memory determined them to carry it through the press, yet even then one would think they erred. Would it not have been far better for Bosworth's memory to have let the good he did live after him, the evil lie interred with his bones, rather than to have thus raked up all the errors of the infant Anglo-Saxon scholarship of his time and republished them in this year of grace 1882, a confession of Englishmen's ignorance of the philology of their own tongue? And, what is almost as bad, since no eminent scholar would link his name with such a work, the carrying of it through has had to be entrusted to an as yet unknown hand; whereas a dictionary needs above all things the very best scholarship of its time, especially in the case of an ambitious work like this, issued by our great University and fountain of highest learning, and therefore to be reasonably looked on by the world as the flower of all that the English school of Anglo-Saxon can do. As it is, the continuation of the work by Toller appears to be almost as bad as the commencement of it by Bosworth—and that is saying a great deal. It is painful to have to speak thus, but no one who has the dear "Old English" tongue of Cædmon and Cynewulf, Ælfred and Ælfríc and Wulfstán, as much at heart as I

have, could well say less in such an extreme case as that of this Bosworth-Toller Dictionary. The following few remarks may prove useful to its readers. A thorough criticism it would be impossible to give—a re-writing of the whole book would be easier. Even a first glance at the dictionary shows a chaos of bad arrangement. The letters *æ, ea, eo, þ* are treated as *a-e, e-a, e-o, t-h,* the short vowels are not divided from the long, and there is no system followed in spelling the catch-words—almost every Anglo-Saxon word occurs in several spellings with full quotations to each place, and no kind of indication whatever as to the relative value, age, or dialect of the various orthographies. The miserable student is lost among endless varieties, such as *abbad, abbod, abbot, abbud* (abbot); *fleah, fleó, flié, fliò, flig* (albugo); *gæst, gest, giest, gist, gyst* (guest); running in some cases all over the alphabet, thus *ældu, eldo,* and, following up the same principle in the coming half, *ieldu, ildu, yldu* (age); how is he to know that *ældu* is Mercian and Northumbrian, *eldu* Kentish and Oldest West Saxon, *ieldu, ildu* 9th century West Saxon, and *yldu* late West Saxon spelling of one and the same word? Then the confusion is worse confused by the introduction of swarms of illegitimate catch-words; inflections like the præt. *abealh, abulgan,* and participle *abolgen,* from *abelgan* (anger), one inflectional form often occurring in various spellings, as *frægin, frægn, fræng, fregn* (præt. of *frignan*), etc.; phrases like *beforan gestihtian* (ordain before) treated as if they were one word and not two; and words actually inserted solely in order to tell us they do *not* occur in Anglo-Saxon, as in the case of *blindan!* And worst of all is the confusion caused by such frequent pieces of carelessness as giving *béad* with no reference but "v. *béada,*" when upon our finding *béada* there is also no reference but "v. *béad*"; *flaxfóte, floxfóte, flohtenfóte* (web foot), with a reference for *flaxfóte* only; *frictrung* with instructions to "v. *freht*" (divination), and *hænan* with instructions to "v. *hán*" (stone), when neither *freht* nor *hán* (both important words) are to be found; *geónian* (long *ó*) with "v. *gýnian*" (long *ý*), and when we find *gynian* (short *y*)

"v. *ginian*," and upon finding *ginian* (gape) "v. *geonian*" (short *o*); *handcláþ* as *n.* and *herecumbol* as *m.*, while (and correctly) *cláþ* (cloth) is marked *m.* and *cumbol* (ensign) *n.* In this matter of gender mistakes are very frequent, as the lexicographer has volunteered too freely without seeking for and giving evidence that would prove the gender of the word. *Ancléo* (ancle) is not *m.* at all but *n.*, *ád* (pile) is *n.* as well as *m.*, *ádl* (disease) is *n.* as well as *f.*, *æfest* (envy) is not *n.* at all but *m.*, *f.*, *ǽrist* (resurrection) is *n.* as well as *m.*, *f.*, *bismer* (contumely) is *m.* as well as *n.*, *færeld* (journey) is *m.* as well as *n.*, *fierst* is not *m.* only but *n.* also in the sense of "time," while in that of "ceiling" it is not *m.* at all but *f.*, *fulluht* (baptism) is *m.*, *f.*, as well as *n.*, *geár* (year) is *m.* as well as *n.*, *hǽþ* is not *f.* but *m.*, *n.*, *hwǽtesmedema* (wheatmeal) is not *f.* but *m.*, and so on in numerous other instances; and such is the force of habit and the helplessness of the lexicographer that he often puts his chimerical gender to a word when *his own quotations* next following and proving the gender give him the lie, thus *andlifen* (sustenance) is given as *n.*, *ceder* (ceder) as *f.*, *Cent* (Kent) as *n.*, *hielfe* (helve) as *m.*, *n.*?, in the teeth of the clear evidence of the quotations that *andlifen* is *f.*, *ceder n.*, *Cent f.*, and *hielfe f.!* So, too, in the case of inflections, the Dictionary's own quotations show it to be wrong in the declension it assigns to *ác* (oak), *hnutu* (nut), and other words. This unlooked-for ignorance of Anglo-Saxon grammar appears also in numberless other cases. Thus, when our doubt is excited by such an unheard-of catch-word as *abboda*, and we eagerly look to the one reference given to see if it is justified, we find that it is not so, the *abbodan* therein, on which the lexicographer founds his *abboda*, being clearly a dat. plur. in the *an* for *um* of the late texts. Then we find *andwarde* given as another form of *andweard* (present) on the strength of *þis andwarde*, and *ælfscinu* as an alternative of *ælfscine* (fair as an elf) on the strength of *ides ælfscinu*, though in both cases any tyro might have seen that the final vowels are inflectional. Then we find *béd* and *gebéd* (prayer) with plur. in *-u* in defiance of the law that long neuter monosyllables have no *u* in the plural, the few *i*-stems like *wuht* (wight) of course

excepted. *Cucon* is given as an adjective from the accusative *cuconne* (alive). *Gefe* is given as *nominative* from the accusative *gefe* Bede 516 (from *giefu*, gift). *Gefole* (with foal) is given with final *e* against all laws of mutation. Under *gemeltan* (melt) a *gemyltan* is given as a quotation, while an infinitive *gemieltan* is coined from the third person *gemielt*. *Geneatscólu*, *handscólu* (shoal) violate the laws that *u* is lost at the end of long *á*-feminines. *Hádor* (brightness) is of course *n.*, not *m.*, like all adjectives used as nouns. "*Hal n.*" and "*heal m. n.!*" are one and the same word, as "*healh m.*" (corner). *Hátan*, *heht* (name) and *hátan*, *hátte* are not *two* verbs. *Henna* (hens) is fem. plural and not a strong masc. nominative singular. *Húþe* as a fem. nom. is quite incompatible with the quotations, which point clearly to *húþ* (spoil). *Hwat* as the singular of *hwata* is impossible, *hwæt* (divination) is the only form possible by the primary rules of Anglo-Saxon grammar. But the Dictionary does not really seem to care much for those rules, as the above examples and many others show. And its knowledge of other Teutonic languages and of comparative philology generally appears small. We meet with false quantities in abundance, *ascian*, *geascian*, *béd*, *gebéd*, *bórian*, *býsig*, *dóhtor*, *dór*, *dúru*, *gedýre*, *ég* in flat contradiction to *hæg*, *cocu* in flat contradiction to *feówer*, *eóten*, the very absurd split-up of *for* into *for* and *fór*, *forleóle*, *gælsa* in flat contradiction to *gál*, *hlæder* in the teeth of the Germ. *leiter* quoted under it, similarly *hlutor* in defiance of the adduced Germ. *lauter*, and *hrídrian* in the face of the Germ. *reitern* there quoted, and so forth. *A'nliepe* (single) cannot be Germ. *einläufig*. The O.H.G. *ámeiza* is quoted under *ámete* (ant), yet the lexicographer does not see that it shows the absurdity of his derivation from *á* and *mete*. *Blétsian* (bless) is not Goth. *bleiþjan*. The ending *erne* in *norþerne* (northern) is taken from *ærn* in the face of the Icel. *rænn*, O.H.G. *róni*. So the superlatival *est* is absurdly taken from the noun *ést*. *Ége* is not Germ. *ewig*. *Ferian* (convey) cannot be Goth. *farjan*, Icel. *ferja* and O.S. *fórian*, Germ. *führen*, at one and the same time. *Fréa* (lord) is not from **freaha*. *Grítan* (groats) can have no connection with Icel. *grautr*. And so

examples might be multiplied—but I will only give one more, the worst of all, *abitweonum* (between) from Sansk. *abhi!*

After all this we are not surprised when Bosworth entirely mistranslates the not very difficult line of Icelandic (from the *Alvissmál*, he does not say so) dragged in without any particular reason under *béor*. "*Ol heitir meþ monnum, en meþ Á'sum bior,*" does *not* mean that both men and Æsir call ale "beer." It means that what men call "ale" is called "beer" by the Æsir.

The dictionary does not even seem to know what a compound word is. Two or more words like *beforan gestihtian* (ordain before) are often treated as one; compounds are often treated as if two or more words; thus *béanpisan* is given as a quotation (and the only one) to *béan* (bean); *Éast-Engle, Éast-Seaxe,* as quotations to a supposed adjective *éast;* and *éastweard* (eastward) as quotation to an equally visionary noun *éast.*

The leaning of the dictionary on the work of others is the same old family complaint from which all our Anglo-Saxon dictionaries have so far suffered, Lye copying wholesale and without acknowledgment from Junius, all his successors carrying on the tradition. It is time we left off reprinting Junius with variations and produced an original work. At the least the present dictionary should have had some search of the printed texts made for it, putting manuscripts out of the question; were this done, it would not have to give so many words with no quotation at all against them, only sometimes "Leo," "Lye," etc., sometimes not even that, and it would also find many words which at present it does not contain at all. To get an idea of the extent of its defects in the last respect, I examined its first 32 pages, and the following is a list of 128 words out of my own collections made from printed texts but not contained in those 32 pages—an average of 4 words per page not to be found in the dictionary at all!

Abæran, abb, ablacian, abláwnes, ablegnian, ablindian, abrædan, abúrian, acæglian, acenness, acwacian, acwielman,

adihtian, adíefan, adustrian, aefesian, aéhtan, afandodlic, afierman, afígan, aflíegness, afollic, agnere, agnídan, agrápian, agrétan, agyltend, agyltung, ahangian, ahátan, ahátian, ahieldendlic, ahíeran, ahlýtran, ahopian, ahrǽcan, ácbearu, ácstybb, áctán, ádexa, ádfine, ádlung, ágenlice, ágnett, álfæt, æcerbrǽdu, æcerdíc, æcerfeld, æcergeard, æcerhege, æcermǽlum, æcersplott, æcertýnung, æcerweg, æcerweorc, æferþe, æfesc, æfgǽlþu, æfgeréfa, æfgrynde, æfgydel, æfterǽ, æftergeng, æfterrǽpe, æfwela, ælepe, ælmesdǽd, ælmesfull, ælmesgedál, ælmesgiefu, ælmeshláf, ælmesléoht, ælmeslice, ælmesmann, ælmespenning, ælmesriht, ælmessielen, ælmesweorc, ælmidde, ælmihtigness, ælren, æmettan, æppelberende, æppelcynn, æppelþorn, æscbacen, æscbedd, æscstubb, æscstybb, æsprind, æthrín, æþelforþingwyrt, æþelinghád, ǽbrucol, ǽfæstlic, ǽfengeweorc, ǽfenglóma, ǽfenglómung, ǽgafol, ǽggemang, ǽgsciell, ǽhefig, ǽheard, ǽhiwe, ǽlagol, ǽláréow, ǽmetbedd, ǽmynde, ǽmyrie, ǽrendschip, ǽrhwíl, ǽríefe, ǽrísthyht, ǽrlic, ǽrmorgenlic, ǽsceatt, ǽscyldgend, ǽsmæl, ǽsmogu, ǽswiceness, ǽtan, ǽweweard, ǽwegebróþor, ǽwiell, ǽwielma, ǽwiscfiren, ǽwisclic, ǽwrit.

Any space thus gained is absorbed by a strong tendency on the part of the Dictionary to act as a history or encyclopædia as well as in its legitimate function. This is particularly noticeable under the proper names, which, by the way, ought scarcely to find place in a Dictionary at all. Thus under the names of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs we are treated to a synopsis of their reigns; under "Brunanburg" we find a whole page descriptive of place and battle and including copious extracts from the poem; under "Cynewulf" Kemble's account of the Vercelli runes is given in full, with the 30 lines of verse containing them; and so on.

The room would have been better occupied by more attempt at etymology. As it is now, we are told that *gebærnan* (burn) is from *ge* and *bærnan*, that *gemótstów* (meeting-place) is from *gemót* and *stów*, and other things equally obvious at first sight to any novice, but scarcely any attempt is made to explain less clear words, even such easy ones as *hláford* (lord).

On opening the Dictionary it was refreshing to see the

verbal prefix *a* without the unjustifiable long accent which many scholars, some of whom ought to have known better, have made so familiar to us in this connection. It was, however, disappointing to find that the Dictionary could give no reason for the faith that was in it beyond the absurd argument that the *a* was short because some verbs occur without it! Impossible as it may seem, this is actually the argument given, the examples quoted being such as that *aberan=beran!* I will therefore give my own reasons for the shortness of the *a* and at the same time facts about some other prefixes which will strengthen the argument, and enable readers of the Dictionary to correct it in many errors caused by its ignorance of them.

The key to the right understanding of the subject is that these prefixes are accented before nouns and adjectives, which they therefore deprive of their own stress, while before verbs they are unaccented, the verb bearing the stress. Hence in the older language they always have two forms, as in the following table, a fuller one before nouns and adjectives and a shorter one before verbs, a distinction which the later tongue also generally keeps up, its chief inaccuracy being in the *oþ* verbs, which often substitute the accented form *æt.* It will be noticed that the unaccented prefixes *a* and *on* each correspond to *two* accented prefixes.

PREFIXES ACCENTED.	PREFIXES UNACCENTED.
á-rist (resurrection)	*a-risan* (arise)
or-þanc (device)	*a-þencan* (devise)
an-ginn (beginning)	*on-ginnan* (begin)
and-giet (understanding)	*on-gietan* (understand)
æf-þunca (grudge)	*of-þyncan* (anger)
æt-grápe (aggressive)	*oþ-gripan* (attack)
bi-geng (practice)	*be-gangan* (practise)
fra-coþ (bad)	*for-cýþan* (reduce)

The prefix *ge* also originally belonged to this class and, although *ge* afterwards came into general use before nouns and adjectives, there are still some instances in which the old

accented form *ga* is preserved, which, from their interest, I give in full.

ga-fol (tribute, Gothic *ga-baur*) from *ge-beran.*
ga-gol, gæ-gl (wanton) from **ga-gál.*
ga-men (game) from **ga-mann.*
ga-mol (old) from **ga-mél.*
ga-nóg (enough, Laws, Pastoral) old form of *ge-nóg.*
gea-sceaft (fate, Poetry) old form of *ge-sceaft.*
gea-tíwe (equipments) another form of *ge-táwe.*

The reason assigned by those scholars who mark the verbal prefix *a* long is that it is contracted from original *ar.* It is true that *ar* must have originally yielded *á*, but this original *á could* not *remain á* in Anglo-Saxon (except before *w*). It *must* by law become West-Saxon *ǽ*, dialectal *é*, and *that* is just what we find in Anglo-Saxon *before nouns and adjectives*, that is, *when it bore the stress*, as in the example *ǽrist*, dialectal *érist*, above quoted. The *a* before verbs is therefore clearly a shortening of original *á*, arising from the fact that *before verbs* it was *unaccented*, the verb bearing the stress. This is quite in accord with the case of the only other prefix which is long before nouns and adjectives, namely *bí*, which shortens to *be* before verbs just as *ǽ* shortens to *a*. And in modern English the quantitative distinctions are still kept up in both cases, thus the nouns *oa-kum* (Anglo-Saxon *ǽ-cumba*), *by-way*, have long prefixes while the verbs *a-rise, be-come* have short ones. A further proof, if one was needed, is that the verb *ar-æfnan*, where the *r* of the prefix was retained because the verb began with a vowel, was wrongly analysed by the Anglo-Saxon popular etymology (and is still by Bosworth in the Dictionary) as *a-ræfnan* on the analogy of other words prefixed with *a*, hence *ræfnan* is found used as the simple verb instead of the correct *æfnan*, whereas *ar-æfnan* could never have been taken as *á-ræfnan* with change of quantity in the prefix. The acute accent in the manuscripts indicates only a secondary, fluctuating lengthening for Anglo-Saxon in this prefix and others, such as *un-*, but not handed down to Modern English.

At the reading of this paper, in reference to the law above laid down that in Germanic all prefixes are accented before nouns and adjectives but unaccented before verbs, Dr. Murray pointed out the interesting fact that this national tendency was the cause, hitherto unknown, of the existence in English of the different accentuations of the first and second of such pairs as the noun "rebel" and the verb "rebel," the adjective "abject" and the verb "abject," etc.

My remaining space will only permit a few miscellaneous notes on the Dictionary. *Ange* is no adjective, but an adverb to the adjective *enge* (narrow), like *sófte* to *séfte* (soft) and some others. The use of the adverb with "on his móde" is the regular idiom. *Æbesn* is an abnormal form, *æf-esn* is the correct; I derive it from *æf* and **esn*, the Gothic *asans*, harvest, the *æfesn* being a payment made off the harvest. *Abeþecian* cannot be from *a*, *be*, and *þeccan*; I would take it from *a* and the *bedecian* (beg) in the "Pastoral Care" (not in the Dictionary), either the *d* or the *þ* being wrong. *Æl* (fuscinula) Icel. *alr* is quite different from *áwol* (fascinula) Icel. *ál*. The mistake *ǽtterloppe* should not be given and derived from *loppe* when the correct *átorcoppe* (cob in cobweb, spider) also occurs, just afterwards. *Bec* is wrong, it should be *bæc* (plural *bacas* in the Charters), which in fact the quotation has, only Bosworth thought he knew better. *Bedrida* does not come from *bedriden*, an idea doubtless derived from our modern form *bedridden; rida* is "rider," formed like *slaga* "slayer" and many others. *Bilewite* (not *bilewit* as the Dictionary has it; it is often uncertain about final *e*; *dígol* for *dígle* is another example) "simple" is not from *bile* and *hwit*, "white-billed," but as the Dictionary also correctly derives the second element from *witt* (wit) in another place, we scarcely know which of the two contradictory etymologies we are intended to prefer; for *bile* compare Germ. *billig*. *Bátswán*, which never occurs in Anglo-Saxon and from which our *boatswain could* not come, is given, necessarily without quotation, while *bátswegn*, which *does* occur and from which our *boatswain* is derived, is not given at all. *Béo-cere* (bee-keeper) is not to be found in its place; when we accidentally

come across it, it is under *béo-ceorl* though a different etymology is assigned to it; the *c* before the ending *ere* is interesting, compare *bæþcere* (bather). *Breden, bryden,* does not mean "broad," either in the quotation from the Chronicle or the still better place in the Homilies, where Thorpe also wrongly says "broad," in spite of the clearness of the text which, by contrasting *stǽnen weall* and *bryden wáh,* shows it to be derived from *bred* "board," and affords an interesting proof of the difference between *weall* (stone wall) and *wág* (plank wall). Under *byrdicge* "plumaria" has been misunderstood; it is the feminine to "plumarius," "embroideress"; this is however excusable, as the feminine ending *icge* is my own discovery; other instances of it are *drýicge* (witch) and *hunticge* (huntress), both unknown to the Dictionary, *scericge, sealticge* (female dancer), and (given me by Sweet from his "Oldest English Texts") *wælcricge,* a corruption of *wælcyrge* through the analogy of the ending *icge; icge* is an Old Low German peculiarity, the Dutch still preserving it in *dieregge* (female thief). Another Dictionary statement we cannot blame, since it is generally accepted, is the derivation of *gese* (yes) from *geá* and *sí*; I would suggest as preferable *geá* and *swá; swá* even when uncompounded often actually appears as *se* (examples in Grein). Another etymology that might be inserted is that of a small group of words from *haga* (hedge); *hæysteald, hæyþorn* of course, also *hægtiss* (witch, the feminine ending *iss* appears also in the *forlegiss* of the Pastoral), *hagorûn* (spell), and *hagospind* (cheek), the hedging or bounding "spind" (fat) of the face, the *hago* in these last two being the archaic form of *haga.*

Finally I must say it is surprising that of the many corrections of Bosworth's former Dictionary made by Cockayne nearly twenty years ago, only part have found their way into this new edition; the old deficiencies in the cases of *écumba, anweald, binn, brýdlác, begang, hearma,* and other words, which we had imagined entirely disposed of, appearing here again with a fresh lease of life. It certainly shows inadequacy of preparation for this present edition of Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

VI.—THE ETYMOLOGY OF "SURROUND." By the Rev. Professor SKEAT.

THE etymology of *surround* is probably less obvious than it seems to be. I find that Mahn, like myself, derives it from the prefix *sur-* and the adj. *round.* Johnson derives it from the Fr. *surronder,* which is an unscrupulous fiction, there being no such word. A moment's reflection will shew that *sur-round* is a very extraordinary compound; it would be difficult to assign any intelligible meaning to such a Latin word as *super-rotundare,* and I believe that *sur-round,* as it stands, is utter nonsense.

The history of the word I cannot fully trace, though perhaps the "Dictionary" slips might help us. But I may remark that the word is rather late, occurring neither in Shakspere nor in the Bible. The earliest examples given in the dictionaries are all from Milton. Milton uses the word seven times in his poems, and I have little doubt of two facts: (1) that Milton is the author whose example has made the present use of the word common; and (2) that Milton misunderstood the word, and has misled all his followers. He speaks of "These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry *Surround* me, as thou seest," P. L. ii. 795. The other examples are not worth quoting, as they all shew precisely the same use; the references are: P. L. i. 346, iii. 46; Comus, 403; Ode on the Nativity, 199; Psalm v. 39; and Psalm vii. 26. The word is not given in Blount's Glossographia, 1674; but in Coles's Dictionary of 1684, published ten years after Milton's death, we find "*Surround,* to compass about." I submit that he took this from Milton, and of course we find the same explanation in Phillips, who was Milton's nephew, and in every English Dictionary, I suppose, of a later date.

But if we try to find traces of the word earlier than Milton, we find at least two that are very remarkable. Minsheu, in

1627, notices the word, but does not explain it. He merely says: "SURROUND: *vide* to OVERFLOW." Sherwood's index to Cotgrave gives: "*Surround*, or overflow, *oultre couler*." Cotgrave himself gives: "*Oultre couler*, to surround, or overflow." Now this suggests quite a different idea, and throws us back upon the notion of a Low Lat. *superundare*, and *sur-ound* with one *r*: we are all well accustomed to the syllable *-ound* from its occurrence in the compound *ab-ound*. *Super-undare* is merely a Low Latin equivalent of Lat. *ex-undare*, to overflow: so that a new history of the word is thus opened out to us. Now although the Fr. *surronder*, with two *rs*, as in Johnson's Dictionary, is (as I think) a fiction, a Fr. *suronder*, with one *r*, is real enough. It is entirely obsolete in modern French, but that is of no consequence. It is duly recorded by the faithful Cotgrave, who gives "*suronder*, to float upon the waves," clearly the same word, with a somewhat different meaning, easily evolved out of *super-undare*. But the sense given by Cotgrave does not seem to have been the old one, nor the sense most usual. Burguy gives *soronder*, to overflow; Roquefort gives *soronder*, to overflow, also to abound, with an example from Rutebuef in which *soronde* means 'abounds'; and in my list of English words found in Anglo-French, I give three examples of the verb *surounder* or *surunder*, to overflow. I give these under the heading "Surround," by way of suggesting a connection between the English and the French words. One of the examples is remarkable, occurring in the Vie de St. Auban, ed. Atkinson, l. 1029. We there find: "Fort est a cunbatre a flot qu'est *surunde*," which the editor explains by 'it is difficult to fight against a body of water which is risen high in waves,' or, as we might say, 'a surging wave.' Now it seems to me that this is just where the confusion of ideas comes in. A man on a projecting portion of land finds himself cut off by the tide: he finds it difficult to contend with the 'flot qu'est surunde,' *i.e.* with the advancing waves. They overflow his small territory on all sides, and, in fact, [illegible] him.

I think I have shewn cause for supposing that, when the

F. word *suronder*, to overflow, was adopted into English, it was at first used in its true sense. A *surrounding* wave was, at first, an *overflowing* wave; but the word was actually spelt, from the first, with two *r*s, with the inevitable result that the sense of '*round* about' was imported into the word, so that ere long 'a *surrounding* wave' was regarded as an *encircling* or *encompassing* wave. Milton was one of those who misunderstood the word, and his authority settled its use for many succeeding generations. To restore its true sense is now impossible; but we have here a good example of the power of English to change the sense of imported words. I may add that the doubling of the *r* seems to have been originally merely pseudo-phonetic, as it occurs in Cotgrave and Minsheu before any change took place in the sense. Such doubling is very common after a short accented vowel, as in *marry*, *carry*, *berry*, *cherry*, *morrow*, *borrow*, and the like. Perhaps it was influenced by the spelling of *surrender*.

I may remark that the word is not noticed at all by Mr. Wedgwood.[1]

VII. — OLD ENGLISH VERBS IN -CGAN, AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT HISTORY. By Dr. J. A. H. Murray.

I am not aware that atention has as yet been calld to an interesting point in the history of OE. verbs in *-cgan*, such as *bycgan*, *lecgan*, *secgan*, which I hav recently workt out in writing the articl Allay in the Dictionary, and which I did not know when I wrote Abye, when it would hav enabled me to understand better the relation of the many ME. forms of that word. The Gothic conjugation of these vbs. goes thus:

[1] I have left this paper in its original form, as read before the Society. The notes in the Phil. Soc. Proceedings, at p. xvi, shew that it requires correction in many points of detail. I still think that Dr. Johnson's and Bailey's Fr. *surronder* was a mere guess, or else they would have known its meaning.—W. W. S.

Pres. *lagja, lagjis, lagjiþ; lagjum, lagjiþ, lagjand.* Impf. *lagida.* Imper. *lagei, lagjiþ.* Inf. *lagjan.* Pple. pres. *lagjand;* pa. *lagid.* Whense, by regular fonetic change, the *-gj-* becoming *g* simply before orig. *-i*; but *-cg-* before *a, o, u,* in OE. Pres. *lęcge, lęgest, lęgeþ, lęcgaþ.* Imperf. *lęgde.* Imper. *lęge, lęcgaþ.* Inf. *lęcgan.* Pple. pres. *lęcgende,* pa. *lęgd.* In late OE. *-cg-* must hav been nearly (as I think Mr. Sweet has already on other grounds said)=modern *-g-* in *ginger*; *g* nearly=*y*; for in ME. the conjugation was Pres. *legge, leyest, ley(e)th; leggen.* Impf. *leyde.* Imperat. *leye, leggeth.* Inf. *legge(n).* Pple. pres. *legging,* pa. *leyd, leid.* The *gg* was often writn *dg,* and was our *g* in *ledge,* riming with Fr. words like *abredge.* About 1400, a leveling of forms took place; the type *ley, lay* was extended to all forms; the type *legge, ledge* disapeared; we hav no mor *legge,* only *lay*; no mor *sedging,* only *saying*; no mor *abidge,* only *abye.* There is a partial parallel in *-cc-* vbs. like *feccan,* fetch. Not only does this throw instructiv light on the late OE. value of *ge,* and *cg,* and *cc* (nearly=mod. *tch,* in fetch, etc.), but it provides an interesting parallel to the fonetic history of French and Ital. vbs., where, from purely fonetic laws, there was a similar split-up of one original sound into two. Thus in OFr., Lat. *plicāre* gave in pres. tense acording to the pozition of L. stress, Pres. *pleie, pleies, pleiet, plions, pliez, pleient.* Imperf. *plioit.* Imper. *pleie, pliez.* Infin. *plier.* Pple. pres. *pliant.* Pa. *pliet.* In late OFr. these differences were leveld, by extending either *ei,* or *i* all thru; sumtimes as in *plicāre,* by extending both and splitting up the old vb. into two, mod. Fr. *plier* and *ployer*; Eng. dis-*play,* de-*ploy.* Stil mor like O. and ME. is the Ital., where, as pointed out by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, Lat. *video, vides, videt, videmus, videtis, rident* becum *veggio, vedi, vede, veggiamo, vedete, vedono. Videbam* is *vedeva;* but *videam* is *veggia; de* befor a vowel giving *-ggi- dzh;* but *de* befor a cons. remaining *d.*

VIII.—WORDS CONNECTED WITH THE VINE IN LATIN AND THE NEO-LATIN DIALECTS.[1] By H.I.H. PRINCE LOUIS-LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

PROFESSOR J. P. POSTGATE'S very interesting paper "On the Latin words for grapes," printed in the first volume of the "Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society," induces me to extract from my manuscript "Lexicon Comparativum omnium Linguarum Europæarum" and present to the Cambridge Philological Society the following list of words connected with the vine and numbering over two hundred, not only in Latin, Low Latin, and in what I consider its fifteen derivative languages, but also in as many of their dialects, sub-dialects and varieties (about one hundred and forty) as it has been possible for me to collect, either from the most accredited lexicographers, or during my frequent excursions, undertaken with a merely linguistical object, from 1843 to 1869, throughout numerous localities of France, Switzerland, the two Neo-Latin Peninsulas, and their adjacent islands. This list, notwithstanding its being nothing more than a rich comparative collection of words without any etymological comment, yet may be useful, as a supplementary help, to those who might feel inclined to continue or extend Prof. Postgate's etymological researches on this attractive topic.

My object then, at present, is simply comparative; and, in order to obtain the nearest equivalent of each English word or definition in the several languages, dialects, sub-dialects, and varieties, I have not so much depended on bi-lingual lexical works, as on definitions given by the most accredited native authors of classical and standard

[1] Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society* for 1881–1882.

national dictionaries, vocabularies, collections of words, etc. In languages or dialects, however, which I have spoken from childhood, or of which I have a practical knowledge acquired on the spot, I have acted on my own responsibility. Such are Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, as well as the vulgar Florentine and Roman Italian dialects and the Gallo-Italic Bolognese.

Besides the numerous manuscript collections of words, which I have been able to gather from the countries where Neo-Latin dialects are spoken, the following are the principal printed works which my linguistic library has permitted me to consult, and which I have generally followed as being the best authorities.

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Explanation of the Abbreviations used in the following List.

N.B.—The figures show the languages according to the list (which see).

Abr.	Abruzzese, dial. 2.	*Dauph.*	Dauphinois, subd. 12; dial. 13.
Agén.	Agénois, subd. 12.	*Eng.*	Engadinese, dial. 9; var. 9.
Alatr.	Alatrino, var. 2.	*Ferr.*	Ferrarese, dial. 7.
Ang.	Angevin, subd. 15.	[1] *Flor.*	FLORENTINE, DIAL. 2.
Aost.	Aostan, dial. 13.	[1] *For.*	FORÉZIEN, DIAL. 13.
Arag.	Aragonese, subd. 4.	*Fourg.*	Fourgois, var. 13.
Ard.	Ardennois, subd. 15.	*Franc.*	Franc-Comtois, dial. 13.
Ast.	Asturian, dial. 4.	*Frib.*	Fribourgeois, dial. 13.
Auv.	Auvergnat, dial. 12.	*Gal.*	Galician, subd. 5.
Bar.	Barese, subd. 2.	*Gasc.*	Gascon, dial. 12.
Bay.	Bayonnais, var. 12.	*Gen.*	Genevese, var. 13.
Béarn.	Béarnais, subd. 12.	*Gruér.*	Gruérin, subd. 13.
Beir.	Beirão, var. 5.	*Guern.*	Guernesiais, var. 15.
Bell.	Bellunese, subd. 2.	*Jur.*	Jurassien, subd. 13.
Berc.	Berciano, var. 5.	*Lang.*	Languedocien, dial. 12.
Berg.	Bergamasco, dial. 7.	*Lill.*	Lillois, subd. 15.
Berr.	Berrichon, subd. 15.	*Lim.*	Limousin, dial. 12; subd. 12.
Bol.	Bolognese, dial. 2.	*Lorr.*	Lorrain, dial. 15.
Bresc.	Bresciano, subd. 7.	*Lucch.*	Lucchese, var. 2.
Bress.	Bressan, dial. 13.	*Maj.*	Majorcan, var. 11.
Briv.	Brivadois, subd. 12.	*Manc.*	Manceau, subd. 15.
Broy.	Broyard, dial. 13.	*Mant.*	Mantovano, subd. 7.
Burg.	Burgundian, dial. 15.	*March.*	Marchigiano, var. 2; subd. 2.
Castr.	Castrais, subd. 12.	*Ment.*	Mentonese, dial. 6.
Cév.	Cévenol, subd. 12.	*Mess.*	Messin, subd. 15.
Champ.	Champenois, subd. 15.	[1] *Mil.*	MILANESE, DIAL. 7.
Com.	Comasco, var. 5.		
Cors.	Corsican, subd. 2.		
Crem.	Cremasco, var. 7.		
Cremn.	Cremonese, subd. 7.		

[1] Names printed in small capitals show the dialects which represent the whole language.

Min. Minorcan, var. 11.
Minh. Minhoto, var. 5.
Mir. Mirandolese, var. 7.
Mod. Modenese, subd. 7.
Mont. Montois, subd. 15.
Montb. Montbéliardais, subd. 15.
Montp. Montpelliérain, subd. 12.
Morv. Morvandeau, subd. 15.
Nam. Namurois, subd. 15.
Narb. Narbonnais, subd. 12.
Neap. Neapolitan, dial. 2.
Neuf. Neufchâtelois, dial. 13.
Niç. Niçard, subd. 12.
Niv. Nivernais, subd. 15.
Norm. Norman, dial. 15.
Oberh. Oberhalbsteinisch, subd. 9.
[1] *Oberl.* OBERLÄNDISCH, DIAL. 9.
Pad. Padovano, subd. 2.
Parm. Parmesan, dial. 7.
Pav. Pavese, subd. 7.
Perch. Percheron, subd. 15.
Piac. Piacentino, subd. 7.
Pic. Picard, dial. 15.
Piedm. Piedmontese, dial. 7.
Pis. Pisan, var. 2.
Poit. Poitevin, dial. 15.
Querc. Quercinois, var. 12.
Queyr. Queyrassien, var. 12.
Regg. Reggiano, subd. 7.
Rioj. Riojano, var. 4.
Rom. Roman, var. 2.
Romg. Romagnuolo, dial. 7.
Rouch. Rouchi, subd. 15.
Rouerg. Rouergat, dial. 12.
Rov. Roveretano, subd. 2.
Saint. Saintongeais, subd. 15.
Sass. Sassarese, dial. 2.
Sav. Savoyard, dial. 13.
Sic. Sicilian, dial. 2.
Sienn. Siennese, var. 2.
Tar. Tarantino, dial. 2.
Temp. Tempiese, subd. 2.
Ter. Teramano, subd. 2.
Tic. Ticinese, subd. 7.
Toul. Toulousain, subd. 12.
Tour. Tourangeau, var. 15.
Triest. Triestino, var. 2; subd. 8.
Tyr. Tyrolese, dial. 9.
Val. Valaisan, dial. 13.
Vald. Valdese, var. 7.
Valenc. Valenciano, var. 11.
Valt. Valtellinese, subd. 7.
Vaud. Vaudois, dial. 13.
Ven. Venitian, dial. 2.
Ver. Veronese, subd. 2.
Vierv. Viervetois, var. 15.
Vic. Vicentino, subd. 2.
Vosg. Vosgien, dial. 13; subd. 15.
Wall. Walloon, dial. 15.

OTHER EXPLANATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

acc. according; *accus.* accusative; *coll.* collectively; *dial.* dialect; *East.* Eastern; *fem.* feminine; *North.* Northern; *pl.* plural; *South.* Southern; *subd.* sub-dialect; *var.* variety; *West.* Western; + plus.

By *Bible*, after a Wallachian word, the edition of Jassy, 1865–69, is exclusively meant.

** indicate the Low Latin words, and * is prefixed in every

[1] Names printed in small capitals show the dialects which represent the whole language.

language, dialect, subdialect, or variety to those words which are antiquated, or obsolete, or uncommon, or not very common, or less used, or not principally used, or used in a figurative sense.

Names of localities or explicative words are put in a parenthesis; and, if they be authors' names or titles of works, they are always preceded by the words, *acc. to*, in order to distinguish them from local names.

When the name of one of the sixteen languages is immediately followed by that of its dialect, the word quoted belongs only to the dialect and not to the literary or principal dialect itself by which the whole language is represented.

Orthographical and other Remarks.

This list, although very rich in words connected with the vine, has no pretension to be complete. It is not such for two reasons: firstly, because it has not been in my power to collect all the words of this kind in all the Neo-Latin dialects, sub-dialects, and varieties; and, secondly, because I have purposely excluded from it: 1°. All definitions and compound words (except the English); 2°. Words not exclusively used in speaking of the vine, or at least not more particularly applicable to it; 3°. Regular diminutive or augmentative forms of words, when no accessory idea is added to that of diminution or augmentation; 4°. Names of peculiar qualities of vines or grapes, and those indicating their particular diseases; 5°. Names of operations relating to the culture of the vine; 6°. Names of vessels, etc.; 7°. Adjectives, verbs, and similar words indicating no material object.

The Low Latin and dialectal Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French names are not given when they do not differ more or less in form, meaning, or orthography from those still in use in the standard language to which they belong.

This applies also: 1°. To the Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Friulano, and Romanese words, when they are similar in every respect to the Italian; 2°. To the Catalonian words, when they do not differ from the Spanish and Old Provençal; 3°. To the Provençal words, when they are similar to those of French and Old Provençal; 4°. To the Franco-Provençal

words, if they be the same as those of French, Old French, and Old Provençal; 5°. To the Old French words, if they be similar to the French; 6°. To the French dialectal words, when they do not differ from the Old French; and, when a dialectal word is given in one of the principal dialects of a language, it is not repeated in the other dialects of the same language.

The words of the various languages, dialects, sub-dialects, and varieties contained in this list are generally given in the orthography adopted by the best authors of dialectal dictionaries. To write all these words in a strictly phonetical orthography common to all these forms of speech would have been very desirable; but, unfortunately, what is desirable is not always possible. This is certainly the case at present, not only because a great number of these dialects have never been treated phonetically in any work, but also because the most competent phonetists, even belonging to the same locality, disagree very often amongst themselves in their appreciation of the sounds. In a great number of instances, however, and when it has been possible for me to give my own appreciation of the sounds of those dialects which I know practically or have heard spoken by natives, I have taken upon myself (in the impossibility of applying to them a strictly phonetic orthography) to assist the future phonetists, by adopting several new means[1] for the rendering of certain sounds, as italic letters, small capitals, suppressions of letters, apostrophes, etc., excluding, however, all new characters, which would have altered too much the orthography in general use. I enter into some details:

1. (*a*, æ) are pronounced as *a* in *fat*.

2. (â) is pronounced as the Scotch *a* in "man," *man*.

3. (ă), nearly as *u* in *much*. In Latin, as *a* in *father*, but short.

4. (*é*, e) express generally the French *é*, but (e) sounds sometimes as semi-open *e*; and in the Portuguese usual

[1] Latin, Low Latin, Old Provençal, Old French, and French words are given in their established orthography, and Italian and Spanish words are also, with very few exceptions, retained unaltered. The adoption of these new means, therefore, does not apply, or applies very seldom, to these languages.

orthography (which I have not dared to alter in this particular), (é) sounds as the French *è*. This applies also to the Portuguese dialects.

5. (è) is pronounced as the French *è*.

6. (ê), generally, as the French *ê*, except in Portuguese and its dialects, where it sounds as the French *é*, and in Romg., where it receives a peculiar sound of (4. e), verging slightly to (10. eu), as in "andê," *to go.*

7. (ë), as (4. *é*), but it occurs only in Romg.

8. (ẽ, i*n*, i*m*), as the French *in* in "vin," *wine*, (ẽ) being always atonic.

9. (*e*, '), both as the French *e* in "cheval," *horse.*

10. (eu), as the French *eu* in "peu," *little*, but it occurs in the list with this sound only in Genoese, Piedm., Auv., Jur., Gen., and Franc. Anywhere else (eu) sounds (4. e+21. u).

11. (î), as the Wallachian deep *î*.

12. (ĩ, *in*, *im*), as the Portuguese *im* in "marfim," *ivory.*

13. (ó, o), as the French *o* in "dévot," *devout*, but (o) sounds sometimes as a semi-open *o*; and (ó), in Portuguese, as the French *o* in "dévote," fem. of "dévot." This applies also to the Portuguese dialects.

14. (ò), as the French *o* in "dévote."

15. (ô), generally, as the French *ô*, but in Portuguese and its dialects, as the French *o* in "dévot," and in Romg., as (13. o), verging slightly to (18. œ), as in "côr," *heart.*

16. (ö), as (13. ó), but it occurs only in Romg.

17. (*o*), as *oo* in *food*, but short.

18. (œ), as the French *eu* in "veuf," *widower.*

19. (ou), as (21. u), but it occurs in the list with this sound only in Provençal, Franco-Provençal, French, and their dialects. Anywhere else (ou) is (13. 0+21. u).

20. (òu), as (2. â+21. u), or nearly so.

21. (u), as *oo* in *food*, but short, except in Provençal, Franco-Provençal, French, and their dialects, where (u) is (24. *u*).

22. (û), as *oo* in *good*, or nearly so.

23. (u*n*, u*m*), as French "un," *one.*

24. (*u*), as the French *u*.

25. (*b*, *v*), as the Spanish *b*, a continuous bi-labial sound, as in "haba," *bean*.

26. (c), before *a*, *æ*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and the consonants, or at the end of a word, is generally pronounced as *c* in *calf*, but before *e* and *i* it receives the sound (50. tch) in Italian and its dialects, in the Non-Italian dialects of Italy, and in Wallachian; the sound of (51. th), in Spanish and its dialects and in the Portuguese dialects of Spain; and the sound of *s* in *so*, anywhere else, including Northern Gal.

27. (ch) is pronounced as *c* in *calf* in Italian and its dialects, in the Non-Italian dialects of Italy, and in Wallachian; as (50. tch), in Spanish and its dialects and in the Portuguese dialects of Spain; as the German *ch* in "nacht," *night*, in Saint.; and as the English *ch* anywhere else.

28. (chj), as a sound intermediate between (50. tch) and the palatalized *k*; as in Friulano "ras-chje," *a small bunch of grapes*.

29. (dh), as *th* in *the*.

30. (dj), as the English *j*.

31. (dz), as the Italian *z* in "la zona," *the zone*.

32. (*dd*), as a strong velar *dd*; as in *Sic.* "arìddaru," *grape-stone*.

33. (g), as *g* in *go*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, and the consonants, but before *e* and *i*, as (30. dj), in Italian and its dialects, in the Non-Italian dialects of Italy, and in Kutzo-Wallachian; as the German *ch* in "nacht," in Spanish and its dialects; as (50. tch), in Valenc.; as the German guttural continuous *g* in "tage," *days*, in Saint.; and as *s* in *pleasure*, anywhere else.

34. (ghj), as a sound intermediate between (30. dj) and the palatalized hard *g*; as in Temp. "scalughja," *a small bunch left behind by vintagers*.

35. (gl) before *i* not followed by a vowel and (gli) before any other vowel than *i* are pronounced as (39. lh) in Italian, its dialects, and Romanese. Anywhere else, as hard $g+l$.

36. (h), as the German *h*, in Gasc., Lorr., Vosg., Mess., and Wall. Anywhere else it is mute.

37. (*hh*), as the Arabian ح.

38. (j), as *y* in *yes*, it occurs only in the Italian and Non-Italian dialects of Italy; as the German *ch* in "nacht," in Spanish and its dialects; as (50. tch), in Valenc.; as the German *g* in "tage," in Saint.; and as *s* in *pleasure*, anywhere else.

39. (lh, ly), as the Italian *gl* in "figli," *sons*.

40. (ll), as the preceding, but only in Spanish, its dialects, in the Non-Spanish dialects of Spain, and also frequently in French and its dialects. The Italian *ll* is pronounced as a strong *l*, which applies also to the Central and Southern Italian. Anywhere else (ll) is pronounced as a single *l*.

41. (*lc*), as a strong German *ch* in "nacht." [1]

42. (*ld*), as a strong Manx dental *l* in "ooyl," *apple*.[1]

43. (*lt*), as the strong Welsh *ll* in "colli," *to lose*. [1]

44. (*m*, *n*) are not pronounced, but the preceding vowel becomes nasal.

45. (N), as *ng* in *singer*.

46. (nh, ny, ñ), as the French *gn* in "digne," *worthy*.

47. (s), as *s* in *so*, when it does not occur between two vowels, in all the words of the list; and, generally, as the English *z*, when it does. In a very great number, however, of Italian, Tuscan, and Central or even Northern March. words, and in all those belonging to the Roman and Southern Italian dialects, to Spanish and its dialects, to the Portuguese dialects of Spain, to Valenc., and to Wallachian, *s* occurring between two vowels is not pronounced as an English *z*, but as *s* in *so*.

48. (ss), as *s* in *so*, except in Italian and in its Central and Southern dialects, where it is pronounced as a strong voiceless *s*, as in "osso," *bone*.

49. (*s*), as the English *z*.

50. (tch, tx), as *ch* in *child*.

51. (th), as *th* in *thick*.

52. (ts), as the Italian *z* in "la zappa," *the spade*.

53. (ty), as a palatalized *d*; as in Béarn. "bitatye," *vineyard*.

[1] See my "Observations on the pronunciation of the Sassarese dialect of Sardinia," in the "Transactions of the Society of Cymmrodorion of London." Vol. 4, p. 11, for (*lc*) and (*lt*), and p. 12, for (*ld*).

54. (x), as the English *sh*, except in Cagl. and Genoese, where it sounds as *s* in *pleasure*.

55. (z), generally, as the English *z*, but in Italian and its dialects and the Non-Italian dialects of Italy, as (52. ts); and in Spanish and in the Portuguese dialects of Spain, as (51. th). In Northern Gal., however, it is pronounced as *s* in *so*.

56. (ʒ), as (31. dz).

57. (´ `). Tonic accent. These two signs show very often tone and quality of sound at the same time, as in (4. é; 5 è; 13. ó; 14. ò; 20. òu). Whenever they indicate merely the tone, they are found expressed in print only: 1°., in the last syllable of words ended with a vowel; 2°., in the last syllable but one of words ended with a consonant; 3°., in the tonic syllable of words of more than two syllables. And every word bearing no printed accent is understood to have it: 1°., in the last syllable of words ended with a consonant; 2°., in the last syllable but one of words ended with a vowel.

These rules do not apply to French and its dialects, where the indication of the tonic accent is unnecessary on account of the total absence in them not only of proparoxytona, but even of real paroxytona. In fact, the numerous French words ended with *e* bearing no accent are paroxytona for the eyes, but real oxytona for the ears.

58. (¯). Long quantity.

59. (˘). Short Latin quantity. (See 3. ă).

Note that double consonants between two vowels are, in the Non-Italian dialects of Italy, almost always pronounced as if they were written single.

List of Neo-Latin Words connected with the Vine.

(1.) Vineyard: a.) An extent of ground planted with vines.

1. Latin: vīnĕă, *vīnĭă, *palmes; **binea, **vignea, **vinera, **vitis, **ceppa, **sarmentum (*acc. to. Diefenbach*), saramentum (*id.*).
2. Italian: vigna, vigneto, *vignazzo; *Central March.* cortina (*acc. to "Raccolta"*); *North. Cors.* bigna.
3. Sardinian: *Central*: binza; *South.* bingia.

4. SPANISH: viña; *Ast.* viñeu.
5. PORTUGUESE: vĩnh*a*; *Indo-Portuguese:* uzera, ouzera, vinho, orti, orte, orta.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Berg.* egna, igna, vidur, vignòl (*Romano*); *Bol.* vegna; *Romg.* *vignê; *Parm.* vignæ.
8. FRIULANO: vignaal, *vigne.
9. ROMANESE: *Oberl.* végna (*acc. to Carigiet*); *Tyr.* vignæ.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: vinha, vinna.
11. CATALONIAN: *vinya*; *Valenc.* vinya.
12. PROVENÇAL: vigno; *Lang.* *b*igno; *Montp.* *b*igna; *Bay.* *b*igne; *Auv.* vign*a*; *Briv.* vegn*a*.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Jur.* vena (*Saint-Amour*); *Fourg.* v'gneu; *Lower Val.* vegn'; *Vaud.* vegna; *Gruér.* vīgn'; *South-East. Vosg.* vegn' (*Vagney*); vègn' (*id.*).
14. OLD FRENCH: vingne, vine, visne.
15. FRENCH: vigne; *Berr.* *chapo*n*; *Perch.* vinn; *Upper Manc.* vingnē; *Champ.* vingg (*Marne*); *Champ.* végn (*Aube*); *Burg.* vègn; *Lorr.* vi*n* (*Lalœuf*), vénn (*Pexonne*), véenn (*id.*), vènn (*id.*); *Vosg.* vén (*Le Tholy*), vigneu (*Ban-sur-Meurthe*), vigni (*Moyenmoutier*), végneu (*Provenchères*), végni (*Saales*), vénhī (*Vexaincourt*); *Wall.* viegn, vignôb; *Pic.* vingn; *Saint.* vegn.
16. WALLACHIAN: vïe, jïe (*popularly*), vïă (*acc. to the Bible*), viniă (*acc. to Schinnagl*); *Kutzo-Wallachian:* ginye; *Istro-Wallachian:* terta.

(2.) Vineyard: b.) An extent of land laid out in vineyards a.).
1. LATIN: vīnētum; **biniale, **vignalis, **vignoblum, **vinablium, **vinata, **vineale, **vinearium, **vineatica, **vineatus, **vinena, **vinenea, **vinericia, **vineta, **viniale, **vinoblium, **vinobre, **vinolium.
2. ITALIAN: vigneto, *vignaio, *vignato, *vignata; *Sic.* vignitu, *vignetu, vignali, *vignera, vignazzu; *Abr.* vignal'; *Neap.* vignal*e*, vetimm*a*; *Pad.* vignale, videgà; *Bell.* vidigà; *Ror.* vignal.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central:* binsada.

4. SPANISH: viñedo, *veduño, *viduño, *vidueño.
5. PORTUGUESE: vinhédo, *vinhar.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* vidor; *Berg.* vidur, vignòl (*Romano*); *Parm.* vidòur.
8. FRIULANO: vignaal.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: vinnal, *vinnar, vinher, *vinhier, vinayres, *vinares.
11. CATALONIAN: *v*inyer, *v*inyar, **v*inyet, *v*in*y*edal; *Valenc.* vinyèdo, vinyedo, *vinyero; *Maj.* vinyẽt.
12. PROVENÇAL: vignoble, vigneiredo, vignarés; *Lang.* *b*igneirèdo; *Toul.* *b*ignè, *b*ignés; *Béarn.* *b*itatye; *Central Rouerg.* *b*ignouople, **b*ignople, *b*ignal (*Saint-Geniez*); *Auv.* pa*n*.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Lower Dauph.* vignoblou; *Vaud.* v'gnoublho, v'noublho, v'gnoladzo, vignoladjo; *South-East. Vosg.* vignob'.
14. OLD FRENCH: vignou, vignoy, vignau, vigno, vignole, vignol, vigneul, ? vignon.
15. FRENCH: vignoble; *Berr.* vinobl, *cuvaj.
16. WALLACHIAN: vïet (*acc. to Bobb*), vinet (*id.*).

(3.) A plantation of vines made up of several portions of land.
1. Latin; **complanatum, **complanctum, **complantum.
5. PORTUGUESE: b*a*cellad*a*.
15. FRENCH: complant; *Poit.* pll*a*nté.

(4.) A district of vineyards.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* ba*n*née, ba*n*nī.

(5.) A farm formed of vineyards held on condition of the proprietor's receiving some portion of the produce.
15. FRENCH: *Mess.* mouétross.

(6.) A plantation of young vines.
1. LATIN: nŏvellētum; **planterium, **maleollus, **malheolus, **malholius, **malhollium, **maliolus, **malleollus, **malliolus, **mallolius, **vinale, **vinhale, **malones *pl.*, malhones, *pl.*, malolem *accus.*

2. ITALIAN: *Tar.* past'n.
4. SPANISH: majuelo, **b*acillar, **b*acelar.
5. PORTUGUESE: b*a*céllo.
11. CATALONIAN: m*a*llol*a*, m*a*yol*a*, m*a*llol, m*a*yol; *Maj.* m*a*yòl.
12. PROVENÇAL: plantié, plantado; *Lang.* malhol, plantiè, *plan; *Cév.* malhaou, malhoou, *malhoú, *mayoú; *Montp.* plantada; *Gasc.* planto; *Central Rouerg.* plontado, *plontió, *plon, plontoú, molhouol, *molhol.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Jur.* pla*n*tée; *Broy.* tchapounār.
14. OLD FRENCH: mailhol, malhol, mailole.
15. FRENCH: *plantat; *Poit.* pll*a*ntt.

(7.) A nursery-ground of vines.
1. LATIN: vītĭārĭum.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Romg.* vidéra.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Central Rouerg.* plontado, *plontió.
15. FRENCH: *mess.* pipinn; *Lower Manc.* poupinièrr (*acc. to Lorrain*).

(8.) An enclosed vineyard.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* ma.

(9.) A vineyard all in one portion.
15. FRENCH: *Saint.* pya*n*tī, pya*n*titt.

(10.) A detached portion of a vineyard.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* *e*car.

(11.) Vineyard of which the rows are laid out in trellises.
4. SPANISH: *b*acelar, **b*acillar.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Piem.* autin.

(12). A vineyard laid out after the fashion of "gamet" vineyards.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* gamiérr (*Aube*).

(13.) A vineyard upon a hill.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* ro*n*ch.

16. WALLACHIAN: déal, podgorie, podgoriă (*acc. to Pontbriant*), vĭet (*acc. to Bobb*), vinet (*id.*).

(14.) Vineyards upon hills (*coll.*).
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* ro*n*caja.

(15.) Vineyards upon hills, laid out in terraces of steps (*coll.*).
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* ro*n*caja; *Com.* ro*n*ch.
8. FRIULANO: ro*n*ch.
15. FRENCH: *Ang.* chapio.

(16.) A place where male vines grow.
1. LATIN: mascŭlētum.

(17.) A plantation of undressed vines abounding with shoots.
4. SPANISH: *b*acelar, **b*acillar.

(18.) A vineyard of wild vines.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Cév.* lambrusquièiro.

(19.) Vine: The plant which produces grapes.
1. LATIN: vītis, *vīnĕă, *palmes, *ūva; **trelhia, **ceppa.
2. ITALIAN: vite, *vigna; *Central March*, ite (*Fabriano*); *North. Cors.* bita; *Sass.* viddi; *Sic.* viti; *Tar.* cippòn; *Neap.* vit*a*; *Ven.* vida; *Vic.* visela; *Rov.* guida.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: bide, *binza; *South.* sermentu, *sarmentu, idi (*in some places*).
4. SPANISH: vid, *parra, *viña; *Ast.* *v*ide.
5. PORTUGUESE: vidêir*a*, vid*e*, *vīnh*a*; *Indo-Portuguese*: vinha, vidé, vida.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* vit; *Berg.* it, viit, *Crem.* ida; *Bol.* vid; *Romg.* vida; *Parm.* vidæ; *Piedm.* vis, vi.
8. FRIULANO: vid, vit; *Triest.* wi.
9. ROMANESE: *Oberl.* vit; Tyr. vignæ.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: vit.
11. Catalonian: cep, **v*iny*a*, parr*a*; *Maj.* c*e*p.
12. PROVENÇAL: vigno, vign*a* (*Nîmes*); *Lang.* *b*igno; *Montp.* *b*igna; *Gasc.* *b*it; Bay. ou*b*e; *Lower Lim.* trelho; *Auv.* vign*a*; *Briv.* veg*n*a.

13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Bress.* cepa; *Fourg.* v'gneu; *Lower Val.* vegn'; *Vaud.* vi; *South-East Vosg.* vegn' (*Vagney*), vègn' (*id.*).
14. OLD FRENCH: vit, *vingne, *vine, *visne.
15. FRENCH: vigne; *Perch.* vinn; Upper *Manc.* vingnē; *Champ.* vingg (*Marne*); *Champ.* végn (*Aube*); *Morv.* vingn; *Burg.* vègn; *Lorr.* vin (*Lalœuf*), vénn (*Pexonne*), véenn (*id.*), vènn (*id.*); *Vosg.* vén (*Le Tholy*), vigneu (*Ban-sur-Meurthe*), vigni (*Moyenmoutier*), végneu (*Provenchères*), végni (*Saales*), vénhī (*Vexaincourt*); *Wall.* vignôb; *Pic.* vangn; *Saint.* vegn.
16. WALLACHIAN: vitsă, jitsă (*popularly*), vitse (*acc. to Bobb*), vïe (*acc. to the Bible*), vïă (*id.*); *Kutzo-Wallachian*: gite; *Istro-Wallachian*: ruje, bráidă, broáidă, vinyal.

(20.) Quality and kind of vine.
2. ITALIAN: vitigno, *vizzato; *Sienn.* vitazzo; *Neap.* vetimm*a*; *Ven.* vignal.
4. SPANISH: veduño, *viduno, *vidueño.
5. PORTUGUESE: vidônh*o*.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* vidor; *Com.* vidòo; *Berg.* vidur; *Bol.* vidòur; *Romg.* vdez, *videz, vidér, vidéra.
14. OLD FRENCH: cepage.
15. FRENCH: *cépage; *Berr.* vii*n*, cupi*n*; *Saint.* visa*n* (*acc. to Jonain.*).

(21.) Quantity of vines.
2. ITALIAN: *Ven.* vignal; *Vic.* vignale.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* vidor; *Com.* vidòo; *Berg.* vidur; *Bol.* vidòur; *Romg.* vdez, *videz, vidéra.

(22.) Vines arranged quincuncially.
12. PROVENÇAL: platissado.

(23.) A shrublike vine.
1. LATIN: ** *see* (51.).

(24.) A vine keeping itself up by the twining of its branches.
14. OLD FRENCH: trexe.

16. WALLACHIAN: déal, podgorie, podgoriă (*acc. to Pontbriant*), vĭet (*acc. to Bobb*), vinet (*id.*).

4.) Vineyards upon hills (*coll.*).
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* ro*n*caja.

5.) Vineyards upon hills, laid out in terraces of steps (*coll.*).
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* ro*n*caja; *Com.* ro*n*ch.
8. FRIULANO: ronch.
15. FRENCH: *Ang.* chapio.

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19.) Vine: The plant which produces grapes.
1. LATIN: vītis, *vīnĕă, *palmes, *ūva; **trelhia, **ceppa.
2. ITALIAN: vite, *vigna; *Central March*, ite (*Fabriano*); *North. Cors.* bita; *Sass.* viddi; *Sic.* viti; *Tar.* cippòn; *Neap.* vit*a*; *Ven.* vida; *Vic.* visela; *Rov.* guida.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: bide, *binza; *South.* sermentu, *sarmentu, idi (*in some places*).
4. SPANISH: vid, *parra, *viña; *Ast.* vide.
5. PORTUGUESE: vidêir*a*, vid*e*, *vĩnh*a*; *Indo-Portuguese*: vinha, vidé, vida.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* vit; *Berg.* it, viit, *Crem.* ida; *Bol.* vid; *Romg.* vida; *Parm.* vidæ; *Piedm.* vis, vi.
8. FRIULANO: vid, vit; *Triest.* wi.
9. ROMANESE: *Oberl.* vit; Tyr. vignæ.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: vit.
11. Catalonian: cep, *v*i*ny*a*, parr*a*; *Maj.* c*e*p.
12. PROVENÇAL: vigno, vign*a* (*Nîmes*); *Lang.* *b*igno; *Montp.* *b*igna; *Gasc.* *b*it; Bay. ou*b*e; *Lower Lim.* trelho; *Auv.* vign*a*; *Briv.* vegn*a*.

12. PROVENÇAL: aoutinado, *ooutinado; *Lang.* trelhá; *Gasc.* trilhado; *Central Rouerg.* trelhat, *trelhadje; *North. Rouerg.* trilhat (*Entraygues*).
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* trillāj, trillaj, *tréillaj; *Champ.* léss (*Aube*), panno (*id.*).

(27.) A vine climbing a wall or a tree.
1. LATIN: pergŭlānă; **pergula, **camborta.
4. SPANISH: parra.
5. PORTUGUESE: parrêira.
6. GENOESE: *Ment.* traja.
11. CATALONIAN: parra.
12. PROVENÇAL: trèlho, trelha (*Nîmes*), trèyou (*Arles*); *Lang.* trelho; *Gasc.* trilho; *Auv.* treglha.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Lower Dauph.* trelh'.
14. OLD FRENCH: treix, traix, chambry (*acc. to Lorrain*), chambord (*id.*).
15. FRENCH: treille; *Berr.* trill, trillâj, trillaj, tréillaj, chadéenn (*West*); *Champ.* otin (*Aube*), utin (*id.*); *Morr.* rājignée (*neighbourhood of Avallon*); *Lorr.* chambrè (*Allain*); *Mess.* chambri, châbri (*Rémilly*); *Ard.* chabli.

(28.) A vine growing on props.
2. ITALIAN: broncone (*acc. to Manuzzi*); *Neap.* tennecchia; *Ven.* tirèla.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Romg.* tirèla (*Imola*); *Piac.* tiròn.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* jouèl.

(29.) Vines growing on props (*coll.*).
2. ITALIAN: broncone (*acc. to Manuzzi*).
12. PROVENÇAL: *cavaliero.

(30.) A vine climbing over very high props.
14. OLD FRENCH: hautaigne.

(31.) A vine growing on props parallel to the ground.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* fourch (*Marne*), grapillon (*id.*); *Champ.* échamm (*Aube*), échamé (*id.*)

25.) A vine-trellis.

1. LATIN: pergŭlă, trĭchĭlă, *trĭchĭlum, *trĭclă, *trĭclĕă, *trĭclĭă; **trelia, **trigila, **trigula, **trilia, **trilla, **trillia, **parrale, **topia.
2. ITALIAN: pèrgola, *pergolato, *pergolarìa; *Temp.* trigghja; *Sass.* parrali; *Sic.* prèula, pèrgula; *Tar.* prev'l; *Neap.* prèol*a*, prègol*a*, prèvol*a*.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: pèrgula, triga, trija, *tricla; *North.* parra, parrali.
4. SPANISH: parral.
5. PORTUGUESE: p*a*rrêiral.
6. GENOESE: angiòu, teupia, *topia; *Ment.* traja.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* tòpia, pèlgora; *Romg.* pérgula; *Ferr.* pèrgula; *Parm.* pærgolæ; *Piac.* tòppia; *Pav.* topiæ.
8. FRIULANO: pièrgule, piàrgule.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: treilla, *trelha, *trilla.
11. CATALONIAN: p*a*rral, *trill*a*.
12. PROVENÇAL: trèlho, trelh*a* (*Nîmes*), trèyou (*Arles*), aoutin, *ooutin, *fielagno, *fieragno, filagno (*Var*), ban *pl.* (*Hières*), banc *pl.* (*id.*); *Lang.* trelho; *Gasc.* trilho.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Lower Dauph.* trelh'; *Lower Val.* bèrfa.
14. OLD FRENCH: troille, traille, treulle, trelle.
15. FRENCH: treille; *Berr.* chadéenn (*West*); *Saint.* treuill.

(26.) Several vine-trellises united together.

1. LATIN: **pergolatus, **trilhatum.
2. ITALIAN: pergolato, *pergoleto; *Sic.* priulatu, pirgulatu, pergulatu; *Tar.* privulit; *Ven.* pergolà.
4. SPANISH: emparrado.
5. PORTUGUESE: l*a*tad*a*.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* topiàa, pelgoràa; *Com.* topiada; *Bol.* pergolat; *Regg.* perglèda; *Romg.* pergulêt; *Parm.* pærgolà; *Pav.* tupià.
11. CATALONIAN: em*p*arrat; *Valenc.* emparrat.

12. PROVENÇAL: aoutinado, *ooutinado; *Lang.* **trelhá**; *Gasc.* trilhado; *Central Rouerg.* trelhat, ***trelhadje**; *North. Rouerg.* trilhat (*Entraygues*).
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* trillāj, trillaj, *tréillaj; *Champ.* **lés** (*Aube*), panno (*id.*).

(27.) A vine climbing a wall or a tree.
1. LATIN: pergŭlānă; **pergula, **camborta.
4. SPANISH: parra.
5. PORTUGUESE: parrêir*a*.
6. GENOESE: *Ment.* traja.
11. CATALONIAN: parr*a*.
12. PROVENÇAL: trèlho, trelh*a* (*Nîmes*), trèyou (*Arles*); *Lang.* trelho; *Gasc.* trilho; *Aur.* treglh*a*.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Lower Dauph.* trelh'.
14. OLD FRENCH: treix, traix, chambry (*acc. to Lorrain*), chambord (*id.*).
15. FRENCH: treille; *Berr.* trill, trillâj, trillaj, **tréillaj**, chadéenn (*West*); *Champ.* oti*n* (*Aube*), uti*n* (*id.*); *Morr.* rājignée (*neighbourhood of Avallon*); *Lorr.* cha*m*brè (*Allain*); *Mess.* cha*m*bri, châbri (*Rémilly*); *Ard.* chabli.

(28.) A vine growing on props.
2. ITALIAN: broncone (*acc. to Manuzzi*); *Neap.* **tennecchi***a*; *Ven.* tirèla.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Romg.* tirèla (*Imola*); *Piac.* **tiròn**.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* jouèl.

(29.) Vines growing on props (*coll.*).
2. ITALIAN: broncone (*acc. to Manuzzi*).
12. PROVENÇAL: *cavaliero.

(30.) A vine climbing over very high props.
14. OLD FRENCH: hautaigne.

(31.) A vine growing on ops parallel to the ground.
15. FRENCH: *Cl* fourch (*Marne*), grapillo*n* (*id.*)
Champ. **éc**

(32.) A straight and long row of vines held together by stakes and poles.

2. ITALIAN: anguillare; *Sass.* ò*ld*ini; *Tar.* impalat; *Rov.* bina.

3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: òrdine; *South* giuali.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Berg.* trosa; *Bresc.* filù, tiradur; *Bol.* alva; *Regg.* perglê; *Romg.* lazéra; *Parm.* tiradæ; *Par.* topiæ; *Pied.* taragna, filagn, *filagna, ressa (*a country word*).

14. OLD FRENCH: bairigne.

15. FRENCH: *Berr.* jouèlée; *Ard.* bérign.

(33.) Two or more straight and long rows of vines held together by stakes and poles.

2. ITALIAN: pancata; *Sienn.* anguillare, anguillaccio.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Bresc.* palada; *Mod.* pruvana; *Romg.* lazéra; *Mant.* tirèla; *Parm.* filagn.

13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* uti*n* *pl.* (*Coppet*), oti*n* (*id.*).

(34.) Vine carried along from tree to tree.

1. LATIN: rumpus, trādux, fūnētum; **travices *pl.*

2. ITALIAN: arbuscèllo (*acc. to Manuzzi*), *arbuscèlla (*id.*), *arbucèllo (*id.*), *arbucèlla (*id.*); *Country Tuscan* (acc. to Mattioli): pèrgola (*near Florence*); tira (*Valdarno*); salciaia (*Valdichiana*); tralciaia (*Mugello*); trecciaia (*Valdinievole*); ritòrta (*Casentino*), catena (*id.*); pendìa (*Versiglia*); *Pis.* pendagliòla (*acc. to id.*); *Lucch.* pendana; *Central March.* carneali *pl.* (Fabriano), tirate *pl.* (*id.*); *Ven.* tirèla.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Tic.* ro*m*p; *Bol.* bi*n*dana; *Mod.* tirela; *Romg.* tirê, tirèla (*Imola*).

8. FRIULANO: trauli.

(35.) A place planted with vines carried along from tree to tree.

1. LATIN: rumpōtĭnētum.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Piac.* filagn; *Pav.* vidur.

(50.) An uncultivated old vine.
2. ITALIAN: *Sic.* vitusa.

(51.) A wild vine.
1. LATIN: **labrusca, **labrusta, **labustra, **laberosca, **labrosca (*all fire also occurring, as well as* lambrusca, *acc. to Diefenbach, in the sense of* (8, 23, 52, 177, 179, 193).
2. ITALIAN: *Bell.* vidisòn.
4. SPANISH: la*b*rusca, parriza, *parron.
5. PORTUGUESE: l*a*brusc*a*.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: labrusca, lambrusquieira.
11. CATALONIAN: ll*am*br*u*sc*a*; *Valenc.* parrissa.
12. PROVENÇAL: lambrusco, lambruscou (*Arles*), embrusc*a* (*Nîmes*), *lambrusquiero, treilhiero, eigrassiero, bedigan*a* (*Nîmes*); *Niç.* bedigana; *Upper Dauph.* lambrutso; *Lang.* lam*b*ruisso, lam*b*resquièiro, trelhèiro; *Cér.* lambrusquièiro; *Montp.* lam*b*rusca; *Lower Lim.* lom*b*rustso; *Rouerg.* *b*it-haougue (*acc. to Azaïs*).
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Jur.* la*m*brutsa, la*m*britsa; *Lower Dauph.* la*m*brusca; *Franc.* la*m*brutch', la*m*britch'.
14. OLD FRENCH: lambrunche.
15. FRENCH: *lambruche, *lambrusque, *lambrot, *labrusque; *Berr.* la*m*breuch, e*m*bri*n*ch (*Léré*), embru*n*ch (*id.*), viann, vigann (*West.*), vicann (*id.*); *Upper Manc.* la*m*breuchẽ, la*m*bru*n*; *Poit.* rèsinètt.
16. WALLACHIAN: cúrpene.

(N.B.—*The Latin* lăbruscă, lăbruscum, *and the Italian* lambrusca, *lambrusco, *lambruzza, *do not mean so much* "a wild vine," *as a peculiar kind of it.*)

(52.) A large wild vine.
1. LATIN: **see (51.).

(53.) Wood left by a vine-dresser after cutting the vine.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Gen.* porteur.
15. FRENCH: *cource.

(54.) The dead wood of a vine.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Lang.* souquet; *Castr.* souquilhoú, souquil.

(55.) A vine-root.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* couré (*Aube*).

(56.) Vine-roots (*coll.*).
15. FRENCH: *Mess.* hhouéill.

(57.) Roots of the vine remaining underground after the vineyard has been pulled up.
2. ITALIAN: *Tar.* vitùs.

(58.) The filaments of the roots of the vine.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* chevlu (*Marne*).

(59.) A vine-branch.
1. LATIN: sarmentum, *dūrāmen, *dūrūmentum, palmes, *palma; **saramentum, **sarmenta, **sermens, **traucis, **tranix, **tranex, **trance.
2. ITALIAN: sermento, *sarmento, *sermente, tralcio, *tralce; *Central March.* sciarmiento (*Fabriano*); *Sass.* sermentu; *Sic.* sarmentu; *Neap.* chiaccon*e*, tennecchi*a*; *Pad.* tirèla (*acc. to Patriarchi*); *Ver.* tiron; *Bell.* refòs; *Rov.* monzina.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: sermentu, *sarmentu, bidighinzu; *South* pèrtia.
4. SPANISH: sarmiento.
5. PORTUGUESE: *sarménto*, vid*e*; *Gal.* sarmênto, gromo, gromon.
6. GENOESE: puassa; *Ment.* traja.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* tròs, mèrza (*Upper Mil.*); *Com.* vidascia; *Berg.* mader; *Bresc.* sermeta, tròsa; *Bol.* sermèi*n*t, sarmèi*n*t; *Mod.* plòon; *Regg.* plon; *Romg.* sarme*n*t, *serme*n*t, cadnaza (*a country word*); *Mant.* mædar, graspa; *Parm.* mædèr, mædersanæ; *Piac.* parfil; *Piedm.* sermenta, *sarmenta, meil, *meir, mejè, majeul, *majeú; *Vald.* sarmanta, maé.

8. FRIULANO: vidizòn.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: serment, *eisermen, *issermen, *palmes.
11. CATALONIAN: sarmènt, *sermènt; *Valenc.* eixarment, *sarment; *Maj.* sarment.
12. PROVENÇAL: avis, vis, *vise, *visi, *aví, sarmein, einsirmein, gavel (*Nîmes*), parangoun, *paravoun; *Upper Dauph.* vi; *Lang.* bis, bise, bisi, abit, *abis, sarmen, eissirmen *sermen, *issermen, *eisermen; *Toul.* eissermen; *Agén.* ensirmen; *Gasc.* charmen, eicharmen, *gaouero: *Béarn.* chermen; *Lower Lim.* sirmen; *Central Rouerg.* *golis; *Auv.* parasoú.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Bress.* sarman; *Neuf.* sèrm' (*North-Eastern Vignoble*); *Lower Dauph.* sarmanta.
14. OLD FRENCH: serment.
15. FRENCH: sarment; *Berr.* ché, *ma; *Lorr.* sarmott (*Domgermain*), marin (*Landremont*); *Montb.* serman; *Wall.* vi; *Pic.* gavèl; *Saint.* essarmen, essermen.
16. WALLACHIAN: vitsă, jitsă (*popularly*), vitse (*acc. to Bobb*), cep (*acc. to Frollo*), vlăstar, vlăstare (*acc. to "Lexicon"*), vlăjar, cúrpen (*acc. to Cihac*), cúrpăn (*id.*), cúrpene (*id.*), cúrpenă (*id.*).

(60.) Vine-branches (*coll.*).
2. ITALIAN: *Central March.* poderi *pl.* (*Fabriano*); *Tar.* *capidd *pl.* (*only used in the locution "in capidd"*).
5. PORTUGUESE: vidõnho.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* trosada; *Com.* trosàa; Romg. vidéra; *Piedm.* melaja (*acc. to "Psal.* 80–11," *Ed. of 1840*).
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* boulai, boulay'.
15. FRENCH: *Lorr.* fèhhatt *pl.* (*Mailly*).

(61.) Vine-branches cut to the size of the vine (*coll.*).
15. FRENCH: *Morr.* javal.

(62.) The chief branch of a vine.
1. LATIN: rĕsex, custos, sagitta, pollex.

2. ITALIAN: saéppolo, saéttolo, *guardia; *Sienn.* saetta; *Tar.* pedaròl; *Abr.* rès'ch', scarpetta; *Ven.* supion, maton; *Rov.* sgarz, garz.
4. SPANISH: perchon.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* popolanna; *Bresc.* trapèl; *Parm.* sprònn.
11. CATALONIAN: pistol*a*, *pòlz*e*.
15. FRENCH: *Mess.* marii*n*.

(63.) A strong vine-branch, capable of bearing from seven to eight buds.
15. FRENCH: *Ang.* couèst.

(64.) A vine-branch cut shorter than the other.
12. PROVENÇAL: souquilhoun.

(65.) A vine-branch growing from a new one and hanging attached to the soft part.
1. LATIN: mātĕrĭă, mātĕrĭĕs.

(66.) A vine-branch grown at the base of the vine.
2. ITALIAN: viticcio, vignuòlo; *Central March.* roccetta (*acc. to "Raccolta"*); *Ven.* troza.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Bol.* plòu*n*.

(67.) A vine-branch turned bow-wise, with the top set in the ground.
1. LATIN: mergus, *candosoccus.
2. ITALIAN: capogatto, *mèrgo.
4. SPANISH: codadura.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Bresc.* gobada; *Piedm.* cugiòira.
11. CATALONIAN: capficat, tori*a*, colgat.
14. OLD FRENCH: marcot, margoute, margote, marguotte, planteis, planteir.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* jacol, jacob; *Champ.* ploya*n* (*Marne*); *Lorr.* beuildi*n* (*Domgermain*), cai*n* (*Allain*).

(68.) A vine-branch containing many bunches.
5. PORTUGUESE: *Berc.* carreña.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *For.* vilou*n*.

(69.) A vine-branch covered with buds.
3. SARDINIAN: *South.* carriadròxa.
4. SPANISH: *Arag.* alargadera.

(70.) A vine-branch with its leaves.
2. ITALIAN: *Ven.* pàmpano.
6. GENOESE: pàmpanu, *pampinu.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Romg.* pæ*m*pan, *pæ*m*pen.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: pampol.
12. PROVENÇAL: pampo; *Upper Dauph.* vi; *Lang.* *pampre; *Upper Béarn.* pampoú; *Lower Lim.* *mouso; *Central Rouerg.* pompo, *pouompe, *pampe, *espampe, *romo, *ramo; *Auv.* pa*m*pr*e*.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *For.* bra*n*.
15. FRENCH: pampre.
16. WALLACHIAN: cúrpen (*acc. to Cihac*), cúrpăn (*id.*), cúrpene (*id.*) cúrpenă (*id.*).

(71.) A thin and barren vine-branch grown on the lower part and near the trunk of the vine.
4. SPANISH: jerpa.
5. PORTUGUESE: *Gal.* xerpa.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Valt.* rògne *pl.*
11. CATALONIAN: p*a*drastr*e*.

(72.) A cut vine-branch.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Com.* vidascia.

(73.) Cut vine-branches (*coll.*).
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Valt.* vidiscio*n*.

(74.) A vine-branch transplanted with its roots.
2. ITALIAN: barbatèlla; *Sienn.* barbatèllo; *Central March.* barbato (*Fabriano*); *Sic.* varvotta, *barbotta; *Neap.* barbetell*a*.
4. SPANISH: *b*ar*b*ado, **b*ar*b*udo.
5. PORTUGUESE: *Gal.* *b*ar*b*ada.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* ràsol, rasœ, magnœ (*a country word*); *Berg.* roersur, roersù; *Bresc.* predessa; *Bol.* tajol; *Regg.* tratora; *Romg.* caviluta, *cavluda; *Piac.* pruvanèin; *Piedm.* barbatèla, capun.
12. PROVENÇAL: barbé (*Valensole*), courbé (*Les Mées*); *Upper Dauph.* barbâ; *Lang.* *b*ar*b*ot, *b*ar*b*iot; *Toul.* *b*ar*b*oulat; *Lower Lim.* couidzodí, **b*or*b*ado; *Central Rouerg.* *b*or*b*udo.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *For.* barbio; *Gen.* barbu*a*; *Vaud.* barbuva, barbua.
14. OLD FRENCH: chevelue.
15. FRENCH: sautelle; *Poit.* ch'volur; *Saint* ch'vlu.

(75.) A bundle of vine-branches.
1. LATIN: **javella, **gavelli *pl.*
6. GENOESE: *Ment.* gavele *pl.*
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mir.* vlup, *vidon; *Parm.* vidærœl.
12. PROVENÇAL: gavèou, *djavèou; *Lang.* ga*b*el; *Cév.* *bisé; *Lower Lim.* dzovelo; *Central Rouerg.* monoul, go*b*elo (*Millau*); *South Rouerg.* go*b*èl (*Nant*); *Querc.* go*b*el.
15. FRENCH: javelle; *Poit.* javelo*n* (*Niort*); *Saint.* javel.

76.) A bundle of vine-branches with the grapes hanging to them.
2. ITALIAN: pénzolo, pèndolo; *Sic.* pènnula; *Tar.* privular; *Neap.* piènnole; *Ven.* picagia, rozzada.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: pesu, appesile, pesile (*Goceano*); *South.* appiccòni.
6. GENOESE: pendessa.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* ròsch, fiocch (*a country word*), fiocchèt (*id.*), mazzèt (*id.*); *Berg.* ròs, trosa (*acc. to Zappettini*); *Bresc.* picaja, pendœs; *Regg.* ulz; *Parm.* uls, *ros; *Piac.* rœzz.
8. FRIULANO: rawèzz, arwèzz, riwèzz.
11. CATALONIAN: p*e*njoy, *p*e*njoll; *Valenc.* pentxoll: *Maj.* p*e*njòy.

12. PROVENÇAL: cargueto, mouissino, visado, *trelheto; *Niç.* visada; *Lang.* andot, *b*isado; *Gasc.* *mouisseno; *Central Rouerg.* pigno, *pino, *pinèlo, *pinèl, *cargo.
14. OLD FRENCH: moessine, moisine, mainnesine (*acc. to Lorrain*).
15. FRENCH: moissine; *Tour.* mosill; *Berr.* moussinn, mou*in*sinn, mousslinn; *Wall.* plôy.
16. WALLACHIAN: vislă (*acc. to Codresco*).

(77.) A packet consisting of several bundles of vine-branches with the grapes hanging to them.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Central Rouerg.* pinèlo.

(78.) Twelve bundles of vine-branches tied with a withe.
15. FRENCH: *Saint.* javel.

(79.) A small bundle of vine-branches.
15. FRENCH: *Morv.* zéval (*part of Morvan nivernais*).

(80.) A small bundle of vine-branches roughly representing a child coiffed with a biggin.
15. FRENCH: *Saint.* beyinn.

(81.) An old hardened vine-branch.
1. LATIN: drăco, jūnĭcŭlus.
4. SPANISH: serpa.
5. PORTUGUESE: *Gal.* serpa.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* bernardo*n*.
11. CATALONIAN: *v*erguer.

(82.) A dry vine-branch.
1. LATIN: sarmentum.
2. ITALIAN: sermento, *sarmento, *sermente; *Sic.* sarmentu; *Neap.* chiaccone; *Rov.* sarme*n*ta.
5. PORTUGUESE: *sa*rménto; *Gal.* *v*ides *pl.*
6. GENOESE: puassa.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* tròs; *Berg.* sèrmeda (*Valle Imagna*); *Bresc.* tròsa, sermeta; *Bol.* sermèint, sarmèint; *Mod.* vlop; *Romg.* sarment, *serment, cadnaza (*a country word*); *Mant.* mædar; *Piedm.* sermenta, *sarmenta; *Vald.* sarmanta.

10. OLD PROVENÇAL: serment, *eisermen, *issermen.

12. PROVENÇAL: avis, vis, *vise, *visi, *aví, sarmeiN, einsirmeiN, gavel (*Nîmes*); *Lang.* bis, bise, bisi, abit, *abis, sarmeN, eissirmeN, *sermeN, *issermeN, *eisermeN; *Toul.* eissermeN; *Agén.* ensirmeN; *Gasc.* charmeN, *eicharmeN, *gaouero; *Béarn.* chermeN; *Lower Lim.* sirmeN; *Central Rouerg.* bitch, *bit, *bits, *obise, obit (*Millau*), *obic (*id.*), *abise, *gobit.

13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Bress.* sarman.

14. OLD FRENCH: serment.

15. FRENCH: sarment.

16. WALLACHIAN: vitsă, jitsă (*popularly*), vitse (*acc. to. Bobb*), cep (*acc. to Frollo*), surcéa (*acc. to Vaillant*), surcel (*acc. to "Lexicon"*), gătej (*acc. to the Bible*).

(83.) A bundle of dry vine-branches.

2. ITALIAN: *Rov.* sarmenta.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Regg.* vidon.

15. FRENCH: *Berr.* beurtt, burtt.

(84.) A dead vine-branch used for the purpose of joining the extremities of two young vine-shoots.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* posca (*Brianza*).

(85.) Vine-branches of the wild vine.

15. FRENCH: *Poit.* treuillaj.

(86.) A flexible branch of a wild vine.

12. PROVENÇAL: *Lang.* bissano.

(87.) The portion of the vine-branch of the preceding year, remaining after the vine has been pruned.

12. PROVENÇAL: cargo, cornovi; *Central Rouerg.* ouobro, *obro, *courretcho, courredjo (*Montbazens*).

15. FRENCH: *viète, *viette; *Berr.* arç*on*, piq-e*n*-t*é*er; *Champ.* arc (*Marne*), courgée (*id.*); *Champ.* pli*on* (*Aube*), ploy*on* (*id.*); *Ang.* archè, dag (*Beaufort*), cura*n* (*id.*).

(88.) The tip of a vine-branch.
1. LATIN: flăgellum.
2. ITALIAN: *Sienn.* cacchio.
5. PORTUGUESE: pi*m*pôlh*o*, gôm*o*, gó*m*m*o*; *Gal.* *b*acêlo.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* garzœ̀; *Parm.* plòuN; *Piedm.* gorseul.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: flagel.
12. PROVENÇAL: aparouN, apanouN.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* vargou; *Champ.* brou (*Marne*); *Champ.* tal (*Aube*); *Mess.* mâri*in* (*Rémilly*); *Poit.* pouss.

(89.) The extremities of the vine-branches all together.
2. ITALIAN: capaia (*only used in the locution "a capaia"*).

(90.) The tip of the vine-branch remaining on the vine-stock after pruning.
4. SPANISH: saeta.
11. CATALONIAN: g*a*let.

(91.) A vine-shoot.
1. LATIN: pampĭnus.
3. SARDINIAN: *South.* pudòni, ca*b*udiana.
4. SPANISH: pámpano.
5. PORTUGUESE: pámpan*o*.
6. GENOESE: pàmpanu, *pàmpinu.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Bresc.* trosa.; *Crem.* mader, madirol; *Romg.* pá*m*pan, *pá*m*pen; *Parm.* plòuN, sprò**u**N; *Piedm.* brumbu.
11. CATALONIAN: *r*edolt*a*; *Min.* pámpol.

(92.) A cutting of a vine.
15. FRENCH: *Lorr.* méyeuy (*Landremont*).

(93.) Remains of the pruning of the vine (*coll.*).
15. FRENCH: *Morv.* javal.

(94.) Abundance of vine-shoots.
4. SPANISH: pampanaje.
11. CATALONIAN: p*a*mpolad*a*.

(95.) Second shooting of the vine.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Lower Val.* r'byolo*n*.

(96.) Vine-shoots united and following the direction of a row of plants.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Piac.* parfil.

(97.) Braided vine-shoots (*coll.*).
2. ITALIAN: *Central March.* cortina (*acc. to a private and reliable informant*).
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Com.* tròsa; *Bresc.* trosa.

(98.) A vine-shoot tied to a small stake.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* tròs; *Com.* tròsa.

(99.) A vine-shoot growing between two vine-branches.
2. ITALIAN: *Tar.* custaròl.

(100.) A vine-shoot with bunches, cut off from the vine.
15. FRENCH: *Mess.* mennchée.

(101.) A vine-shoot with two bunches, cut off from the vine.
2. ITALIAN: *Bell.* zèmpede.

(102.) A brittle young vine-shoot.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Gen.* bro.

(103.) A sterile vine-shoot.
1. LATIN: racemarius.

(104.) The juice of the vine-shoots.
4. SPANISH: pampanada.

(105.) A bundle consisting of a few vine-shoots.
2. ITALIAN: *Pad.* tirèla.

(106.) A vine-shoot cut down to two eyes.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* artê, artè, poussó.

(107.) A vine-shoot cut down to two, three, or four eyes.
2. ITALIAN: cursoncèllo, *bazzuòlo, *sagoncèllo; *Tar.* test; *Ven.* ràsolo; *Ter.* cacch-j.
4. SPANISH: pulgar.
5. PORTUGUESE: pôll*e*gár.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* cáved (*Upper Mil.*): *Bol.* sgòu*n*; *Parm.* sprò*u*N.
11. CATALONIAN: *b*rocad*a*; *Valenc.* brocá, brocada.
12. PROVENÇAL: cargo, cornovi, escoué, pourtadour; *Central Rouerg.* conot.
15. FRENCH: coursou, coursonne, *billon; *Berr.* varj, *vèrj, cornè, courj; *Champ.* courso; *Poit.* broch.

(108.) A layer of a vine.
1. LATIN: prŏpāgo, prŏpāges; **propagatio, **propagans (*both also occurring, as well as "propago," acc. to Diefenbach, in the sense of* (19, 27, 38, 41, 51, 59, 67, 70).
2. ITALIAN: propàggine, propàgine; *Temp.* prubàina; *Sass.* prubbàina; *Sic.* purpàina, *pruppàina, *purpania; *Tar.* prubasc'n; *Neap.* propàjen*a*, calatur*e*; *Ven.* refosso; *Ver.* tratora.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: pro*b*àina, pra*b*àina (*Marghine*); *South.* bra*b*àina.
4. SPANISH: provena, mugron, *codal, *rastro; *Arag.* morgon.
5. PORTUGUESE: m*e*rgulhão, *m*e*rgulh*o*, *m*e*rgulhí*a*, *pro-page*m*.
6. GENOESE: *Ment.* cab*u*s.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* provanna, retraccia (*Brianza*); *Berg.* proana, refòs (*Olera*); *Bresc.* provana, tratura; *Bol.* pruvana, prupàgin; *Mod.* tratòora; *Mant.* arfòs; *Parm.* trætòuræ; *Par.* pruvænæ; *Piedm.* pruvaNa.

8. FRIULANO: rifwèss, rafwèss, rivièss, *rivièsse.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: probage.
11. CATALONIAN: colgat *pro*v*en*a*.
12. PROVENÇAL: cabus, *tchabus, *cabussé, cabussado (*Valensole*), *couaduro, *soto, *courbado, *probaino; *Lang.* ca*b*ussal, ca*b*ussado, ca*b*usset, soumesso, soumessoú, *prou*b*o; *Cév.* cougaduro, soumeisso, prou*b*adjo, proubatcho; *Toul.* prou*b*ajo; *Agén.* prou*b*aino; *Gasc.* cour*b*agno, *re*b*osto; *Béarn.* prou*b*agno; *Lower Lim.* *ofonzoú; *Central Rouerg.* co*b*oussado, *co*b*ussado, *prou*b*aine, prou*b*aino (*Marcillac*), *prou*b*atche; *South. Rouerg.* ca*b*ussoú (*Saint-Affrique*), co*b*usset (*id.*), co*b*ussat (*id.*), co*b*ussol (*id.*), ca*b*issoú (*id.*); *Aur.* versadí.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *For.* r'bounaé; *Sav.* provignur*a*; *Vaud.* provegnura.
14. OLD FRENCH: provain, pourvain, prouvin, prouvain.
15. FRENCH: provin; *Berr.* prou*in*, p'rou*in*, prouaill, preugnur, progni, pru*n*; *Poit.* pr'bi*n*; *Saint.* nigiss, p'rbi*n*.

(109.) A layer of a vine during the first three years.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Pav.* vidur.

(110.) A layer of a vine where a portion of the wood of the preceding year has been left.
1. LATIN: mallĕŏlus; **maleolus, **malleulus, **mallolus, **mellolus, **palleolus, **malholtius.
2. ITALIAN: magliuòlo; *Flor.* maiuòlo (*Maiano*); *Pist.* magghiòlo (*Montale*); *North Cors.* magliòlu; *Sic.* magghiòlu; *Tar.* magghiòl; *Neap.* magliòl*a*; *Ven.* ràsolo; *Ver.* tagiol.
6. GENOESE: *Ment.* maj*u*e.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* mulètta (*Upper Mil.*); *Com.* ràsola; *Bresc.* œcièta; *Cremn.* madeer; *Mod.* tajol; *Romg.* *tajôl, *tajô, tajó (*Imola*), sgo*n* (*a country word*); *Mant.* vido*n*; *Parm.* tæjœl, mæjœl; *Piac.* ræ*s*; *Pav.* rasæ; *Piedm.* risòira, majeul, *majeù, meil, *meir, me*j*è.

8. FRIULANO: rasizz, resizz, risizz, ràsul.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: maillol, *malhol.
11. CATALONIAN: mallol, mayol, mallola, mayola.
12. PROVENÇAL: malhoou, mayoou, *malhoué; *Lang.* malholo, plan; *Cér.* malhaou, *malhoú, *mayoú, pariaisen; *Central Rouerg.* bout, *cap; *South. Rouerg.* molhouol (*Belmont*), molhol (*id.*); *Auv.* maglhò, maglheú, madjò, madjú.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Lower Dauph.* émayan; *For.* chavoun, chapoun; *Vaud.* chapon, tchapon, tsapon.
14. OLD FRENCH: mailhol, malhol, crocete, crossete.
15. FRENCH: crossette, *avantin, *maillot, *mailleton; *Berr.* chabo, chapon, *cross; *Aug.* cuchè.
16. WALLACHIAN: vitsă, jitsă (*popularly*), vitse (*acc. to Bobb*).

(111.) A bastard cast of a clipped vine.
1. LATIN: **vitulamen, **vitulo, **vituligo, **vitulatus, **vitiligo, **bituligo, **butiligo.
2. ITALIAN: femminèlla.
4. SPANISH: esforrocino.
5. PORTUGUESE: *Gal.* *borda, *borde.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Parm.* bæstærdon.
15. FRENCH: *écuyer.

(112.) A vine-leaf.
1. LATIN: pampĭnus; **pampenus, **pampilus, **panphinus, **papinus, **pàpinus (*all five also occurring, acc. to Diefenbach, in the sense of* (38).
2. ITALIAN: pàmpano, *pàmpino, *pàmpana; *Sass.* pàmpinu; *Sic.* pàmpina; *Neap.* chiaccone.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: pàmpinu.
4. SPANISH: pámpana.
5. PORTUGUESE: parra, *pámpano.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Romg.* pampænna; *Ferr.* pàmpan; *Mir.* plon.
8. FRIULANO: pàmpul.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: pampol.

11. CATALONIAN: pámpol, *pamp*a*, *pámp*ana*.
14. OLD FRENCH: tain (*acc. to Chassant*).
16. WALLACHIAN: cúrpen (*acc. to Frollo*), cúrpăn (*id.*), cúrpene (*id.*), cúrpenă (*id.*).

(113.) Vine-leaves (*coll.*).
2. ITALIAN: *Central March.* cama (*Fabriano*).

(114.) A vine-leaf rolled up.
1. LATIN: pampĭnus.

(115.) Abundance of vine-leaves.
11. CATALONIAN: p*a*mpolatg*e*, *p*a*mpolam.

(116.) The bud of a vine.
1. LATIN: gemma; **trādux (*acc. to Diefenbach*).
2. ITALIAN: *Neap.* jèmmol*a*, jèmm*a*.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Romg.* zema, gema; *Piac.* plòN; *Piedm.* ge*m*a.
12. PROVENÇAL: paraNgouN, *paravouN; *Toul.* *b*ourroú; *Central Rouerg.* *b*ourre, *o*bis.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* bolo*n*; *Franc.* bouss', bôss', boussott', bôssott', beussott'.
15. FRENCH: *Ang.* gèmm.

(117.) Vine-buds taken away from the vine (*coll.*).
12. PROVENÇAL: abroutouN.

(118.) A vine-bud beginning to come up.
12. PROVENÇAL: bourro; *Lang.* *b*ourre; *Central Rouerg.* *b*ourroú, *espaoume, espaoune (*Segala*), modjeNc (*Asprières*), *matseNc; *South Rouerg.* pampe (*Requista*); *North. Rouerg.* espompèl (*Viadène*); *Querc.* *b*ourrouN.
15. FRENCH: bourre; *Berr.* rouāch (*only used in the locution "en rouāch"*), rouch (*id.*).

(119.) A bud of the vine, despoiled of its leaves.
12. PROVENÇAL: avis.

(120.) A bud of the vine, showing the grapes.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Franc.* aparū.
15. FRENCH: *Montb.* èpèrū.

(121.) A vine-bud growing from the collar of the root.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* sèrviniin (*Aube*); *Champ.* noueu, nouou, nouo (*Yonne*).

(122.) A small lateral bud of the vine.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Central Rouerg.* tra*b*ourroú, *sa*b*oretratcho.

(123.) An unfruitful vine-bud.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* loubo (*Marne*).

(124.) A useless bud of the vine.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Central Rouerg.* tra*b*ourre, *tra*b*ourroú, *tchuco*b*í, *tchutcho*b*í; *South. Rouerg.* *b*ouorlhe (*Saint-Sermin*), **b*ouorlho (*id.*), **b*orlhe (*id.*), **b*ouorli (*id.*), *b*orlho; *North Rouerg.* *b*ouorlio (*Laguiole*).
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* laou, leou.

(125.) A knot of the vine.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* cornè.

(126.) A bunch of grapes.
1. LATIN: ūvă, bŏ̄trĭo, *bŏ̄trĭo, *bŏ̄trĭon, *bō̄trus, *bō̄truus, răcēmus; **rasemus, **nacermus (*both also occurring, as well as "racemus," acc. to Diefenbach, in the sense of* (1, 19, 38, 41, 59, 70, 134, 155, 161, 174, 177, 184), **botria, **botro, **potrus (*the three occurring, as well as "botrus," acc. to Diefenbach, in the sense of* (149), **grappus, **grapa, **grappa, **raspa, brots.
2. ITALIAN: gràppolo, *grappo, *raspo, *racìmolo, *graspo, *pigna; *Rom.* rampazzo; *Alatr.* pennia; *Temp.* butroni; *Sass.* buddròni; *Sic.* rappa, *rappu, *gràppulu; *Tar.* grap, grap'l; *Bar.* cannèch'l; *Abr.* racciàp'l, *schianda; *Ter.* ciapparætt'; *Neap.* *grappa; *Ven.* *graspa; *Ver.* arzimo; *Bell.* regia; *Rov.* picca, rasim, bròccol.

3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: budròne; *South.* gurdòni.
4. SPANISH: racimo; *Arag.* uva; *Ast.* recimo.
5. PORTUGUESE: cacho, *racĭmo; *Beir.* gaipo; *Gal.* recimo; *Indo-Portuguese*: escol, ouva, uva.
6. GENOESE: rappu; *Ment.* rap, raca, rasime *pl.*
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* sgrazza, grappa, *u*ga; *Com.* sgraz, sgraza; *Berg.* grata; *Crem.* grapèl, sgratà, ràmpol; *Cremn.* grapell; *Bol.* grap; *Mant.* s-chjanch; *Par.* sgras, grapè; *Piedm.* rapa.
8. FRIULANO: rapp, *grapp, *grasp.
9. ROMANESE: *Oberl.* madargnun, *madergnun, *bardagliun, *batun, eua, *euva, *jeua, *jua, *juva, *uga, *iva, *aua; *Oberh.* *bardun; *Lower Eng.* zoch, *soch, *u*a, *u*ja, *u*va; *Upper Eng.* punchjèl, punchjèr; *Tyr.* piccæ (*Fassa*), rusgin (*Gardena*), rosin (*id.*, *acc. to Alton*).
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: uva, razims *pl.*, *rasims (*id.*), *razains (*id.*).
11. CATALONIAN: r*a*him; *Valenc.* rahim; *Maj.* réym, rèym; *Min.* rem.
12. PROVENÇAL: grapo, *ratcho, *rapugo, *galaspo, *peindoú, peindoi (*Grasse*), rasin, *rin, *reïn; *Queyr.* aro; *Lower Dauph.* rasi*n*; *Lang.* *lam*b*rusco; *Cév.* raco; *Béarn.* gaspe; *Montp.* grapa; *Bay.* grape; *Central Rouerg.* pigno, *rosin, *roïn; *South Rouerg.* mouissèlo (*Saint-Affrique*); *Auv.* grap*a*.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* rapa; *Franc.* rāp' (*Plancher-les-Mines*).
14. OLD FRENCH: grape, crape, bourgon, bourgeoun, borjoun, bromest.
15. FRENCH: grappe, raisins *pl.*; *Lorr.* grèp (*Luneville*); *Montb.* rèp; *Mess.* r'bo; *Wall.* troc, rèhi*n* (*Villers*); *Nam.* tropp; *Ard.* bromè; *Lower Norm.* cralée; *Poit.* rapp; *Saint.* rasi*n*.
16. WALLACHIAN: strúgur, strúgure (*acc. to the Bible*), ciorchină, ciorchin (*acc. to Frollo*), grapă (*acc. to the Bible*).

(127.) Bunches of grapes (*coll.*).
1. LATIN : **acinarium, **acinatium, **acinacium, **phalanga.

(128.) A suspended bunch of grapes.
4. SPANISH : colgajo.
5. PORTUGUESE : pe*n*dur*a*.
12. PROVENÇAL : peindilhado ; *Cév.* pendilhado.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL : *Jur.* biu, blu.

(129.) A bunch of grapes preserved.
1. LATIN : bŏtrŭo, *bŏtrĭo, *bŏtrŭon.

(130.) A large bunch of grapes.
1. LATIN : **bumastha, **bumasta, **bumastus, **bumastes, **bumastis, **bumaste, **bamaste, **brumasta, **brumastes.
14. OLD FRENCH : bromest.

(131.) A small bunch of grapes.
1. LATIN : **grapium.
2. ITALIAN : *Sic.* sgangu ; *Ven.* rechjo ; *Ver.* rechja.
4. SPANISH : *Arag.* carrazo.
5. PORTUGUESE : *Gal.* canga ; *Berc.* gallo.
6. GENOESE : sc-chjancu.
7. GALLO-ITALIC : *Berg.* gramostèl (*Valle Gandino*), gramòstol (*id.*), gremostèl (*id.*), gremòstol (*id.*) ; *Romg.* garavèl ; *Pav.* sgræslèi, sgræslin, sgræslè.
8. FRIULANO : ras-chje.
9. ROMANESE : *Oberl.* *torclet, *turclet.
12. PROVENÇAL : rapugo, sounglé ; *Lang.* lam*b*ret ; *Cév.* lambro ; *Narb.* cascamel ; *Lower Lim.* orlot ; *Central Rouerg.* *b*outel, **b*outil, *lom*b*rot, tra*b*out (*Estaing*), mouissèlo (*Peyrelau*) ; *South. Rouerg.* lam*b*rot (*Villefranque*), pineloú (*id.*), *b*raousselhoú (*id.*), mouissèl (*Saint-Affrique*), *em*b*ouissèl (*id.*).
15. FRENCH : *Montb.* grèpillo*n* ; *Wall.* ri*n*hal.

(132.) A very small bunch of grapes.
12. PROVENÇAL : *Gasc.* chingloun.
15. FRENCH : *Wall.* rinhtal.

(133.) A bit of a bunch of grapes.
2. ITALIAN : *Central March.* rancischia.
7. GALLO-ITALIC : *Piedm.* s'chjanch.
12. PROVENÇAL : rapugo, sounglé ; *Gasc.* chingloun.

(134.) A stalk of a bunch of grapes.
LATIN : scāpus ; **acinarium (*acc. to Diefenbach*).
2. ITALIAN : raspo, graspo ; *Pist.* racchio (*Montale*) ; *Central March.* ticcio (*Fabriano*), ticchio (*id.*) ; *Temp.* scapàcciula, scapàcciulu ; *Sass.* ilcubàzzulu ; *Tar.* rasp ; *Neap.* streppone, streppa, raspa ; *Ven.* graspa.
3. SARDINIAN : *Central.* carèna ; *South.* scovili.
4. SPANISH : escobajo, raspa, *rampojo ; *Arag.* garraspa.
5. PORTUGUESE : engaço ; *Berc.* bangallo.
6. GENOESE : rappussu, *raspussu ; *Ment.* raca.
7. GALLO-ITALIC : *Mil.* sgrazza ; *Bresc.* ràspol, spelegata ; *Cremn.* gratta ; *Bol.* sgrapoja, graspoja ; *Mod.* graspa ; *Regg.* vinazz *pl.* ; *Romg.* rasp ; *Ferr.* graspuja ; *Parm.* grasp ; *Piac.* racca ; *Pav.* grapæ ; *Piedm.* rapus.
8. FRIULANO : raspolòn.
11. CATALONIAN : rapa ; *Valenc.* raspall.
12. PROVENÇAL : raco, *ratcho, raca (*Nîmes*), *racado, *visado, *mesque ; *Lang.* grapo, gaspo, rapugo ; *Montp.* grapa ; *Agén.* gaspil ; *Lower Lim.* lierpi, nierpi ; *Central Rouerg.* *crapo, carpo (*Campagnac*), *grepe.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL : *Franc.* tchacô, tchacó.
14. OLD FRENCH : rape.
15. FRENCH : rafle, râpe, *raffe ; *Champ.* ribo (*Marne*) ; *Lorr.* r'bo (*Landremont*) ; *Wall.* hêmm, hênn, *hèyômm, *Poit.* rapp.
16. WALLACHIAN : ciorchină (*acc. to Vaillant and to Frollo*), cărcel (*acc. to Cihac*).

(135.) A stalk of a bunch of grapes dried on the plant.
12. PROVENÇAL : arasto.

(136.) Sour taste of the stalk of a bunch of grapes.
2. ITALIAN: raspo.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Bresc.* raspì; *Romg.* rasp; *Ferr.* raspin; *Parm.* ræspein.

(137.) A bunch left behind by vintagers.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *For.* r'simola.

(138.) A small bunch left behind by vintagers.
2. ITALIAN: raspollo, *raspo, *racchio; *Temp.* scalughja; *Sass.* il*c*aluggia; *Sic.* racioppu; *Tar.* raciùep; *Ter.* schiand'; *Neap.* ràspol*e*, gràspol*e*; *Ven.* rechjo, rechjoto; *Ver.* rechja.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central:* iscaluza; *South.* sciscillòni.
4. SPANISH: redrojo, *redruejo, cencerron, re*b*usca, re*b*usco; *Arag.* racimo.
5. PORTUGUESE: r*a*bisc*o*, rebusc*a*, rebusc*o*; *Gal.* refugallo.
6. GENOESE: sc-chjancu.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* grappèll; *Berg.* ràmpol; *Bresc.* rœsem, rœsèmbol; *Bol.* garavæl; *Romg.* garavèl; *Parm.* s-chjanch; *Pav.* ræsp*us*, sgræslèi, sgræslin, sgræslè.
8. FRIULANO: ras-chje.
11. CATALONIAN: gotim, **ba*got, **agr*assot, **singlot, *xenglot.
12. PROVENÇAL: rapugo; *Cév.* tchabrioulé.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *For.* boutilhou*n*.

(139.) Unripe small bunch left behind by vintagers.
2. ITALIAN: agrestino.

(140.) A bunch with few clusters of grapes.
2. ITALIAN: racìmolo, *gracìmolo; *Tar.* raciùep; *Neap.* ràppol*e*, rapp*e*, grapp*e*.

(141.) Small bunches of grapes which are late in ripening (*coll.*).
12. PROVENÇAL: *Central Rouerg.* roui*b*rado (*Peyrelau*), *re*b*oui*b*rado (*id.*).

(142.) An unripe small bunch with few vine-berries.
2. ITALIAN: racchio.
6. GENOESE: sc-chjaNcu.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Romg.* garavèl.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* albott, *ablott, *damosèl.

(143.) Small bunches of grapes that never ripen (*coll.*).
4. SPANISH: agrazon.
11. CATALONIAN: *Valenc.* agrassó.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* agrè *pl.*

(144.) A bunch of sour grapes.
5. PORTUGUESE: *Gal.* ació.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Upper Dauph.* aigrá.

(145.) A small bunch of sour grapes.
11. CATALONIAN: *agra*ssot.

(146.) A bunch of grapes not yet developed.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* lamm, atach; *Upper Manc.* lamẽ; *Poit.* form; *Saint.* forma*n*ss.

(147.) An abortive bunch of grapes.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* *en*veuill, vrill, vrillètt (*Aube*); *Champ.* épolo*n* (*Yonne*).

(148.) Refuse bunches of grapes (*coll.*).
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* détour (*Marne*).

(149.) A cluster of grapes in a bunch.
1. LATIN: răcēmus.
2. ITALIAN: racìmolo, *gracìmolo, schiàntolo (*acc. to Foresti*); *Sic.* sgaNgu; *Neap.* ràppol*e*, rapp*e*, grapp*e*.
4. SPANISH: gajo; *Arag.* raspa.
5. PORTUGUESE: *es*cád*ea*; *Minh.* gaip*o*; *Berc.* gallo.
6. GENOESE: sc-chjaNcu; *Ment.* rap*u*gh.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Berg.* ràmpol; *Cremn.* s-chjaNchell; *Bol.* garavæl; *Romg.* garavèl; *Parm.* s-chjaNch; *Piac.* rasanèll, s-chjaNchèll; *Pav.* sgræslèi, sgræslIN, sgræslè.

8. FRIULANO: ras-chje.
11. CATALONIAN: gotim, **ba*got, **agr*assot, *singlot, *x*e*nglot; *Valenc.* txinglot; *Min.* penjoy.
12. PROVENÇAL: rapugo, *grapilhou*n*, sou*n*glé, alo, *aro; *Lang.* lam*b*ret; *Cév.* lambro, broutigno, *broutilho, tchabrioulé; *Narb.* cascamel; *Castr.* lam*b*rusco; *Central Rouerg.* *b*outel, **b*outil, *lom*b*rot, tra*b*out (*Estaing*), mouissèlo (*Peyrelau*); *South Rouerg.* lam*b*rot (*Villefranque*), pineloú (*id.*), *b*raousselhoú (*id.*), mouissèl (*Saint-Affrique*), *em*b*ouissèl (*id.*); *Querc.* mouissolo.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Neuf.* rèssaï (*La Paroisse*), resèm (*id.*); *Lower Dauph.* lhicota; *Lower Val.* grap'dho*n*; *Vaud.* grap'lho*n*.
15. FRENCH: grappillon; *Berr.* rapillo*n*.

(150.) Clusters of bunches of grapes (*coll.*).
12. PROVENÇAL: *Lang.* mouisselu*n*.

(151.) A cluster of grapes cut from a bunch.
4. SPANISH: carpa.
11. CATALONIAN: gotim; *Valenc.* txinglot.

(152.) A cluster at the top of a bunch of grapes.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Gen.* *e*pol*a*.

(153.) The stalk of a cluster of grapes in a bunch.
1. LATIN: răcēmus; **moissina, **marcum.

(154.) Tendrils and bunches appendant to the vine-branches (*coll.*).
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* atach; *Champ.* assizz.

(155.) The tendril of the vine.
1. LATIN: clăvīcŭlă, căprĕŏlus; **corimbus, **corymbus, **corinibus, **corinibi, **cornubius.
2. ITALIAN: viticcio, vignuòlo; *Central March.* roccetta (*acc. to "Raccolta"*); *Abr.* gravijūol' *pl.*; *Neap.* corriule; *Ven.* pàmpano, vigiarole *pl.*; *Rov.* cavriol.

3. SARDINIAN: *Central.* lorighitta; *South.* sinzillu, inzillu.
4. SPANISH: tijereta, tijerilla.
5. PORTUGUESE: *te*sourīnh*a*.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* cavriœ; *Berg.* cavriœl; *Crem.* cavriol; *Cremn.* cavriool; *Bol.* plòu*n*, *pà*m*pen, cariule*in*, caveriol; *Romg.* cariule*n*, *cavariôl, caverió (*Imola*); *Mir.* cavariol; *Parm.* cæveriœl; *Piac.* cavariœ; *Pav.* riss.
8. FRIULANO: cwarn, raculiN, grìtul, vidizze.
11. CATALONIAN: tisoret*a*, *e*stisoret*a*, *e*spotsim.
12. PROVENÇAL: filheiroun, *filheiroou, *fureiroun, *fiou, *filholo, *fiolo.
15. FRENCH: vrille, *cirre, *nille; *Champ.* vrillètt (*Aube*).
16. WALLACHIAN: cîrceiu, cărceiu, cărcel, cep (*acc. to Frollo*), cúrpen (*acc. to Cihac*), cúrpăn (*id.*), cúrpene (*id.*), cúrpenă (*id.*).

(156.) The string coming out of the wood when the vine is blooming.
15. FRENCH: *Ard.* pa*m*pinée.

(157.) The blossom of the vine.
4. SPANISH: cierne (*only used in the locution "en cierne"*).

(158.) An abortive vine-blossom.
11. CATALONIAN: *cara*golet.

(159.) The blossom of the wild vine.
11. CATALONIAN: ll*am*br*usca*.

(160.) The stamen of the blossom of the vine.
4. SPANISH: cierna.

(161.) Grapes (*coll.*): The fruit of the vine.
1. LATIN: ūvă, *vītis (*metonymy*), *răcēmus (*synecdoche*).
2. ITALIAN: uva; *Sass.* u*b*a; *Sic.* racina; *Ven.* ua; *Lingua Franca*: rasin (*Algiers*).
3. SARDINIAN: *Central.* ua, àghina (*Marghene*), aghinédda (*Olzai*); *South.* àxina.

4. SPANISH: uva; *Ast.* recimos *pl.; Curassao Spanish*: weindreif (*a Dutch word*), raseentji.
5. PORTUGUESE: uva; *Indo-Portuguese*: ouva.
6. GENOESE: *u*ga; *Ment.* rasim.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil. u*ga; *Berg.* œa; *Jargon of the shepherds of the Province of Bergamo*: limbrœsca, mocia; *Bol.* u; *Romg.* ova, óva (*Imola*); *Ferr.* vo; *Parm.* uvæ; *Piedm. u*va, *u*a.
8. FRIULANO: ue, uve.
9. ROMANESE: *Oberl.* eua, *euva, *jeua, *jua, *juva, *uga, *aua; *Oberh.* iva, jeva; *Lower Eng. u*a, **u*ja, **u*va; *Tyr. u*æ (*Ladin*), uæ (*Gardena*).
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: razim, *rasim, *razain, *uva.
11. CATALONIAN: *r*ahim; *Valenc.* rahim; *Maj.* réym, rèym; *Min.* rem.
12. PROVENÇAL: rasin, *rin, *reïn; *Niç.* raïn; *Upper Dauph.* rasin; *Gasc.* arrasin; *Béarn.* arrasim; *Bay.* arresin; *Central Rouerg.* rosin, roïn; *Auv.* rasi*n*, cepa*n*.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Neuf.* rèssaï (*La Paroisse*), resèm (*id.*); *Sav.* résé; *Vaud.* r'si*n*, r'sí; *Aost*, rés*in*; *South.-East. Vosg.* rès*in*.
14. OLD FRENCH: reisin, roisin, rosin, rasin, ragin, resin.
15. FRENCH: raisin; *Berr.* *vendanj; *Perch.* réeisi*n*; *Champ.* r'si*n* (*Marne*), r'sa*n* (*id.*), rij*in* (*id.*), ris*in* (*id.*), rus*in* (*id. at Somme-Tourbe*); *Champ.* raj*in* (*Aube*); *Morv.* rāsi*n*; *Lorr.* rājin (*Domgermain*), rahh*in* (*Lunéville*); *Montb.* rés*in*, réj*in*; *Ban-de-la-Roche*: rès*in*; *Mess.* réhh*in*, r'j*in*, r'hh*in* (*Rémilly*); *Wall.* troc; *Nam.* reuj*in*; *Ard.* réch*in*, réss*in*, rouéss*in*; *Pic.* rouésa*n*; *Lill.* roj*in*; *Rouch.* reus*in* (*Bavai*); *Mont.* rouj*in*; *Guern.* grapp.
16. WALLACHIAN: strúgure, strúgur, póamă; *Kutzo-Wallachian*: aúà; *Istro-Wallachian*: grozdă, grozge, grozda, grojdă.

(162.) Fresh grapes put in to restore wine.
6. GENOESE: *Ment.* vinassa.
15. FRENCH: râpe.

(163.) Grapes growing at the latter end of the season.
12. PROVENÇAL: rapugo; *Toul.* lam*b*rusco.

(164.) Small grapes produced after the first growth.
15. FRENCH: *Mess.* rwayno, r'vnott.

(165.) A second growth of grapes showing itself at the extremities of the branches.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* bouvieu (*Marne*).

(166.) Abundance of grapes.
4. SPANISH: uvada.
11. CATALONIAN: r*a*himad*a*; *Valenc.* rahimá, rahimada; *Maj.* re*y*mad*a*.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Toul.* grumo.

(167.) A strewing of grapes lying on the ground.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Central Rouerg.* grunado, gronado (*Aubin*).

(168.) Grapes left behind by vintagers (*coll.*).
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* albott, *ablott.

(169.) Gathered grapes not yet pressed.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* v'ni*n*dj' (*Lavaux*).

(170.) The result of the gleaning of grapes.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* graptaill.

(171.) The quantity of grapes which a wine-press can contain.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* parsouérée.

(172.) The quantity of grapes filling the wooden vessel called "bâss'."
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* bassée.

(173.) Grapes when they become darkened by the heat.
2. ITALIAN: saracini *pl.*
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Bresc.* sarasì *pl.*

(174.) Raisins (*coll.*): Dried grapes.

1. LATIN: **passacua, **passaneria, **passanella, **passuva, **acinacium (*acc. to Diefenbach*).
2. ITALIAN: *Rom.* passarina (*acc. to "Raccolta"*); *Sic.* pàssula; *Tar.* pas'l; *Neap.* pàssol*e*.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: pa*b*assa.
4. SPANISH: pasa.
5. PORTUGUESE: pass*a*; *Indo-Portuguese*: cascas *pl.*
6. GENOESE: *Ment.* s*e*nsibu.
9. ROMANESE: *Oberl.* eueta, *jeueta, *jueta, uèta (*acc. to Carigiet*), euveta (*acc. to the Bible*); *Oberh.* *juet; *Lower Eng.* *u*eta.
11. CATALONIAN: pans*a*; *Valenc.* pansa.
12. PROVENÇAL: panso, *passurelo, passeriy*a* (*Nîmes*); *Cév.* passarilho; *Central Rouerg.* possorillos *pl.*, *passarillos (*id.*), ooudje*b*i (*Millau*).
14. OLD FRENCH: passerilles *pl.*
15. FRENCH: *Wall.* rouès*in*, ros*in*; *Ard.* passreill, passrill.
16. WALLACHIAN: stafidă, stafide (*acc. to Vaillant and Bobb*), strafidă, strafide (*acc. to the Bible*); *Kutzo-Wallachian*: stafídhâ.

(175.) Grapes dried by the sun (*coll.*).

16. WALLACHIAN: roscichină, rosichină (*acc. to Vaillant*).

(176.) Grapes beginning to ripen (*coll.*).

15. FRENCH: *Champ.* ablè (*Marne*).

(177.) Sour grapes.

2. ITALIAN: agrèsto; *Sic.* agrèsta, agrèstu; *Ven.* gresta; *Rov.* agrèst.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: agrazzu; *South.* agresti.
4. SPANISH: agraz.
5. PORTUGUESE: *a*graço; *Gal.* ació.
6. GENOESE: agrassiu; *Ment.* aigret.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Bol.* agræst, agherstòu*n*; *Piedm.* agrèst.
8. FRIULANO: agrèst, *grèst.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: agras, *eygras.

11. CATALONIAN: *agrás*; *Valenc.* agrás.
12. PROVENÇAL: aigras, eigras, eigrassado; *Lower Dauph.* aigrá; *Gasc.* berjus; *Central Rouerg.* ogras.
14. OLD FRENCH: aigrest.
15. FRENCH: verjus; *Berr.* égrè, *varju; *Champ.* égru*n* (*Marne*); *Ard.* égra, égri*n*.
16. WALLACHIAN: aguridă, aguride (*acc. to the Bible*).

(178.) Sour grapes of the extremity of the vine-branch.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* vardi*n*, *verdi*n*.

(179.) Wild grapes.
4. SPANISH: agrazon.
5. PORTUGUESE: l*a*brusc*a*.
11. CATALONIAN: ll*am*br*u*sc*a*; *Valenc.* agrassó.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Jur.* la*m*brutsa, la*m*britsa.
14. OLD FRENCH: lambrusche.
15. FRENCH: *lambruche, *lambrusque, *lambrot, *labrusque; *Berr.* trillo.

(180.) Grapes of the wild vine when it flourishes.
1. LATIN: œnanthē.

(181.) Picked grapes separated from the bunches.
4. SPANISH: granuja.
11. CATALONIAN: *Valenc.* granulla, *granutxa.

(182.) Picked grapes which remain in the basket where the bunches were.
4. SPANISH: garulla.
5. PORTUGUESE: *Gal.* garula, garulla.
11. CATALONIAN: gr*a*n*e*llad*a*.

(183.) Vine-berries accumulated at the bung.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* chapo (*Marne*); *Ang.* chapio.

(184.) Grape: A berry of the vine.
1. LATIN: ăcĭnus, ăcĭnum, *ăcĭnă, *racēmi *pl.*, ūvă (*acc. to Postgate*).

2. ITALIAN: àcino, *uve *pl.*; *Rom.* vaco; *Central March.* vago (*Fabriano*); *Sass.* pupiòni; *Sic.* cocciu; *Abr.* vach'.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: pupujòne; *South.* pibiòni.
4. SPANISH: *uvas *pl.*
5. PORTUGUESE: *uv*a*, *ácino; *Gal.* *b*ago; *Indo-Portuguese*: carni.
6. GENOESE: axinella, **u*ga.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* pi*n*cirò; *Piedm.* asinèl, **u*ve *pl.*, *u*e (*id.*).
8. FRIULANO: àsin.
9. ROMANESE: *Oberl.* *euas *pl.*, *euvas *pl.*, *juvas *pl.*; *Oberh.* *ivas *pl.*, *jevas *pl.*; *Lower Eng.* **u*as *pl.*, **u*jas *pl.*
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: *razims *pl.*, *rasims *pl.*, *razains *pl.*, *uvas *pl.*
11. CATALONIAN: *Valenc.* *rahims *pl.*; *Maj.* *reyms *pl.*, rèyms *pl.*; *Min.* rems *pl.*
12. PROVENÇAL: adji, aidje, *uvos pl.; *Lang.* adje, atche; *Gasc.* gru*n*, *gru, gruo, chi*n*glou*n*; *Central Rouerg.* grut, *grup, *grudo, *grud, *gruno; *Auv.* grou*na*.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* grumm (*Aube*); *Morv.* greumm, grémm; *Wall.* rèhi*n*, ri*n*hi*n*.
16. WALLACHIAN: acină (*acc. to Frollo*), bóană (*acc. to Balasiescu*), brobóană (*id.*), borbóană (*acc. to "Lexicon"*), *strúguri *pl.*; *Kutzo-Wallachian*: agorídhâ; *Istro-Wallachian*: grozde *pl.*, grojde *id.*

(185.) A large grape.
1. LATIN: **bumastha, **bumasta, **bumastus, **bumastes, **bumastis, **bumaste, **bamaste, **brumasta, **brumastes.

(186.) A grape with its stalk.
1. LATIN: bŏ̄tryo, *bŏ̄trĭo, bŏ̄trŷon.

(187.) A stalk of a grape.
1. LATIN: scōpĭo, scōpĭum, scōpus, *bŏ̄trŷo, *bŏ̄trĭo, bŏ̄trŷŏn, *sarmentum; **esna, **raspatium, **moissina, **marcum.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Com.* pincirœ.
14. OLD FRENCH: raste.

(188.) A small grape that dries before ripening.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* melh'ri*n*.

(189.) A raisin: A dried grape.
1. LATIN: **passula.
2. ITALIAN: pàssola, pàssula; *Neap.* pass*e*.
9. ROMANESE: *Oberl.* euetas *pl.*, *jeuetas (*id.*), *juetas (*id.*), uètas (*id.*, *acc. to Carigiet*), *euvetas (*id.*, *acc. to the Bible, Ed. of Coire*, 1818).
11. CATALONIAN: pans*a*; *Valenc.* pansa.
12. PROVENÇAL: pansos *pl.*, passurelos (*id.*), passeriy*a* (*id.*, *Nîmes*); *Cév.* passarilhos *pl.*; *Central Rouerg.* possorillos *pl.*, *passarillos (*id.*).
14. OLD FRENCH: passerilles *pl.*
15. FRENCH: *Ard.* passreill *pl.* passrill (*id.*).
16. WALLACHIAN: stafidă (*acc. to "Lexicon"*).

(190.) A grape dried by the sun.
16. WALLACHIAN: roscichină, rosichină (*acc. to Vaillant*).

(191.) Vine-berries beginning to grow.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Gen.* agrè *pl.* (*only used in the locution "en agrè"*).

(192.) Small abortive vine-berries without juice (*coll.*).
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* désa*n*nei *pl.* (*Montreux*).

(193.) A wild grape.
1. LATIN: **, see (51).

(194.) The skin of a grape.
1. LATIN: vīnācĕus; **vinacium, **vīnācĕum.
2. ITALIAN: fiòcine; *Sienn.* fiòcino; *Tar.* scarp.
3. SARDINIAN: *South.* fod*d*i.
6. GENOESE: beretta.

7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Bol.* gofla; *Ferr.* graspuja; *Piedm.* busèt, bursòt.
8. FRIULANO: cùful.
11. CATALONIAN: *Maj.* pellòfa, *pelleròfa.
15. FRENCH: *Berr.* bourss.

(195.) The skin of the trodden grapes.
11. CATALONIAN: pellofa, *pallofa.

(196.) Grape-skins and grape-stones either to be trodden or already trodden.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Com.* vinasc.

(197.) Pressed grapes (*coll.*).
15. FRENCH: *Ard.* trulée.

(198.) Pressed grapes from which the must has not been drawn.
2. ITALIAN: *Tar.* past; *Ven.* grandua.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *For.* gènou.
15. FRENCH: *Nic.* jon (*Clamecy*).

(199.) Residuum of grapes after expression.
1. LATIN: vīnācĕa, vīnācĕa *pl.*, *brīsa; **vinacia, **vinacium, **vinatium, **vinasium, **vinaceum, **vinacinum, **vinarium, **acinarium.
2. ITALIAN: vinaccia, *grasse *pl.*; *Central March.* friscolata *Fabriano*; *Sass.* binazza; *Sic.* vinazza, vinazzu, *Tar.* vinaz; *Neap.* venaccia, venacciare; *Ven.* graspe *pl.*, sarpe (*id.*); *Pad.* graspajole; *Vic.* zarpe *pl.*; *Bell.* zarpa.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: binatta; *South.* binazza, binaccia.
4. SPANISH: orujo, casca, *lia; *Arag.* brisa.
5. PORTUGUESE: bagaço, buruso; *Gal.* bagullo; *Berc.* bullo.
6. GENOESE: rappussu, rappu; *Mont.* asené.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Com.* vinascia; *Berg.* grate *pl.*; *Bol.* vinazza, graspa, graspoja; *Ferr.* grapa; *Mir.* graspi *pl.*; *Mant.* graspe *pl.*; *Parm.* vinass; *Piac.* racca; *Par.* gussò *pl.*, craspi (*id.*).

8. FRIULANO: trape, ciarpe.
9. ROMANESE: *Lower Eng.* arsuclas *pl.*
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: vinaci.
11. CATALONIAN: *brisa*; *Valenc.* brisa.
12. PROVENÇAL: destregnado, *destrignado, raco; *Upper Dauph.* mèr, dratsi; *Béarn.* drusc; *Lower Lim.* aseno; *Central Rouerg.* trèco, *draco; *North. Rouerg.* traco (*Entraygues*); *Auv.* asse.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Neuf.* dzîgno (*South-West. Vignoble*); *Lower Dauph.* juena; *For.* troulha, drouacha; *Vaud.* djeino (*Lavaux*), dzeino (*id.*); *Franc.* djèn'.
14. OLD FRENCH: aisne, esne, aesne, aiesne, ainsne, asne, aine, ayne, anne, gen, genne.
15. FRENCH: marc; *Berr.* rāp; *Montb.* djeunn; *Mess.* méer; *Wall.* pacin, hêmm, *héyômm, *mor; *Poit.* rapp; *Ang.* sèp.
16. WALLACHIAN: tiscovină, tescuvină (*acc. to Vaillant and Pontbriant*), tescoină (*acc. to Cihac*), tescuíme (*acc. to Frollo*), trevere, *treavele (*acc. to Pontbriant and "Lexicon"*), treavere (*id., id.*); *Kutzo-Wallachian*: bărsíi.

(200.) What is trodden at a time of grapes.
12. PROVENÇAL: destregnado, *destrignado, destretcho; *Lang.* racado, prensado, prenso.
15. FRENCH: marc; *Champ.* sér (*Marne*); *Saint.* treuillée.

(201.) The pulp of a grape.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Parm.* grass.

(202.) Must: unfermented wine.
1. LATIN: mustum, răcēmus; **mustaticum.
2. ITALIAN: mosto; *North. Cors.* mostu; *Sass.* mu*l*tu; *Sic.* mustu; *Tar.* must; *Abr.* mùost; *Neap.* muste; *Rov.* most.
3. SARDINIAN: *Central*: mustu.
4. SPANISH: mosto.
5. PORTUGUESE: môst*o*.

6. GENOESE; mostu; *Ment.* most.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* most; *Cremn.* *mùster; *Bol.* mòust *Regg.* mòst; *Mir.* mos'c; *Piedm.* must.
8. FRIULANO: most.
9. ROMANESE: *Oberl.* muost, *must, *most, mûst (*ac to Carigiet*).
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: most.
12. PROVENÇAL: mous, *moustouiro; *Lang.* moust; *Gas* mouch.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Jur.* môta; *Neuf.* môt' (*Nor and South-East. Vignoble*); *Lower Dauph.* mouoda *Vaud.* môda, *môtha, *moûta.
14. OLD FRENCH: moust; *Norm.* moutardd.
15. FRENCH: moût; *Champ.* mou (*Marne*).
16. WALLACHIAN: must; *Kutzo-Wallachian*: mustu; *Istr Wallachian*): mostu.

(203.) The must that comes out of the grapes before the are pressed.
2. ITALIAN: presmone; *Ven.* mostadura; *Pad.* mostaùr *Ver.* mostin.
12. PROVENÇAL: *Auv.* ramei.

(204.) The must that comes first out from the press.
15. FRENCH: *Champ.* goutt (*Aube*).

(205.) Strong thick must.
4. SPANISH: mostazo.
11. CATALONIAN: *Valenc.* mostòt, mostás.

(206.) Weaker must procured by the last pressure.
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* trolhu (*Lavaux*).

(207.) The quantity of must coming out from a charged pres
13. FRANCO-PROVENÇAL: *Vaud.* trolha.

(208.) Verjuice: The juice of sour grapes.
1. LATIN: omphăcĭum; **omphacum, **ompha: **agresta, **agrestis, **agrascum, **verjutum.

2. ITALIAN: agrèsto; *Neap.* agrèst*a*; *Ven.* grèst*a*; *Rov.* agrèst.
4. SPANISH: agrazo.
5. PORTUGUESE: *a*graço; *Gal.* ació.
6. GENOESE: agrassiu; *Ment.* aigret.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Bol.* agræst, agherstòu*n*; *Piedm.* agrèst.
8. FRIULANO: agrèst, *grèst.
10. OLD PROVENÇAL: agras, *eygras.
11. CATALONIAN: *a*grás; *Valenc.* agrás.
12. PROVENÇAL: aigras, eigras; *Upper Dauph.* aigrá.
14. OLD FRENCH: vergus.
15. FRENCH: verjus; *Montb.* vòrdju; *Wall.* vèrdju; *Vierv.* vèrdjeu; *Saint* verju.

(209.) A grape-stone.

1. LATIN: vīnācĕum; **arillus, **arillum, **vinacium, **vinatium, **vinasium, **vinacinum, **acinus, **acinum, **açimen, **acmen, **acrimen, **acermen, **acium, **acimus, **acinatium, **acinacium, **anna, **moissina, **pepinus.

N.B.—acinus *and* acinum *also occur, according to Diefenbach,* in the sense of (112, 161, 177).

2. ITALIAN: vinacciuòlo, *àcino, *fiòcine; *Central March.* granièllo (*Fabriano*); *Sic.* vinazzòlu, vinazzu, arì*dd*aru, *arilla; *Tar.* gri*dd*; *Neap.* arill*e*, agrill*e*; *Ven.* zìgolo; *Rov.* vinazzòl.

4. SPANISH: granuja.
5. PORTUGUESE: b*a*gulh*o*, gr*a*ĩnh*a*, graúlh*o*.
7. GALLO-ITALIC: *Mil.* vinasciòe; *Berg.* vinassœl; *Bresc.* venassœl; *Crem.* vinassol; *Cremn.* vinazzool; *Bol.* vinazzol, *gramustei*n*; *Mod.* gramusten; *Romg.* vinazôl, vinazó (*Imola*); *Ferr.* gramostin; *Parm.* vinæssœl; *Piac.* racchitt.
8. FRIULANO: àsin.
11. CATALONIAN: *b*risa; *Valenc.* granulla, *granutxa.

IX.—NAMES OF EUROPEAN REPTILES IN THE LIVING NEO-LATIN LANGUAGES. By H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte.

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The present collection of Neo-Latin names of reptiles is taken: 1.° from a great number of printed works, such as dictionaries, vocabularies, nomenclatures, etc., some of which are very rare and often out of print; 2.° from manuscript works, sometimes unique, and always very scarce or difficult to procure; 3.° from my own herpetological notes, containing a great number of the vulgar names of reptiles. Such names I have scarcely ever ceased to collect from 1843 till 1883 in Italy, Spain, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Channel Islands, either from the mouths of peasants or from collectors

of reptiles. For in my youth I was something of an herpetological amateur under the guidance of the late well-known zoologist Charles-Lucian Bonaparte, second Prince of Canino, and my eldest brother.[1]

As regards the Neo-Latin vulgar names of the European reptiles belonging to this very long, although by no means complete list, they are all headed by those adopted in French by Duméril and Bibron in their celebrated work "Erpétologie générale ou Histoire naturelle complète des reptiles," Paris, 1834–54, in ten large octavo volumes.

For an explanation of the arrangement of these lists see Appendix IV.

First Order. "Chelonians" or Tortoises.

I. "Tortue" (generally), Tortoise.

1. Italian: tartaruga, testúggine, *testúdine, *testudo, *bizzuca, *bizzuga, *biscia scodelliera, *bòtta scudellaia, *bòtta scodaia (Morri), *bòtta scodellaia (Cherubini), *bòtta scudaia (id.), *testúggine scudaia (id.), *cucchiara (id.), *cucciara (id.), *góngola (id.). *Sienese*; *Roman*: tartaruca; *Neapolitan*: cestuniä, cestúnejä; *Abruzzese*: cestúnija; *id. of Teramo*: cestunəj; *Tarantino*: cilon; *Leccese*: cilona; *South. Calabrian*: scuzzarra; *Sicilian*: tartuca, scuzzara, scuzzaira, scuzzaina; *Venetian*: gagiandra; *Veronese*: bissa scudellara; *Roveretan*: bissa scudelera.

2. Sardinian. *Logudorese*: tostóine. *Cagliaritan*: tostoíni, tostoínu.

3. Spanish: tortuga, *tartaruga (Schmid), *tartuga (Palmyreno, I., E iij.).

4. Portuguese: tärtärugä. *Galician*: sapo concho.

5. Genoese: tartarüga. *Monagasque*; *Mentonese*: tartüga.

[1] At the fifth *Unione degli Scienzati Italiani* held at Lucca in 1843, I read a paper giving the results of my chemical researches on the poison of the viper (*Ricerche chimiche sul Veleno della Vipera*) printed in the *Gazzetta Toscana delle Scienze Medico-fisiche* (first year, Florence 1843). As some English writers have attributed these researches to my above mentioned brother, I take this opportunity of correcting the error.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: bissa scüdelléra, tartarüga. *Bergamasco*: bissascülléra; *Brescian*: bissa scödelera, béssa scüdeléra; *Cremonese*: bissa scüdelèra; *Piedmontese*: bissacopera; *Bolognese*: tartaruga; *Modenese*: galana; *Reggiano*: bissa scudlèra; *Parmesan*: bissä scudlärä, tartarugä; *Piacentino*: bissa scüdléra; *Pavese*: bissä scüdlèrä, tartarügä; *Romagnuolo*: bessagalana.

7. FRIOULAN: copasse, gajandre.

8. ROMANESE. *Oberland R.*: schildkrota, *schilkrot (Sale), testudna (Carigiet), schildkrot (id.). *Oberhalbstein R.*: tartaruga; *Lower Engadine R.*: tortuga (Der, Die, Das).

9. CATALAN: tortugä. *Valencian*: tortua.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: tartugo, tourtugo. *Bouquiren*: tartugou; *Languedocien of Montpellier*: tartuga, tortuga; *Castrais*: tourtuo.

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN: . . . . . .

12. FRENCH: tortue. *Walloon*: tortuw.

13. WALLACHIAN: broască cestoasă. *Kutzo-Wallachian*: căthă.

II. "TORTUE TERRESTRE," LAND TORTOISE.

3. SPANISH: galápago.

4. PORTUGUESE: cágädo.

7. FRIOULAN: tartarughe.

9. CATALAN: gälápät, *cälápät, *cälapä, *cälápet, *gälápet. *Valencian*: galap, *galápago (Orti, 343.).

III. "TORTUE PALUDINE," MARSH TORTOISE.

3. SPANISH: galápago, *tortuga macho (Seckendorff).

4. PORTUGUESE: cágädo.

7. FRIOULAN: magne copasse, cadòpe, codòpe, còpe.

9. CATALAN: (as the number II.).

IV. "TORTUE MARINE," TURTLE.

1. ITALIAN: *galana. *Pugliese of Molfetta*: sartúscin.

2. SARDINIAN: tartaruga.

7. FRIOULAN: magne copasse, tartarughe.

12. FRENCH. *Walloon*: krapô-d-mér.

N.B.—Compare Latin *testudo* with Italian *testúggine*, Neapolitan *cestuniä*, Sardinian *tostóine*, Wallachian *cestoasă*; Low Latin *tartuca*, *tartuga*, *tortuca*, *tortua*, *turtus*, *galandra*, *galanda*, with Italian *tartaruga* and **galana*, Roman *tartaruca*, Spanish *tortuga*, Valencian *tortua*; Greek χελώνη and Modern Greek χελώνα, with Tarantino *cilon*, Leccese *cilona*, and ? Italian **galana*. Compare also German *schildkröte*, literally "shield toad," with Italian **bòtta scudaia*, having the same literal meaning; with Milanese *bissa scüdeléra*, lit. "porringer snake"; and with Galician *sapo concho*, lit. "shell toad."

SECOND ORDER. "SAURIANS" OR LIZARDS.

V. "CAMÉLEON," CHAMELEON.

1. ITALIAN: camaleonte, *cameleonte. *Neapolitan*: cammaleonte, camalionte; *Sicilian*: camaleonti.

2. SARDINIAN. *Logudorese*: camaleonte. *Cagliaritan*: camaleonti.

3. SPANISH: camaleon, *camalion (Schmid), *cameleon (id.).

4. PORTUGUESE; cämeleão, cämäleão, *cämäleonte (Fonseca).

5. GENOESE: camaleonte.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Piedmontese*: camaleonte; *Bolognese*: camaleônt; *Ferrarese*: camaleónt; *Pavese*: cämäleont.

8. ROMANESE: cameleon.

9. CATALAN: cämälleó, cämäleó, *cämäleon.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN: cameleon, camaleon, gambalion, gambalien.

12. FRENCH: caméléon. *Walloon*: caméleyon.

13. WALLACHIAN: cameleon, camelione.

N.B. Compare Latin *chamæleon* with all these words and Low Latin *gamaleon* with Modern Occitanic *gambalion*.

VI. "GECKO."

1. ITALIAN: tarántola, *stellione, *taréntola (Littré), *terréntola (id.), *tarantèlla (Zanotto). *Sassarese*: tarántula;

Neapolitan: lacertä vermenarä, lacertä fracetanä; *Tarantino*: salanitr, salenitr; *Leccese*: lucerta fracetana, lucerta vermenara; *Sicilian*: schirpiuni, scrippiuni, scurpiuni, tignusu, lucerta libbrusa; *Paduan*: *lusèrtola (Patriarchi).

2. SARDINIAN. *Logudorese*: tarántula. *Cagliaritan*: pistilloni.

3. SPANISH: alicántara, *tarántola (Pereyra).

4. PORTUGUESE: ósgä, *älicántärä (Canto).

5. GENOESE: scurpiun. *Monagasque*: scrupiun; *Mentonese*: scrupiyan.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Bolognese*: tarantla; *Romagnuolo of Faenza*: taräntula; *id. of Imola*: tarántola.

8. ROMANESE. *Lower Engadine R.*: *tarántola (Bible).

9. CATALAN: drägó. *Algherese*: ascurpì.

10. MODERN OCCITANIC. *Niçard*: taranta, lagramua.

12. FRENCH: *tarentule. *Walloon*: *kwatt-pess (Remacle).

N.B.—Compare Low Latin *tarantula* with the greater part of these words; Latin *stellio*, with Italian *stellione*; Latin *draco* "dragon," with Catalan *dragó*; Low Latin *scorpio*, meaning sometimes "gecko," with Sicilian *schirpiuni*; Genoese *scurpiun*, and Algherese *ascurpì*.

VII. "LÉZARD" (GENERALLY THE SMALL SPECIES), LIZARD.

1. ITALIAN: lucèrtola, *lucèrta, *lacèrtola, *lacèrta. *Marchigiano of Fano*: raganèlla; *Sassarese*: tilichelta; *Tempiese*: zirichelta; *Abruzzese*: luscèrta, nuscèrta; *id. of Teramo*; scertərəll; *Tarantino*; lucèrt; *Capo di Lecce*: sarica; *Calabrian*: scefrate; *Southern Calabrian of Gerace*: zzafrate; *Venetian*: luserta, lusèrtola; *Vicentino*: risardola; *Veronese*: osèrtola; *Roveretan*: usèrdola.

2. SARDINIAN. *Logudorese*: tiligherta, *tiliguerta (Cetti).—*Cagliaritan*: caluxértula, luxértula, *caluscerta (Diez).

3. SPANISH: lagartija, *lagartezna. *Aragonese*: sangartesa, sangartana, engardajina.

4. PORTUGUESE: lägärtixä.

5. GENOESE: grigua. *Monagasque*: palabrüna; *Mentone*: labrena.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: lüsèrta. *Verbanese*: vissòpola; *Bergamasco*: löserta; *Bresciano*: lüserta; *Piedmontese*: laserta, laserda; *Bolognese*: luserta; *Reggiano*: arsintèlla; *Parmesan*: arsintèlä, lusertä; *Pavese*: lüsertä; *Romagnuolo*: luserta.

7. FRIOULAN: lisèrte, lisièrte, lusèrte.

8. ROMANESE. *Oberland R.*: luschart, luschard, luzert, quatterpiergia. *Heinzenberg R.*: da quatter pezzas; *Bergün R.*: zerp da quatter pezzas; *Upper Engadine, R.*: lucerta; *Lower Engadine, R*: lüscharda; *Eastern Tyrolese of Gardena*: lingiòla; *Western Tyrolese of Sulzberg*: niagnöla.

9. CATALAN: särgäntanä, *serguentanä. *Valencian*: sargatana, sergatana, sergantana, sergancana.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: lagramuzo, lagramuo, langramuo, longamuo, langromu, largamuo, lagar-muro, grato-muro, chaou-de-San-Peire. *id. of Nîmes*: angloræ; *id. of Cuges*: loumbrigueto; *id. of the Hautes-Alpes*: larmuza. *Niçard*: estrapioun, lagramuza; *Cévennois*: angloro, petingloro, rigoloú, rigotoú; *Vivarais*: larmuzo; *Languedocien of Montpellier*: angrola, grata-muralhas, onglora, rigoloun; *id. of Colognac*: rengolo, lengloro, lengrolo, engloro, lagremuzo, grizolo; *Castrais*: engrizolo; *Agénois*: sarnilho; *Rouergois*: ongrouolo, ongrolo, rengloro; *id. of Saint-Bauzely*: clobeto, esclobeto, ringouleto; *id. of Millau*: engrouolo; *id. of Peyrelau*: ingrono, engrolo; *id. of Campagnac*: engrizouolo; *id. of Aubin*: grochoule; *Southern Rouergois of Villefranche*: claou-de-sen-Pèire, claoupèide; *id. id. of Nant*: engrèoulo; *id. id. of Camarès*: engourtino; *id. id. of Belmont*: luzèrp, luzèr, lizert; *Northern Rouergois of Entraygues*: serpouleto; *Périgourdin*: *angrizole (Boucherie); *Lower Limousin*: engrouzoulo, engrozoulo, *engrozooulo (Boucherie); *Gascon*: sernalho, sarnalho, claou-de-San-Peire; *Bearnese*: singraoulheto, chichanglo; *Bayonnais*; chichanglə; *Mi-Périgourdin*: *angleite (Garrau); *Auvergnat*: leseartæ.

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIEN. *Forézien*: larmuza, lermiza. *Dauphinois*: larmiza; *Génevois*: linzette, lézette, gremilhette; *Lower Valaison of Vionnaz*: lizerna; *Vaudois*: lizetta, lainzar, lanzer, linzer; *id. of Lausanne*: gremelhetta; *Fribourgeois Broyard*: lanternètta; *id. Qouetso*: lanšê; *id. Gruérin*: lanšæ;

Neufchâtelois of La Paroisse: lancerda; *id. of Les Montagnes*: l'cérda; *id. of Val-de-Travers*; l'çarda; *id. of Val-de-Ruz*: lancernə; *Jurassien of Les Fourgs*: ləzado; *Franc-Comtois of Plancher-les-Mines*: lozadge; *South-eastern Vosgien of Ventron*: lahade.

12. FRENCH: lézard. *Berrichon*: rasiette, rapiette, lizette, luzette; *Upper Manceau*: lizardɔ̃; *Champenois of Langres*; lézarde; *Morvandeau*: luïerne, *luerne, *luarne, leujotte; *id. of the Nivernais*: lujar, beurlujotte; *id. id. of the North-West*: luiserne, luisarne (in some parts); *Burgundian*: luzard; *Lorrain of Badonviller*: lézate, lèzate; *id. Vexaincourt*: rehalle; *id. Luvigny*: eurhaille; *id. Moyenmoutier*: elhate; *id. Saint-Blaise-la-Roche*: lézâ; *id. Saales*: jorjolotte; *id. Provenchères-s-Fave*: aolhaôte; *id. Lusse*: erholate; *id. Verdenal*: nazade; *id. Port-sur-Seille*: lézèd; *id. Thézey-Saint-Martin*: couètre-pâë; *id. Landremont*: quètè-brache; *id. Moivrons*: lézère; *id. Custines*: quouète-è-brouche; *id. Hoéville*: lézédieu; *id. Courbessaux*: lézé; *id. Einville*: lézê; *id. Sommerviller*: lézêque; *id. Anthelupt*: nézégue; *id. Lemainville*: lézèdieu; *id. Lalœuf*: lézête; *id. Vandeléville*: lézète; *id. Marainville*: lézeêrd; *id. Hergugney*: lêzètieu; *id. Rugney*: lezadhe; *id. Gircourt-les-Viéville*: lézathiœ; *id. Pierre-la-Treiche*: lazate; *id. Domgermain*: lâzard; *id. Autigny-la-Tour*: lojadieu; *id. Aboncourt*: lazêque; *id. Maconcourt*: lanzade; *id. Houécourt*: lèzatië; *id. La-Neuve-Ville-sous-Montfort*: lézathieu; *id. Lignéville*: lèzadieu; *id. Gelvécourt*: lazatieu; *id. Bouillonville*: lajaïenne; *id. Martincourt*: quatrepiche; *id. Hamonville*: lézér; *id. Le Tholy*: lohande; *id. Ramonchamp*: lèzâde; *id. Champdray*: leuhaute; *id. Grandvillers*: lohhatte; *id. Deycimont*: lahaute; *id. Docelles*: lohaute; *id. Moyen*: ellehète; *id. Vallois*: elhèque; *id. Lachapelle*: lehate; *id. Haillainville*: lèhâte; *id. Dompierre*: lehhate; *id. Les Rouges-Eaux*: elhade; *id. Mazelay*: lézâde; *id. Sanchey*: lohate; *Ban-de-la-Roche*: chenadrelle, chnidre, mentré de fontaine; *Messin*: couétrépaye; *id. of Rémilly*: lâzâr, cuètətrè [illegible], cuètètrepay; *Walloon*: kwatt-pess, *katerpiège; *Rouchi*: q [illegible] ŋ c [illegible]; *id. of Maubeuge*: quatre-pierre; *Norman*: l [illegible] d, [illegible] raigne (id.); *id. of Guernsey*:

lêzarde; *Poitevin*: angroèze, angroize, rapiette, labrèche; *Saintongeais*: angrote, langrote; *id. Eastern Saintongeais*: angroéze, angoize; *Angevin*: lizeard.

13. WALLACHIAN: sopîrlă, *sopirlă (Bobb), *soperla (id.), *serpelă (id.); *Istro-Wallachian*: guśćeritsă.

N.B.—Compare Latin *lacerta* with a great number of these words, which are very often strange corruptions of it, such as Lorrain *lèzatië, lojadieu, lèhâte, lohaute, lohande, lajaïenne.* Others, however, are not reducible to *lacerta* or *lacertus*, and these offer a good field for investigation, sometimes very difficult, to etymologists. I shall limit myself to observing: 1°. that Low-Latin *scorpio*, as Niçard *estrapioun*, seems to have been used not only for "gecko," but also for "lizard;" 2°. that Reggiano *arsintèlla* points to "argentum," on account perhaps of the sometimes rather silvery appearance of the abdominal plates and scales of the tail of this pretty little creature; 3°. that Chambure's derivation of *luiserne* from "lucerna," given in his "Glossaire du Morvan," Paris, 1878, receives confirmation, as I think, from Fribourgeois *lanternètta*, which points to "lanterna," very much in the same way that *luiserne* points to "lucerna."

VIII. "LÉZARD VERT" (ALSO THE "LÉZARD OCELLÉ"), GREEN LIZARD.

1. ITALIAN: ramarro, *lucertolone, *lucèrtola verde, *liguro (Monti), *lucèrtola verminara (Cherubini). *Aretino*: rágono; *Roman*: rágano; *Marchigiano of Fano*: raganacc; *Neapolitan*: sajettone, tamarro, lancellotto; *Nolano*: rácano; *Abruzzese*: ráchən; *Tarantino*: lucirton; *Leccese*: lucerta erde, lucertone erde; *Capo di Lecce*: sarménula; *Calabrian*: scefroriu; *Sicilian*: lucirtuni; *Venetian*: leguro, languro, luserta verde; *Vicentino*: ligoro, ligaoro; *Veronese*: ligador; *Bellunese*: martincòz, saltamartin; *Roveretan*: lugord, ligord, lugor.

2. SARDINIAN: *Cagliaritan*: caluxértula manna.

3. SPANISH: lagarto. *Aragonese*: fardacho.

4. PORTUGUESE: lägarto.

5. GENOESE: lagö. *Monagasque*: axibertu; *Mentonese*: lasibert.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: ghèzz. *Comasco*: lingör; *Valtellinese of Tirano*: ligör; *Verbanese*: lingörì; *Bergamasco of Valle Gandino*: ligorù, ligur, ligurt; *id. of Valle Brembana*: martinas; *id. of Valle di Scalve*: leù; *Bresciano*: lüsertù, ligoi; *Cremonese*: lüsertòon; *Piedmontese*: lajöl, ajöl, laserta verde; *Bolognese*: liguri; *Modenese*: rugróll, urgóll, rugóll; *Ferrarese*: algur, argur, alguor, ligor, liguor; *Mantuan*: lúgher, lúgar, lüserton; *Parmesan*: rangòll, rigòll; *Parese*: aliö; *Romagnuolo*: mar.

7. FRIOULAN: sbòrf, sbòrs.

9. CATALAN: llängärdaix, llägärdaix, llägart, *llengärdaix, *llegart, lluert (in some parts). *Majorcan*: lägart.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: limber, laimber, lamber, ringrolo. *Cévennois*: laouzet, laouze, letroú, sernalho, rasado. *Languedocien*: laouzer, lazer, lezer, letroun; *id. of Montpellier*: sernalha, sarnalha; *Southern Rouergois of Nant*: luzèrp, lizert, *lizèrp; *Upper Limousin*: lūzer; *Lower Limousin*: lizèr; *Gascon*: luzèr, laouzèr.

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN. *Dauphinois*: lhisor, *larmus (Champollion); *Génevois*: linzard; *Vaudois*: verdé; *Jurassien*: verdet.

12. FRENCH: lézard vert. *Berrichon*; lizanvert, lizard, lizerd, sacavert; *id. of Cluis-Neuvy*: milanvert; *Champenois*: verdriot; *Morvandeau*: varduïot; *id. of the Nivernais*: veurdelle; *Burgundian*: verdelle; *id. of the Yonne*: verdesiau; *Walloon*: vett kwatt-pess; *Poitevin*: lavert, lavart, lazvart; *Saintongeais*: lazert, azert.

N.B.—The etymology of several of these names is very obscure indeed, but many of them are related 1°. to "lacertus," as Spanish *lagarto*, Catalan *llägärdaix*, *llängärdaix*, *lluert*, with a great many other of this list; 2°. to "viridis," as Vaudois *verdé* with other four or five; 3° to Latin *lacertus viridis*, as Mentonese *lasibert*, Monagasque *axibertu*, and Poitevin *lazvart*, *lavart* or *lavert*; but Saintongeais *lazert* or *azert* points simply to "lacertus"; 4°. it seems difficult not to connect Veronese *ligadór*, Vicentino *ligaóro*, Ferrarese *alguór* (note the stress) with the scientific form *alligatóre*, although this refers to an entirely different Saurian not found in Italy. It is rather amusing to observe the association of the proper

name of Martin with that of this lizard in Bellunese *martincòz* or *saltamartin* and in Bergamasco *martinas*. Romagnuolo *mar* (for *r'mar*) seems to be an abbreviation of Italian *ramarro*, the derivation of which from *rame* "copper" and its comparison with German *kupfereidechse* "copper lizard" are mentioned by Diez at page 392 of the fourth edition of his "Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen," Bonn, 1878; although no explanation is given of the termination *-arro*, with double *r*, which is very different from the Roman termination *-aro* with a single *r*, the latter of which corresponds to the Tuscan *-aio*, as in *carbonaio*, rom. *carbonaro* "coal-man." This beautiful, dazzling, and really fascinating saurian has been very appropriately described under his actual Florentine and only good standard Italian word *ramarro* by the greatest of all the Italian Poets in his "Inferno," xxv. terz. 27:

"Come 'l ramarro sotto la gran fersa
De' dì canicular, cangiando siepe,
Folgore pare, se la via attraversa."

As the green lizard, under the great scourge
Of days canicular, exchanging hedge,
Lightning appeareth, if the road it cross.

(Longfellow, *slightly altered.*)

IX. "Gongyle," Skink.

1. Italian. *Sicilian*: tiru.

2. Sardinian. *Logudorese*: tiligugu, tilingoni (Cetti). *Cagliaritan*: sazzaluga.

N.B.—These words have no relation to the Latin *scincus*. It seems probable that their first part "tili," which may also be found in Sassarese *tilichelta* and Logudorese *tiligherta* "lizard," may have originally had a generic meaning. This remark applies also to the first part of Tempiese *zirichelta*, where *ziri* appears to be the same as Sicilian *tiru* and Italian **tiro*, this last (under the *sole* responsibility of the Academy of la Crusca) meaning or having meant "viper"!

X. "Seps."

1. Italian: *cicigna. *Roman*: fienaròla; *Leccese*: serpiula; *Sicilian*: cicigghiu.

2. Sardinian. *Logudorese*: liscierba. *Cagliaritan*: schiligafenu, lanzinafenu.

3. SPANISH: *sepa (Seckendorff), *sepedon (id.), *sipedon (id.), *sipidon (id.).

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: lagramuzo, *rasado. *Niçard*: agulhoun de pra; *Languedocien of Montpellier*: nadiuel.

N.B.—Spanish **sepa*, etc., are the only words related to Latin *seps*; *serpiula* points to "serpens"; **cicigna* and *cicigghiu*, to "cæcus" and to Low-Latin *cicina*, *cecicula* "slow-worm"; *fienaròla*, *schiligafenu*, *lanzinafenu*, *liscierba*, and *agulhoun de pra* "sting of meadow" remind us of "fœnum, herba," and "pratum," on account either of the slender shape of the *seps*, or because this innocent reptile, with very small eyes, delights in meadows amidst grass and hay. With regard to *nadiuel*, this word is simply the phrase "has no eye," or *n' a d' iuel*.

XI. "ORVET," SLOW-WORM.

1. ITALIAN: lucígnola, lucignòla, cecilia, angue, *anfesibèna (Vallisneri), *orbescícolo (id.), *orbettino (Nazari), *serpènte vèrmo (Cherubini), *serpènte vetro (id.), *serpènte frágile (id.), *subbórgola (id.), solífuga (id.), biscia òrbala (Monti), òrbiga (Gambini), orbetto (id.), orbisolo (Pirona), fèrula (Patriarchi). *Roman*: cecella, cecigna; luscéngola (in some parts); *Neapolitan*: sparte-matremmuonio; *Venetian*: lanza, anza; *Paduan*: orbesíol (Nardo); *Vicentino*: bissórbola, bissa órbola; *Bellunese*: orbisígola, orbisíola, rèvesèa; *Roveretan*: orbisola, orbarola.

3. SPANISH: *cecilia (Velasquez), *culebra vidriosa (Sekkendorff), *serpiente quebradiza (id.), *anfisbena (Schmid).

4. *Portuguese*: licrança, licanço, *amphisbenä (Wagener), amphesibenä (id.). *Galician*: liscacer, liscancre, bichorro.

5. GENOESE: scixella, scixüella, sagögiüa. *Monagasque*: engheju; *Mentonese*: angrüej.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: orbisö, orbesin. *Lower Milanese*: giazzö, vermisö; *Brianzuolo*: tobisöra; *Comasco*: orbisöla, tobisöla: *Vatellinese*: vidárbola; *Verbanese*: bissòrbola, bissa-bissòrbola; *Piedmontese*: orbaciöl: *Bolognese*: urbséin; *Mantuan*: orbsin; *Parmesan*: orbséin; *Pavese*: *milò (Manfredi); *Ravennate*: serpen d' vedar.

7. FRIOULAN: uarbite, uarbítul, uarbisin, sgurbisul.

8. ROMANESE: *Oberland R.*: cischeglia, cerscheglia. *Oberhalbstein R.*: schischeglia; *Upper Engadine R.*: serpaint; *Lower Engadine R.*: orba, serpaischen.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: ourguelh, ourguel, orvari, *ourgüei. *Niçard*: agulhoun; *Cévennois*: nadiuel, nadiel, anadiuel; *Agénois*: liset; *Rouergois of Montbazens*: naduèl, noduèl, nonduèl; *id. of Séverac*: buorlhe, borlhe; *Northern Rouergois*: oduèl, ozuèl; *id. id. of Carlades*: borli; *Gascon*: anilh.

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN. *Forézien*: anivei, borliou, bordou, borgnou. *Dauphinois*: arguèou; *Génevois*: lanvoui (pronounced "lanwí" according to Prof. Rieu); *Lower Valaisan of Vionnaz*: anvé; *Vaudois*: anvoué, orvet, lainzer; *Jurassien*: borgne, borne, bòne; *id. of the Fourgs*: auvá, ôvá, bouanou; *Franc-Comtois*: anvoie, anveau, anvá (Chambure); *id. of Baume*: anvet, danvet, danvouet; *id. of Plancherles-Mines*: denveu.

12. FRENCH: orvet, *aveugle, *serpent aveugle, *envoye, *serpent de verre, *anguille de haie (Humbert), *roquet (Haut Maine), *dusil (Nancy). *Berrichon*: anœil, aneu, langou, borgne; *Western Berrichon*: angou; *Upper Manceau*: auvet, auvin; *Morvandeau*: lanviau; Burgundian: lanveau (Chambure); *Lorrain Vosgien*: anveu, dzəi; *id. of Montbéliard*: anvet, danvet, danvouet; *Ban-de-la-Roche*: antrevié; *Messin*: boûgne; *id. of Rémilly*: bôgn; *Walloon*: dizi, dzi, cizai; *Namurois*: scorlo; *id. of Luxembourg*: cawet ver; *Picard*: corpion; *Upper Norman*: orvère; *Norman of the Bessin*: orver; *Poitevin*: sourd, angueneuil (Chambure); *Saintongeais*: gnieul; *Angevin of Segré*: anvain; *Gallot*: anva, anvé, anvaï.

13. *Wallachian*: ceciliz, serpe orb curt (Bobb).

N.B.—*Cæcilia*, from "cæcus," is the Latin name of this saurian, which, on account of its very small eyes, ignorant peasants suppose to be blind. Italian *cecilia*, Roman *cecella*, Romanese *cischeglia*, and Wallachian *ceciliz* derive from *cæcilia*, but "orbus," in the sense of "blind," is the root of a much greater number of words belonging to this list, such as, for instance, the diminutive forms *orbisö*, Milanese; *urbséin*, Bolognese; *uarbítul*, Frioulan; *orvet*, French. Other names

are related to French *borgne* "one-eyed," as Rouergois *buorlhe*; Forézien *borgnou* or *bordou*; Jurassien *borne, bône,* and *bouanou*; Messin *bôgn*. The phrase "has no eye" *n' a d' iuel* (*see* p. 322) is recognized in Cévennois *nadiuel, nadiel,* and *anadiuel*; Rouergois *naduèl, noduèl, nonduèl, oduèl,* and *ozuèl*; Gascon *anilh*; Berrichon *anœil* or *aneu*; Saintongeais *gnieul*; Poitevin *angueneuil,* the first element of which points to "anguis" *snake*. "Anguis" is also related to Italian *angue*; Génevois *lanvoui*; Valaisan *anvé*; Franc-comtois *danvouet*; French **enroye*; Western Berrichon *angou*; Burgundian *lanveau*.

Third Order. "Ophidians" or Snakes.

XII. "Serpent," Snake (generally) and (particularly) Couleuvre," Non-venomous Snake.

1. Italian: sèrpe, serpènte, *angue, *colubro, *colubre, biscia. *Livornese*: selpènte; *Roman*: sèrpa; *Northern Corsican*: serpu; *Sassarese*: salpa, silpenti, colora; *Tempiese*: salpi, salpenti; *Southern Corsican*: sarpi, sarpenti; *Neapolitan*: scorzone; *Tarantino*: scurzon; *Calabrian*: cursune: *Sicilian*: serpi, sirpenti, culovria; *Venetian*: bissa, *serpento.

2. Sardinian. *Logudorese*: serpente, colora. *Cagliaritan*: serpenti, coloru.

3. Spanish: serpiente, sierpe, culebra, *culebro. *Asturian*: cuélebre.

4. Portuguese: serpente, sérpe, côbrä. *Galician*: côbrega; *id. of the Bierzo*: crioba.

5. Genoese: serpente, bisc-cia. *Monagasque*: sarpente; *Mentonese*: serpent, biscia.

6. Gallo-Italic. *Milanese*: serpént, bissa, biss. *Comasco*: vèrm; *Valtellinese*: vérom; *Val di Blenio*: bissògn; *Bergamasco*: serpènt, béss; *id. of Val di Scalve*: érem; *id of Valle Cavallina*: èrem, vèrem; *Piedmontese*: serp, sərpent: *Bolognese*: serpèint, bessa; *Modenese*: serpeint; *Parmesan*: bissä; *Romagnuolo*: sarpent.

7. Frioulan: serpint, biss, bisse.

8. ROMANESE. *Oberland R.*: siarp. *Bergün R.*: zerp; *Lower Engadine R.*: serp, serpaint.

9. CATALAN: serp, serpent, *vibre, culebrä.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: sèr, assèr, assear, sarpen, gisclá, colobro, colobre, coulobri, coulobre, anguilho de bouisoun, anguielo de bouisoun. *id. of Arles*: calobrou; *Langudocien*: ser, serp, serpent, sarpent; *id. of Montpellier*: anguiala de bartas, anguiala de garriga; *Toulousain*: coulobro; *Rouergois*: serpen, gisclás, giscle; *Upper Limousin*; barboto; *Bearnese*: quiraule; *Auvergnat*: chear; *id. of Clermont-ferrand*: bissa; *Upper Auvergnat*: boba.

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN. *Forézien*: gisclou. *Dauphinois*: sarpin, couluvra; *Savoyard*: sarpée; *Génevois*: sarpent, serpent; *Valaisan of Val d' Illiez*: borthiau; *Lower Valaisan of Vionnaz*: serpé; *Vaudois*: serpein; *Fribourgeois Gruérin*: šerpin; *Neufchâtelois of Les Montagnes*: sarpá; *id. of Val-de-Travers*: sarpin; *South-eastern Vosgien of Ventron*: kelieve; *id. id. of Vagney*: kéliéve; *id. id. of Ramonchamp*: couleuve.

12. FRENCH: serpent, couleuvre, *couleuvre de haie, *anguille de haie, *givre (heraldic). *Berrichon*: sarpente, serpente, couleuve, anguille de boisson; *Burgundian*: sarpant; vivre, guivre, *vouipre, *vevre; *Lorrain of Vexaincourt*: colieure; *id. Mailly*: colieuve; *id. Laneuvelotte*: colufe; *id. Anthelupt*: coulûve; *id. Maconcourt*: couïuvre; *id. Domgermain*: quîvre; *id. Autigny-la-Tour*: queîuvre; *id. Trampot*: couilluvre; *id. Pergny-sous-Mureau*: quieuvre; *id. Circourt-s-Mouzon*: queïeuvre; *id. Liverdun*: couleufe; *id. Le Tholy*: colûve; *id. Champdray*: colûre; *Lorrain Vosgien*: cuéliéve (Nancy); *id. Meusien of Dommartin*: serpont; *Ban-de-la-Roche*: coulieuve; *Messin*: colieufe, wivre; *Walloon*: sièrpin, colow, coloûv; *Ardennois of the Condroz*: calowe; *Namurois*: coloût; *Picard*: serpin, kyuyeuv; *Norman*: coulieuvre; *id. of the Vexin*: coulève; *id. of Valognes*: quilleuvre; *id. of Mortain*: couvre; *Poitevin*: vremine, lie, allant; *id. of Saint-Maixent*: vremenáé; *Gallot*: caleuve.

13. WALLACHIAN: šerpe, šearpe, šarpe, šopîrlă (Cihac).

XIII. "ELAPHE À QUATRE RAIES."

1. ITALIAN. *Marchigiano of Fabriano*: scorsone; *Roman*: cerviòtto, cervone, scorzone, *correntone.

3. SPANISH: alicante.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Ferrarese*: scurzón.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Niçard*: bisas, besas.

12. FRENCH: couleuvre à quatre raies, quatre raies.

XIV. "ELAPHE D'ESCULAPE."

1. ITALIAN: saettone, *iáculo, *bastonière (Pirona), *acònzia (Azzolini), *biscia da prato (Malaspina), *angiò (Tiraboschi), *smilòrdo (id.), *biscione inglese (Cherubini). *Sicilian*: saettuni; *Venetian*: carbonazzo, carbonasso; *Vicentino*: scarbonazzo; *Roveretan*: carbonaz.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: serpan. *Bergamasco*: bissù; *id. of Valle San Martino*: gatòbe; *Mantuan*: anza, angia; *Parmesan*: bissä dä prà.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Niçard*: bisan.

12. FRENCH: esculape, serpent d'Esculape, couleuvre d'Esculape.

XV. "TROPIDONOTE À COLLIER," WATER-ADDER.

1. ITALIAN: vípera acquaiuòla, biscia acquaiuòla, sèrpe acquaiuòla, *biscia del collare (Gambini), *vípera d'acqua (Metaxà), *marasso d'acqua (id.), *serpènte nuotatore (id.), *anguilla di sièpe (id.), *natrice, *piccolòcchio (Pirona), *colubro dal collare (id.). *Roman*: carbone, magnaròspi; *Leccese*: casara, lésena, lessendra, serpe pintu, ípera d'acqua; *Sicilian*: guísina; *Vicentino*: ranaròla.

2. SARDINIAN. *Logudorese*: píbera de abba. *Cagliaritan*: píbera de aqua.

5. GENOESE: bisc-cia d'ægua. *Monagasque*: bisc-cia ratiera; *Mentonese*: biscia ratiera.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: bissa d'acqua. *Upper Milanese*: bissa ranéra; *Bresciano*: vípera d'aqua; *Bolognese*: bessanzla; *Mantuan*: biss; *Parmesan*: bissä dä äquä, bissä dä l'äquä,

*miò (Malaspina); *Pavese*: bissä d'äquä: *Romagnuolo*: bessânzula, bessa ânzula.

7. FRIOULAN: madracc.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Niçard*: vipera; *Languedocien*: vipèro; *Castrais*: serp a couliè, serp a colié (Gary).

12. FRENCH: couleuvre à collier, couleuvre d'eau, serpent d'eau, serpent nageur; *Saintongeais*: sarpent beyinée.

13. WALLACHIAN: năpărcă, nopîrcă, şerpe de apă (Bobb).

XVI. "TROPIDONOTE VIPÉRIN."

1. ITALIAN: vípera acquaiuòla a scacchi. *Roman*: zinnavacche, magnasorci, scacchièra; *Sassarese*: píbbara; *Tempiese*: pípara.

2. SARDINIAN. *Logudorese*: píbera. *Cagliaritan*: píbara.

12. FRENCH: vipérine.

XVII. "CORONELLE LISSE."

12. FRENCH: lisse.

XVIII. "CORONELLE BORDELAISE."

12. FRENCH: couleuvre bordelaise.

XIX. "ZAMÉNIS VERT ET JAUNE."

1. ITALIAN: biacco, *bacchio (Casaccia), *serpènte uccellatore (Pirona). *Roman*: milòrdo, bèllo; *Leccese*: scursune; *Vicentino*: anza.

2. SARDINIAN: colora puzzonargia.

5. GENOESE: bisc-cia oxelinha.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: smiròld, miròld, bilò, scorzón, *smilordón (Biondelli), *milòrd (id.). *Verbanese*: rattéra; *Bergamasco of Valle Cavallina*: èrem horgatér; *Parmesan*: miò; *Pavese*: milò.

7. FRIOULAN: magne.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Niçard*: bisa; *Upper Auvergnat*: dzaspi.

12. FRENCH: couleuvre verte et jaune, verte et jaune. SAINTONGEAIS: dard, derd, sîlant.

XX. "ZAMÉNIS VERT ET JAUNE. VARIÉTÉ NOIRE."

1. ITALIAN. *Leccese*; serpe níuru; *Bellunese*: carbonaz.
7. FRIOULAN: carbòn, carbonazz, çharbonazz.

XXI. "VIPÈRE," ADDER.

1. ITALIAN: vípera, *vipra, *marasso, *tiro (Crusca). *Country Florentine*: lípera; *Leccese*: ípera; *Sicilian*: vípara.
3. SPANISH: víbora.
4. PORTUGUESE: víborä. *Galician*: naya, sacaveira.
5. GENOESE: vípera.
6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: vípera. *Comasco*: lípara; *Bergamasco*: lípera, lépera, ípera, èpera; *Bolognese*: vepera; *Modenese*: vipra; *Ferrarese*: vípara; *Parmesan*; viprä; *Romagnuolo*: vepara; *id. of Imola*: vepra.
7. FRIOULAN: vípare, lípare.
8. ROMANESE. *Oberland R.*: vivra, *viura (Sale), vippra (Carigiet). *Upper Engadine R.*: vipra; *Eastern Tyrolese of Fassa*: vípera.
9. CATALAN: escorsó, escursó, víborä, *víperä, *vibre, *vívorä, *vibriä.
10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: vipèro, vibro. *Niçard*: vipera; *Languedocien of Montpellier*: vibra; *Toulousain*: bipero; *Rouergois*: bipèro.
11. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN. *Lyonnais*: vipère; *Savoyard*: vipèra; *Lower Valaisan of Vionnaz*: wivra; *Neufchâtelois of Les Montagnes*: vivra; *Franc-Comtois*: vipére; *Jurassien*: vuivra.
12. FRENCH: vipère. *Berrichon*: évipére, verpie, varpie, vouivre; *Morvandeau*: vipée; *Burgundian*: vipére, vivre; *Lorrain of Motbéliard*: voivre (Burguy); *Messin*: wivre *Poitevin*: vipéere.
13. WALLACHIAN: năpărcă, nopîrcă, víperă. *Kutzo-Wallachian*: năpărtică; *Istro-Wallachian*: catscă.

XXII. "Aspic."

1. Italian: áspide, *áspido, *aspe. *Sassarese*: álpidi; *Neapolitan*: áspede, áspeto, áspetä; *Southern Calabrian*: áspitu; *Sicilian*: áspidi.

2. Sardinian. *Logudorese*: áspide. *Cagliaritan*: áspidi.

3. Spanish. áspid, *aspide.

4. Portuguese: áspide, áspid (Roquete).

6. Gallo-Italic. *Piedmontese*: áspide, áspido.

8. Romanese. *Upper Engadine R.*: aspid; *Lower Engadine R.*: aspide.

9. Catalan: aspit.

10. Modern Occitanian. *Niçard*: aspic.

12. French: aspic. *Berrichon*: aspi; *Upper Manceau*: aspíquin.

13. Wallachian: áspidă, áspide.

XXIII. "Vipère Prester," Black Adder.

1. Italian: scorzone. *Sicilian*: scursuni.

N.B.—To the Latin words *serpens* and its root *serpo, coluber, vipera* (from *vivipara*), and *aspis* the origin of a great number of the names of the ophidians is due. They are indeed more or less altered, but their derivation is always recognizable. Such are, for instance, Sassarese *salpa*, Languedocien *ser*, Auvergnat *chear*, Tempiese *salpenti*, Cagliaritan *coloru*, Galician *cóbrega*, Galician *crioba*, Lorrain *queluvre* and *quivre*, Bergamasco *lipera* and *épera*, Berrichon *verpie*, Messin *wivre*, Neapolitan *áspetä*, Upper Manceau *aspiquin*. Italian *biscia*, Milanese *bissa* and *biss*, Bergamasco *bèss*, etc., are related to Portuguese *bicho* "worm," for what is "worm" in one language may become "snake" in another. Compare Danish *orm*, having the first sense, with Swedish *orm*, used in the second; and also Bergamasco *èrem*, meaning sometimes "snake" and sometimes "worm." Perhaps *biscia* (*see* Diez, p. 358) points to "bestia." Venetian *lanza* and *anza* "slow-worm," Mantuan *anza* and *angia* "élaphe d'Esculape," Bolognese *bessanzla* and Romagnuolo *bessa ânzula* (*liter.* "snake angel"), both meaning "water-adder," are not derived, as it has been

supposed, from "anguis," any more than Venetian *lanza* and *anza* (which derive from "lancea"), but they point to "angela," as it is clearly shown by Romagnuolo. In some legends snakes are considered as disguised fairies, and it is not more strange to consider them as disguised female angels. Moreover, the unlikely mutation of Latin "gu" into "z" is opposed to the *anguis* theory, while *anza* from *anzla* is explained by the suppression of the *l* of the Bolognese word.

Fourth Order. "Batrachians" or Frogs.

XXIV. "Grenouille" (generally), Frog.

Italian: rana, ranòcchio, ranòcchia, *ranèlla (Cherubini). *Livornese*: granòcchio; *Northern Corsican*: granocchia; *Neapolitan*: granògnä, ranògnä, ranònchiä, ranavòttolä; *Abruzzese*: ranabbott; *id. of Teramo*: ranocchj; *Tarantino* maravuètt; *Sicilian*: giurana.

2. Sardinian: rana.

3. Spanish: rana.

4. Portuguese: rã, *ärrã. *Galician*: ran, ra.

5. Genoese: ræna, rænetta. *Mentonese*: granuja, raina.

6. Gallo-Italic. *Milanese*: ranna. *Bergamasco*: rana; *Piedmontese*: ranha; *Bolognese* ranòcc, *ranòcia; *Parmesan*: ranä, ränocc (Peschieri), räntocc (id.); *Romagnuolo*: ranèlla; *id. of Imola*: ranòci.

7. Frioulan: cròtt, rane.

8. Romanese. *Oberland R.*: rauna, rouna. *Oberhalbstein R.*: rangla; *Lower Engadine R.*: rana.

9. Catalan: gränotä, *ranä. *Majorcan*: gränôt.

10. Modern Occitanian. *Provençal*: granoulho. *Queyrassien*: grapaout; *Cévennois*: granouyo; *Languedocien of Montpellier*: granoulha, gragnola; *Castrais*: engragnoto, engragno, engronoulho, gragnoto: *Toulousain*: granoulho; *Rouergois*: gronoulho, rone; *Gascon*: graoulho, gramoulho; *Bordelais*: ranə; *Bayonnais*: graoulhə

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIEN. *Forézien*: rana. *Dauphinois*: ranqueta; *Lower Valaisan of Vionnaz*: renadhe; *Fribourgeois Gruérin*: renaille; *Neufchâtelois*: renauille; *Jurassien of the Fourgs*: reneuille; *Bressan*: renoille; *Franc-Comtois*: renouille, renoueille (Chambure); *id. of Plancher-les-Mines*: crayotte; *South-Eastern Vosgien of Ventron*: réne; *id. id. of Ramonchamp*: guernouille, guernouye.

12. FRENCH: grenouille. *Berrichon*: raine, gueurnoille, guernoille, grenoille, guernouillat; *Manceau*: grenoüille; *Upper Manceau*: renâsellẽ, jîloirẽ; *Percheron*: guernaoude; *Champenois of Troyes*: raigne; *id. of Reims*: guernouille; *Morvandeau*: renoueille, eurnoille, eurnoueille; *Burgundian*: renouille; *Lorrain of Hablainville*: guernoûe; *id. Badonviller*: guernouye; *id. Trampot*: guernauille; *id. Maconcourt*: grenoue; *id. Gelvecourt*: réne; *id. Longuet*: guérnouye; *Lorrain Vosgien*: rane, ranotte; *id. of Montbéliard*: renoille; *id. of Lunéville*; guernaye; *Messin*: guérnaille; *id. of Remilly*: rènn; *Rouchi*: roigne, rouène; *Lillois*: guernoule; *Picard*: ragne; *Norman Avranchin*: guênouille; *id. of the Bessin*: avriéte, abriéte; *id. of Guernsey*: raïne; *Poitevin*: greneuille, gueurneuille; *Saintongeais*: gurneuille.

13. Wallachian: broască. *Istro-Wallachian*: jabă.

XXV. "DISCOGLOSSE PEINT."

1. ITALIAN: *Rana verde acquaiuòla (Cherubini), rana acquaiòula (Cetti).

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: ranna de la Madònna, ranna de San Giovann. *Parmesan*: cämpärètt (Peschieri).

12. FRENCH: grenouille d'aigail (Jônain). Saintongeais: rane.

XXVI. "GRENOUILLE ROUSSE."

1. ITALIAN: rana prataiuòla (Pirona), rana muta (id.). *Abruzzese of Teramo*: grassell?

3. SPANISH: rubeta.

4. PORTUGUESE: rèlä, rubétä.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: ranna de praa, fraa, saltafraa. *Comasco*: pissacan; *Cremonese*: campèer; *Parmesan*: ranä dä prá, ranä muttä, cämpärètt.

7. FRIOULAN: cròtt di rosade, cròtt di San Pièri, pissargòtt.

N.B.—On comparing Latin *rana* and Low Latin *ranunculus* with the majority of the names in the preceding list, it will appear that several of them are more or less recognizable alterations of the Latin. Such are, for instance, Italian *ranocchio* and **ranèlla*, Livornese *granòcchio*, Neapolitan *granògnä* and *ranònchiä*, Portuguese **arrã*, Parmesan *räntocc*, Oberhalbstein Romanese *rangla*, Castrais *engragno*, Rouergois *rone*, Dauphinois *ranqueta*, Valaisan *renadhe*, Percheron *guernaoude*, Morvandeau *eurnoueille*, Lorrain *guernoue*, etc.

XXVII. "SONNEUR À VENTRE COULEUR DE FEU."

1. ITALIAN: bótto (Cherubini). *Lucchese*: boddacchino (id.); *Bellunese*: búdol.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: pissacan. *Upper Milanese*: bagaggèll; *Romagnuolo of Imola*: zambeld, bot.

7. FRIOULAN: mucc, cròte.

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN. *Génevois*: boc; *Vaudois*: bô, bot.

12. FRENCH: *crapaud pluvial (Cherubini), *grenouille sonnante (Grandgagnage),* crapaud sonnant (id.). *Berrichon*: sourd, tâ, ta, mou, mou-mou, muet, râle, râlett, ramaige, loutaud, marais (collectiv.); *Lorrain Meusien*: bo; *Walloon*: lurtai; *id. of Namur*: coulouk; *id. of the Luxembourg*: clouk-clouk; *id. of the Ardennes*: clouktai, cloktai, clouktrai, crouktrai, clicherou.

N.B.—Some of the names of this curious small batrachian are onomatopoetic, but the sound of its voice is not always represented with equal success; as, for instance, in Frioulan *mucc*, Berrichon *ta* or *mou-mou*, which, according at least to my ears, are farther from the genuine voice of this little creature than Walloon of Namur *coulouk*, of Ardennes *clouktrai*, and, above all, of Luxembourg *clouk-clouk*.

XXVIII. "Rainette Verte," Green Frog.

1. Italian: raganèlla, ranocchièlla, *granocchièlla, *ranèlla, *ranòcchia di San Martino (Schneller), *rana San Martino (Gambini), *ranetta verde (Tiraboschi), *ranetta, di San Martino (id.), *ranetta di San Piètro (id.). *Marchigiano of Fano*: cantarèlla; *Abruzzese*; racanèlla, ráchen (Costa); *id. of Teramo*: rabbuòtt; *Leccese*: ranucchiedda; *Venetian*: rácola, ranèla (Pirona); *Paduan*: racoleta; *Roveretan*: rácola de San Zuam, rana de San Zuam, rana de Santa Maria.

5. Genoese: ræna da limuin. *Mentonese*: granuja.

6. Gallo-Italic. *Milanese*: *ranna de la Madònna, *ranna de San Giovann, ranna sampéder, ranna martinna, nanastrèll, marmòtta, ranetta, *bagaggèll. *Upper Milanese*: bagaggèlla; *Valtellinese*: caíss; *Verbanese*: verdácola; *Bergamasco*: rana marina, rana sanmartina; *Bresciano*: rana cantarela; *Piedmontese*: ranha martinha; *Ferrarese*: ranin dal Sgnor; *Mirandolano*: rana dal Sgnor; *Parmesan*: ranä d' Sän Peder, ränèlä, ranéinna, cämpärètt dä prà, ränocc (Malaspina); *Pavese*: ränätä, ränä dal Signour; *Romagnuolo*: ranèlla.

7. Frioulan: craçule, barácule, baráscule, racule.

10. Modern Occitanian. *Provençal*: reineto, brousso, *Languedocien of Montpellier*: raineta, reineta; *Rouergois*: rone; *Southern Rouergois of Belmont*: roineto; *id. id. of Saint Sernin*: tzor; *Northern Rouergois of La Montagne*: berdonèl; *Lower Limousin*: rale; *Gascon*: raineto.

11. Franco-Occitanian. *Vaudois of Aigle*: graisset, graissetta.

12. French: raine, rainette, *verdier (Vayssier), *grenouille criarde (Haut Maine). *Tourangeau*: grenacelle; *Upper-Manceau*: grenoisallē, graissètin; *Lorrain Vosgien*: crochotte, guérnoye vouahhe; *id. Meusien*: sibourelle, raine corasse; *Ban-de-la-Roche*: crachatte; *Messin of Rémilly*: vahhe rènn; *Walloon*: rênn côress, rênn côrett; *id. of Bois-de-Viller*: rènn cornett; id. of *Namur*: rènn côrass, rènn-côrett; *Norman*: gresset; *Poitevin*: grenevèle; *Saintongeais*: gurnevèle, gr'ne-

vèle, gurnesèle, gr'nesèle, rane; *id. Eastern Saintongeais*: rann.

N.B.—Some of the preceding words point to *rana* in a diminutive form; others to "viridis"; others are onomatopoetic; and a very few are cognate to the Roman *rágano* "green lizard," or are etymologically perplexing. For instance: 1°. Italian **ranella*, Leccese *ranucchiedda*, Provençal *reineto*, Upper Manceau *grenoisallĕ*; 2°. Verbanese *verdácola*, Rouergois *berdonèl*, Vosgien *guérnoye vouahhe*; 3°. Frioulan *craçule*, *baracule*, *baráscule*, *rácule*, and Venetian *rácola*; 4°. Italian *raganèlla*, Abruzzese *ráchen* and *racanèlla*; 5°. Valtellinese *caiss*, Rouergois *tzor*.

XXIX. "Crapaud," Toad.

1. Italian: bòtta, ròspo, *bufone, *bòtto (Ferrari), *zambaldo (Tozzoli), *bòtta campaiuola (Cherubini). *Lucchese*: bòdda; *Chianaiuolo of Castiglion Fiorentino*: bottelone; *Marchigiano of Fabriano*: ciammuòtto; *id. of Sinigaglia*: ciambòtt; *Sassarese*: rana; *Tempiese*: ruspu; *Neapolitan*: ranavuòttolo, granavuòttolo, granavuòtto, cranavuòttolo, granavòttä, granavuòttolä, ruòspo, vuòtto; *Abruzzese*: ranabbòtt, rabbòtt; *Leccese*: rèspu; *Sicilian*: buffa, ròspu; *Paduan*: ròspa; *Vicentino*: crote; *Veronese*: rosco, rosca; *Roveretan*: rosch.

2. Sardinian: rana.

3. Spanish: sapo, escuerzo, jaen (Figuera). *Aragonese*: zapo.

4. Portuguese: sapo. *Galician*: escorzo, *coguerzo.

5. Genoese: baggiu, rospu. *Monagasque*: bagiu; *Mentonese*: babi.

6. Gallo-Italic. *Milanese*: sciatt, pabbi, babbi. *Comasco*: pabi; *Ticinese of Bellinzona*: verdacca; *Verbanese of Val Anzasca*: ciatt; *Bergamasco*: sat; *Bresciano*: rapatù; *Cremonese*: zatt; *Piedmontese*: babi; *Bolognese*: ròsp, ruspèt, bòt, bòta; *Modenese*: pacciana; *Mantuan*: fada (ugly toad); *Mirandolano*: fada; *Parmesan*: fadä; *Pavese*: zat; *Romagnuolo*: zambêld, zambêlgh, zambêldgh, bôt; *id. of Imola*: butaraza.

7. Frioulan: save, sav, ròsp, cròtt malòs, malòs.

8. ROMANESE. *Oberland R.*: ruscg, rusc. *Oberhalbstein R.*: rostg; *Upper Engadine R.*: ruoschel; *Lower Engadine R.*: ruosc, ruosp; *Eastern Tyrolese of Gardena*: cròt; *id. id. of Fassa*: rosch; *id. id. of Buchenstein*: ourost; *id. id. of Ampezzo*: aorosch.

9. CATALAN: cälápät, gälápät, cälapä, *gälápet, gripau, *gripaut, *gräpaut, *gräpalt, *gräpal. *Valencian*: sap, sapo; *Majorcan*: cälápot; *Minorcan*: cälápet.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: grapaou, crapaou, babi. *Cévennois*: grasan; *Castrais*: grapal; *Toulousain*: sapou (old toad); *Rouergois*: gropal; *Upper Limousin*: gropaou; *Gascon*: choloú, harri, grapaout; *Bearnese*: sapou; *Bayonnais*: crapaout.

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN. *Forézien*: possi-vachi. *Lower Valaisan of Vionnaz*: bo; *Vaudois*: cro; *Fribourgeois Gruérin*: crapô; *Jurassien of Champagnole*: crapad, boa; *id. of the Fourgs*: cropaud; *Franc-Comtois of Plancher-les-Mines*: bot; *South-Eastern Vosgien of Ventron*: bad.

12. FRENCH: crapaud. *Champenois of Troyes*: boterel; *id. of Beru*; botret; *id. of Riceys*: bote; *id. of the Yonne*: nonau-lulu; *Morvandeau*: bô, bôteret, toutou, sibot (in some parts); *Lorrain of Vexaincourt*: cropâ; *id. Verdenal*: crapâ; *id. Landremont*: bad; *id. Moivrons*: crépaud; *id. Raville*: crépâ; *id. Aboncourt*: cropod; *id. Ménil-en-Xaintois*: crèpé; *Lorrain Vosgien*: paurôme; *Ban-de-la-Roche*: crepa; *Messin*: bat, pouromme; *id. of Rémilly*: ba, crèpô, règa; *Walloon*: crapô; *Picard*: crapeux; *Norman Brayon*: crapou; *id. of Lisieux*: crapa; *id. of the Bessin*: v'lin; *Poitevin*: grapaud, grapia; *id. of Parthenay*: bot: *Eastern Saintongeais*: grapiâ; *Gallot*: crapiau, crapé.

13. WALLACHIAN: broască rîioasă.

XXX. "CRAPAUD VERT," NATTER-JACK.

7. FRIOULAN: campanèll.

N.B.—Derivatives of *bufo*, the Latin name of this very ugly, although harmless, and rather useful, but much calumniated reptile, are to be found with certainty only in Italian

**bufone* and Sicilian *buffa*. It is not equally clear that Piedmontese *babi* or Genoese *baggiu* are related to it. Italian *bòtta* is also a Low Latin word, and Lucchese *bòdda*, Neapolitan *vuòtto*, Bolognese *bòt*, Morvandeau *bô*, Messin *ba*, Champenois *botret* and *boterel*, Chianaiuòlo *bottelone*, Romagnuola *butaraza*, etc., are simply their derivatives, diminutives, or augmentative forms. Lucchese *bòdda*, moreover, seems particularly related to Swedish *padda*, Dutch *pad*, both meaning "toad," and to English *paddock*, "large toad." The union of *rana* "frog" with *botta* has produced, as I think, Abruzzese *ranabbòtt* and *rabbòtt*, Neapolitan *granavòttä* and *cranavuòttolä*, all words pointing to French *crapaud* and its numerous cognate names, such as Low Latin *crapaldus* and *crapollus*; Catalan **grapalt*, **grapal*, **grapaut*, **grapau*, and *gripau*; Rouergois *gropal*; Lorrain *cropâ*, *crèpé*; Picard *crapeux*; Poitevin *grapia*, etc. With regard to Catalan *calápat* or *galápat* and Majorcan *calápot*, the two first mean also "tortoise," and I am far from rejecting the analogy, as Diez suggests at p. 758 of his celebrated work, between *crapaud* and *calápat*, although Italian **galana* (*see* p. 314, at IV.) may possibly point to a different origin of *galápat*. In Romagnuolo *zambêld*, Marchigiano *ciambòtt* or *ciammuòtto*, and Italian **zambaldo*, the words *bòtt*, *buòtto* (changed into *muòtto* under the influence of the first "m"), *bêld*, and *baldo* are united with the prepositive *zam* or *ciamm*, which may be nothing more than Romagnuolo *zampa* "paw," as if it meant "paw-toad." With regard to Italian *ròspo*, this word, in spite of its alterations, offers great analogy with Tempiese *ruspu*, Leccese *respu*, Veronese *rosco* or *rosca*, Romanese *ruscg*, Tyrolese *aorosch* or *ourost*, etc. Spanish and Portuguese *sapo* are analogous to Frioulan *sare* and Bearnese *sapou*. Milanese *sciatt*, Verbanese *ciatt*, Bergamasco *sat*, and Cremonese *zatt* point to Italian *sciatto*, meaning "slovenly, shabby, awkward," as toads certainly are in an eminent degree. Spanish *escuerzo* and Galician *escorzo* bear a strong resemblance to Catalan *escorsó* "adder," Italian *scorzone* "black adder," Roman *scorzone* "élaphe à quatre raies," Neapolitan *scorzone* "snake (gener-

ally)," Leccese *scursune* "Zaménis Vert et Jaune." These examples show that the same word may be applied to different reptiles, in different dialects. Modenese *pacciana*, according to Galvani, with whom I agree, derives from Italian "pancia" or "peccia," both meaning "paunch,"—and who, in sooth, is more tun-bellied than our toad? Italian "fata" means "fairy," but popular superstition shows itself in Mirandolano and Mantuan *fada*, as well as in Parmesan *fadä*, in which dialects the toad is considered as a fairy. German *kröte* finds its way into Vicentino *crote*, Frioulan *crôtt* "frog," Tyrolese of Gardena *cròt*. Norman of the Bessin, by *v'lin*, means not only "poison," but also "toad." Compare Italian "veleno" and Latin "venenum," both meaning only "poison." This application of the idea of poison to the name of this poor batrachian also appears in other languages, in which the name of the toad is related to Latin "toxicum," which in itself means only "poison"; while the animal is called *tousek*, in Breton; *tosek*, in Breton of Vannes; *tudse*, in Danish; *tossa*, in popular Swedish; *tüze*, in Low German of Holstein; *tuutz*, in Low German of Bremen; *tachsen*, in German of Silesia; *tâdje*, *tâdige*, in Anglo-Saxon. Other names have been referred, but sometimes very unreasonably, to onomatopoeia, and others will perhaps exert the acumen of future etymologists. Some instances are: Morvandeau *toutou*, Vaudois *cro*, Jurassien *boa*, Bresciano *rapatù*, Champenois *nonau-lulu*, and !!! *paurôme* in Vosgien, literally meaning "poor man," the onomatopoeia of which rests, I am afraid, upon the too fervid imagination of some ingenious persons (*see* Oberlin, p. 192).

XXXI. "Salamandre," Newt (generally) and (particularly) "Salamandre Terrestre," Land Newt.

1. Italian: salamandra, *salamandria (Florio), *magrasio (id.). *Abruzzese of Teramo*: tarantul d' acqu, salamandr, scinch; *Roveretan*: sarmándola, sermándola, rochenstoe; *id. of Vallarsa*: rochenstoz.

2. Sardinian: salamandra.

3. SPANISH: salamanquesa, salamandra, salamandria, *estelion (Academia).

4. PORTUGUESE: sälämandrä, sälämantëigä, *sälämantigä. *Galician*: pinta, píntega, píntiga, secábera, sacaveira (Rodriguez).

5. GENOESE: silvèstru. *Mentonese*: salamandria, salamandra.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Milanese*: scercaría; *id. in some parts of the country*: lüsascia, rosascia. *Upper Milanese*: cercaría; *Milanese of Varese*: bissarösa; *id. of the Lario*: corüzzola; *id. towards Como*: rosètta; *id. towards Piedmont*: piovana; *Comasco*: cercagrisa, rösa marina; *Ticinese of Val Maggia*: rosai; *id. of Val Verzasca*: rosana; *Verbanese*: lüsèrta; *Piedmontese*: piovanha; *Bolognese*: salamandra; *Pavese*: sälämandrä.

7. FRIOULAN: salamandre.

8. ROMANESE. *Oberland R.*: salamander, salamandra, luschart (Carigiet). *Heinzenberg R.*: da quatter pezzas.

9. CATALAN: sälämandrä, sälämandriä.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: alabreno, arabreno, labreno, talabruno (Honnorat quoting Desanat). *Niçard*: salamandra; *Cévennois*: talabreno; *Vivarais*: lebrèno; *Velaunien*: vero, soufle; *Languedocien of Montpellier*: talabrena, alabrena, blanda, blenda, blenta; *Rouergois of Millau*: blonde, blondo; *Southern Rouergois*: blando; *Northern Rouergois of Carladès*: blounde; *Bayonnais*: escourpioun.

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN. *Forézien*: alabranda, talaurina, taurina, labruna. *Lyonnais*: laberne; *Dauphinois*: taloourəna, lourissa, pluvine; *Génevois*: molion; *Vaudois*: tatchet; *id. of Montreux*: metro; *South-Eastern Vosgien of Ventron*: tassevètche; *id. of Vagney*: crauchatte.

12. FRENCH: salamandre, *suisse. *Berrichon*: soufflet, sauret (Jônain); *Western Berrichon*: tâ, ta; *Morvandeau*: té, escorpion; *Lorrain of Parux*: meltré; *id. Vexaincourt*: mentré; *id. Moyenmoutier*: mennetrè; *id. Saales*: ménnetré; *id. Provenchères-s-Fave*: crachâote; *id. Sommerviller*: salamanque; *id. Mandray*: avion de rochte; *id. Mailly*; couétrépaïe; *id. Manoncourt-sur-Seille*: couetté-brache; *id. Domgermain*: langeawe; *id. Gelvécourt*: crochotte; *id. Bouillonville*: quatre-

fiche; *id. Le Tholy*: tosse-vèche; *id. Vienville*: crachotte; *id. Gerbépal*: crâche; *id. Champdray*: crocheute; *id. Lachapelle*: crochatte; *id. of Montbéliard*: tè; *Messin de Rémilly*: cuèt'trèpay, cuètètrèpay; *Walloon*: salamantt; *id. of Namur*: rògn; *id. of Luxembourg*: tette de vache; *Montois*: quatre-pierre; *Norman*: mouron; *id. Brayon*: tac; *id. of the Bessin*: mouéron, mouoron; *Poitevin*: ablette, ablaise, mirtil, amblèse, quate-pattes; *Saintongeais*: sereine; *Gallot*: sourd.

13. WALLACHIAN: sŏlŏmâzdră, sălămândră, *sŏlŏmăndră (Lexicon), *sòlŏmezdră (Bobb).

XXXII. "SALAMANDRÌNE À LUNETTES."

1. ITALIAN: *toraletolina (Bibron, ix. 70), *tartalina (id. ix. 71).

XXXIII. "TRITON," WATER NEWT.

3. SPANISH: salamanquesa de agua, *lagartija de agua (Palmyreno, I., E iii.).

4. PORTUGUESE: sälämantêigä äquáticä, *sälämantigä äquáticä.

5. GENOESE. *Eastern Genoese*: vaccavëa.

6. GALLO-ITALIC. *Lower Milanese*: tarántola, taráncola; *Mantuan*: lüserta d'acqua; *Piacentino*: tarántula; *Pavese*: tärántulä.

10. MODERN OCCITANIAN. *Provençal*: lagramuzo d'aiguo, salamandro.

11. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN. *Vaudois*: tassot.

12. FRENCH. *Berrichon*: tâ, ta; *Norman of Cherbourg*: téranne, térane.

XXXIV. "TRITON PONCTUÉ," SMOOTH-NEWT.

3. SPANISH: salamandra acuática.

12. FRENCH. *Norman of the Bessin*: persiyéte.

N.B.—Latin *salamandra*, Low Latin *salamandria*, and even Low Latin *stellio*, in its misapplication to this reptile, are recognizable, more or less, in such words as Italian *salamandra*,

Spanish *salamandria*, Roveretan *sermándola*, Walloon *salamantt*, Portuguese **salamantiga*, Lorrain *salamanque*, Spanish *salamanquesa*, Wallachian *sölömazdrâ*, and Spanish **estelion*, (but this last under the sole responsibility of the Spanish Academy). In consequence of the grossest ignorance, newts have been supposed to be deaf, with as much truth as slow-worms are believed to be blind, and, accordingly, we have Gallot *sourd*, literally "deaf;" and, as both poor creatures are gratuitously considered very venomous, the Berrichons, who call the newt *ta*, have the two following sayings which I quote from Jaubert, p. 636: 1°. *Si le ta entendait, Si l'orvet voyait, Le monde bientôt finirait.* "If the newt could hear, if the slow-worm could see, the world would soon finish." 2°. *Après le ta, Faut le drap.* "After the newt, one needs the pall." Languedocien *blanda*, *blenta*, and Rouergois *blondo* point to *blandus* "flattering," and this is confirmed by Saintongeais *sereine*, "mermaid" in Old French. The vulgar French name **suisse*, given to the newt, alludes, I think, to the variegated colours of the French *suisse* livery, colours which are conspicuous on the skin of most of these batrachians. Allusion to a coloured skin is also observable in Galician *pinta*, *pintiga*, pointing to *pintar* "to paint." The idea of "rose" is remarkable in Milanese *rosètta*, lit. "small rose;" *rosascia*, and very likely *lüsascia*, its corrupted form, "unsightly rose;" *bissarösa* "rose snake;" in Comasco *rösa marina* "marine rose," *rosai* and *rosana*. Allusions to the sucking of a cow, to her dug, or only to a cow, or to draw the breast generally, are to be noted in Lorrain *tosse-rèche*, lit. "sucks cow;" in Walloon *tette de vache* "cow's dug;" in Vaudois *tatchet* and *tassot*, and in Genoese *vaccavëa*, lit. "true cow." Compare with these, Forézien *possi-vachi* "toad," and Roman *zinnavacche* "tropidonote vipérin," both meaning literally "sucks cow." Piedmontese *piovanha* and Dauphinois *pluvine* point to *pluvia* "rain," after which these reptiles are often seen in great quantity walking in procession. Berrichon *soufflet* and Velaunien *soufle* are related to French *souffler* "to blow," which newts are in the habit of doing. Berrichon *sauret* points very clearly to σαῦρος "lizard," of which it is a mere

diminutive form. Names referring to the fact that newts are four-footed may be recognized, in spite of some very strange alterations, in Poitevin *quate-pattes*, lit. "four paws;" in Lorrain *couetté-brache* "four arms," *couétrépaïe*, *quatrefiche*; in Montois *quatrepierre* "four stones," and in Heinzenberg Romanese *da quatter pezzas*. Compare with these, Walloon *kwatt-pess* "lizard;" Rouchi *quaterpiéche*, lit. "four pieces;" Lorrain *quatrepiche*. The two last mean also "lizard." Walloon *rógn* points to French *rogne* "inveterate itch," a disease which, according to some ignoramuses, newts can transmit to man. Lorrain *langueawe* belongs to the same root, "anguis," to which Burgundian *lanveau* "slow-worm" belongs. Roveretan *rochenstoe* and *rochenstoz* are akin to *rögastuarzo*, which in the Tyrolese German dialect of the Valley of Lech is the name of the black newt. *Rögastuarzo*, moreover (*see* Schneller, p. 171), is very similar to Teutonic *rukkesturz*, lit. "hurled down upon the back" and also "devil." To Norman *tac* and its variations, Berrichon *tâ* or *ta*, Lorrain of Montbéliard *tè*, and Morvandeau *té*, an onomatopoetic origin founded on the voice of the newt cannot directly be attributed, because newts are voiceless; but frogs and toads are not so, and as *tâ* or *ta* is also the Berrichon name of the "Sonneur à ventre couleur de feu XXVII," a batrachian whose name has, with more or less appropriateness, been explained by onomatopoeia, the same explanation might be extended to its voiceless homonym, the newt. With regard to the "Sonneur," it will be observed that its Walloon names, *clouktai* and *lurtai*, seem to present *té* as one of their components, particularly *clouktai*, which may be considered as the *coulouk* of Namur followed by the *té* of the Morvandeau dialect. I leave, for the present, the investigation of the origin of several other names, not only of the newt, but also of the other European reptiles, of which I have in this paper merely mentioned the names, to the ingenuity of future etymologists.

APPENDIX I.

Orthographical and Phonetic Remarks.

Although the orthography I have followed is much nearer to that in common use in the different dialects than to a regular and conventional phonetic transcription, still I think that the following rules will be useful, in some cases at least, to give an approximative idea of the manner in which the names of the reptiles are pronounced.

1. The acute accent (´) generally indicates the stress accent on a short vowel, but in some languages it shows also the quality of the sound. (*See* 9, 18.)

2. The grave accent (`) in Italian and the dialects spoken in Italy generally indicates the stress accent on a short final vowel, but in some languages it shows at the same time the quality of the sound. (*See* 10, 19.)

3. The circumflex accent (^) generally indicates the stress accent on a long vowel or also, as in French, a long vowel without reference to stress accent, but in some languages it may indicate either only the quality of the sound, or quality and tonic quantity at the same time. (*See* 5, 11, 15, 20.)

4. (ă) indicates the obscure Wallachian sound resembling English *u* in *much*.

5. (â) shows French *â* in *âme*, between *a* in *father* and *a* in *all*; and Wallachian *â* or *î*, which represents a peculiar vowel resembling a nasal (ă). (*See* 4.)

6. 7. (ä, æ) sound as *a* in *man*, but in Catalan, and particularly in Portuguese, this vowel slightly partakes of the sound of English *u* in *but*.

8. (e) represents English *e* in *bed*, between (é) and (è) in those dialects which have no more than one *e* sound. In other dialects, (e) may also sound as (é), or as French *e* in cheval "horse." The French and Franco-Occitanian dialects, as a rule, follow the French orthography in this particular point, even with regard to the final *e* and consonants, although neither of the latter, when expressed in writing, are quite so often null in these dialects as in the standard language.

9. 10. (é, è) sound as French *é* and *è*, except in Portuguese, where (é) sounds (è).

11. (ê), as French *ê* generally, but in Romagnuolo it receives the sound of (é) slightly partaking of that of French (*eu*) in *feu* "fire." In Portuguese, however, (ê) sounds (é).

12. (ə), as French *e* in *cheval* or nearly so.

13. (ə̃), as the same, but nasal and atonic.

14. (*ə*), as a peculiar sound lying between French *u* and French *eu* in *feu*.

15. (î), as the Wallachian nasal *â*. (*See* 5.)

16. (*in*), as a nasal English *e* in *be*, or as the Portuguese *im* in *sim* "yes."

17. (o), as English *o* in *more*, between (ó) and (ò), in those dialects which have only one *o* sound. In other dialects, (o) may also sound as (ó), but, in Neapolitan, Portuguese, and Piedmontese, atonic (o) represents generally the sound of English *oo* in *fool*, but short, or French *ou* in *loup* "wolf."

18. 19. (ó, ò), as French *o* in *devot* and *devote* "devout," except in Portuguese, where (ó) sounds (ò).

20. (ô), as French *ô* generally, but in Romagnuolo, as (ó) slightly partaking of French *œu* in *cœur* "heart." In Bolognese, (ô) represents a kind of diphthong, the first element of which resembles English *a* in *all*, followed by the aftersound of French *ou*, and with the emphasis on the first vowel. In Portuguese (ô) sounds (ó).

21. (ŏ), as the Wallachian *ă*. (*See* 4.)

22. (ou), as French *ou*, but only in French, Franco-Occitanian, and Modern Occitanian, while anywhere else the pronunciation is (o) plus (u), or, as in good Portuguese, (ó).

23. (u), as English *oo* in *fool*, but short, or as French *ou*. In French, Franco-Occitanian, Modern-Occitanian, and Piedmontese, (u) sounds as (ü), or French *u*.

24. (ü), as French *u*.

25. (c) sounds 1°. as *k*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, and the consonants, in all dialects, and also at the end of a word, in Frioulan, Romanese, Modern Occitanian, Franco-Occitanian, French, and Wallachian; 2°. as *ch* in *child*, before *e* and *i*, in Italian,

Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, and Wallachian, and also at the end of a word, in Gallo-Italic and the Italian dialects; 3°. as *s* in *so*, before *e* and *i*, in Portuguese, Catalan, Modern Occitanian, Franco-Occitanian, and French; 4°. as *th* in *think*, before *e* and *i*, in Spanish and Northern Galician.

26. (ch): 1°. as *k*, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, Catalan, and Wallachian; 2°. as a palatalized *k*, nearly as *ky*, before *i*, in some Italian and Wallachian words, as *occhi*, *ochi* "eyes," almost pronounced "okkyee, okyee"; 3°. as a simple sound lying between *t* and *ch* in *child*, in Romanese; 4°. as *ch* in *child*, in Spanish, Galician, Provençal, and some other Modern Occitanian dialects; 5°. as *sh*, in Portuguese, French, Franco-Provençal, and some Modern-Occitanian dialects; 6°. as German guttural fricative *ch* in *nacht* "night," in Saintongeais.

27. (chi), nearly as *ky*, before *ia*, *ie*, *io*, and *iu*, in Italian and Wallachian.

28. (ci), as *ch* in *child*, before *a*, *o*, and *u*, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, and Wallachian.

29. (ç): 1°. as *s* in *so*, in Portuguese and French; 2°. as *ch* in *child*, in Frioulan.

30. (çh), as Romanese *ch*, in Frioulan.

31. (ć), as Illyrian *ć*, a simple sound, nearly *ksh*, in Istro-Wallachian.

32. (dd): 1°. as a strong alveolar and ordinary (Non-English) *d*; 2°. as a velar *d* (in some dialects, nearly *ddr*), when (dd) corresponds to Latin *ll*, as this happens in Sicilian, Southern and Central Calabrian, Leccese, Tarantino, Sassarese, Tempiese, and (partly) Southern Corsican.

33. (g): 1°. as *g* in *go*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, and the consonants, in all dialects, and also at the end of a word, in Frioulan, Romanese (only after *a*, *o*, and *u*), Modern Occitanian, Franco-Occitanian, French, and Wallachian; 2.° as *j*, before *e* and *i*, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, Romanese, Provençal, and other Modern Occitanian dialects, and also, at the end of a word, in Gallo-Italic, Romanese (except after *a*, *o*, and *u*), and the Italian dialects; 3°. as *s* in *pleasure*, before

e and *i*, in Portuguese, Catalan, some Modern Occitanian dialects, Franco-Provençal, French, and Wallachian; 4°. as German *ch* in *nacht*, before *e* and *i* in Spanish; 5°. as German guttural fricative *g* in *tag* "day," before *e* and *i* in Saintongeais.

34. (gh): 1°. as *g* in *go*, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, Romanese, and Wallachian; 2°. as a palatalized hard *g*, nearly as *gy*, before *i* in Italian, but very rarely, as in *ragghi* "brayings," almost pronounced "braggyee."

35. (ghi), nearly as *gy*, before *ia*, *ie*, *io*, and *iu*, in Italian and Wallachian.

36. (gi), as *j*, before *a*, *o*, and *u*, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, and Romanese.

37. (gl): 1°. as *gl* in *glory*, almost in all dialects; 2°. as a palatalized *l* (the so-called French "*l* mouillé," which, however is hardly recognized any longer in modern French,) before *i* in Italian and Sardinian, but with a very few exceptions; and also before *e* and at the end of a word, in Romanese.

38. (gli): 1°. as *gli* in *glitter*, almost in all dialects; 2°. as a palatalized *l*, before *a*, *e*, *o*, and *u*, in Italian, Sardinian, and Romanese.

39. (gn): 1°. as *gn* in *dignity*, in Spanish, Portuguese, Catalonian, and Wallachian; 2°. as a palatalized *n* or French *gn*, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, Romanese, Modern Occitanian, Franco-Occitanian, and French.

40. (gu): 1°. as *goo* in *goose*, or as French *gu* in *ambigu* "ambiguous," according to the dialectal pronunciation of *u* (*see* 23): a.) in all dialects, before consonants and at the end of a word; b.) before all vowels, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, and Romanese; c.) only before *a* and *o*, in Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan. 2°. as *g* in *go*: a.) before all vowels, in French, Franco-Occitanian, and Modern Occitanian; b.) only before *e* and *i*, in Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan.

41. (h), as *h* in *horse*, but only in the Gascon and Bearnese dialects and some Lorrain varieties; it is mute elsewhere.

42. (hh), nearly as German *ch* in *nacht*.

43. (ig), as a digraph, at the end of a word, occurs in Romanese and sounds as *j*, as well as in Catalan, where it sounds as *ch* in *child*. Instances are: *teig* "roof," pronounced "tej"; *roig* "red," pronounced "roch."

44, 45, 46. (il, ill, l), as a palatalized *l*, or as *y* in *you*, according to the nature of the various French, Franco-Occitanian, or Modern Occitanian dialects where these symbols may occur, either as a digraph or a trigraph, as in French *ail*, *caille* "garlic, quail," pron. "ah-y, kah-y." In *mil* "millet," pron. "mee-y," *y* is represented by a single *l*.

47. (ix), as *sh*, in Catalan.

48. (j): 1°. as *y* in *you*, in all the Italian dialects, except pure Tuscan, and in Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, and Romanese; 2°. as two *e*'s in *he*, in Italian, at the end of a word; 3°. as *j*, in Provençal and some other Modern Occitanian dialects; 4°. as *s* in *pleasure*, in Portuguese, Catalan, some Modern Occitanian dialects, Franco-Provençal, French, and Wallachian; 5°. as German *ch* in *nacht*, in Spanish; 6°. as German guttural fricative *g* in *tag*, in Saintongeais.

49. (lh), as a digraph represents a palatalized *l* in Portuguese and wherever else it occurs.

50. (ll), as a digraph, represents either a palatalized *l*, or *y* in *you*, according to the nature of the various French, Franco-Occitanian, and Modern Occitanian dialects; and only a palatalized *l*, in Spanish, Galician, and Catalan. Instances are *fille* "daughter," pron. in France "fee-y" or "fee-ly"; *llit* "bed," pron. always "lyeet," in Catalan, and *bello* "beautiful," pron. always "bellyow," in Spanish; and never "yeet, beyyow."

51, 52. (m, n). These letters, in Portuguese, Gallo-Italic, and the dialects of France, but very seldom in Modern Occitanian, are nothing more than signs of the nasality of the preceding vowels. This happens generally either when, being single, they are preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant, or when they occur at the end of a word, being preceded by a vowel. Tonic vowels are frequently liable to become nasal in Portuguese (?), and sometimes in the French

dialects and even in French, before consonantal *m* or *n*, so that these letters are, at the same time, both real sounds and signs of nasality. Great variety exists in the above-mentioned dialects, not only in the frequency, but also in the number of the nasal sounds, as well as in the nature of the nasality. It is to be noted that (n), except in Portuguese and French, is almost always pronounced as (m) before a bi-labial consonant, and as *ng* in *singer* before a guttural one, even when (n) ends a word and the labial or guttural consonant begins another; provided, however, the two words are intimately and syntactically united; and this condition determines also the addition of a consonantal *n* after the nasality of the French vowels indicated by a final *n*. We have, in fact, *bon ami* "good friend," and *bon à faire* "good to do," pronounced "bonahmee" and "bõ ah fare," in the same way that we have in Spanish *san Benito* "Saint Benedict," and *dan pronto* "they give quickly," pronounced "sahmbaneetow" and "dahn proantow."

53. (ñ), as French *gn*, in Spanish and Galician.

54. (nh), when used as digraph, sounds as French *gn* in *digne* "worthy," in Portuguese, and as *ng* in *singer*, in Galician, Genoese, and Piedmontese.

55. (ny), as French *gn*, in Catalan.

56. (qu): 1°. as *coo* in *cool*, or as French *cu* in *vaincu* "conquered," according to the dialectal pronunciation of *u* (*see* 23): a.) in all dialects where it may possibly occur, at the end of a word, or even, as in Gallo-Italic, before a consonant; b.) before all vowels, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, and Romanese; c.) only before *a* and *o*, in Portuguese and Catalan. 2°. as *k*: a.) before all vowels, in the dialects of France; b.) only before *e* and *i*, in Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan.

57. (s), as *s* in *so*, except in Portuguese when it occurs at the end of a word, or before the sounds *f*, *k*, *p*, *t*; in which case it sounds as *sh*, or nearly so.

58. (*s*), as *z*, except in Portuguese, when it occurs before a consonantal sound not being *f*, *k*, *p*, *t*; in which case it is pronounced as *s* in *pleasure*, or nearly so.

59, 60, 61, 62. (sc, sci, sch, š), as *sh*, except (sc) before *a*, *o*, *u*, and the consonants; in which case it sounds as *sk*. In the dialects of France, Catalan, and sometimes in Portuguese, *sce*, *sci* sound as *s* in *so*, and in Spanish and Portuguese, as (s) plus (c).

63. (schg), as *j*, in Romanese.

64, 65. (sg, sgi), as *s* in *pleasure*, except when (sg) occurs before *a*, *o*, *u*, and the consonants; in which case it is pronounced as *ssg* in *gross garniture*.

66, 67, 68. (s-c, sc-c, s-g), as (s, sc) plus (c, g).

69, 70. (tsch, tj), as *ch* in *child*.

71. (ts), as Italian *z* in *lo zio* "the uncle," or nearly as *ts*.

72. (x): 1°. as *ks*, in Spanish, Portuguese, Romanese, Catalan, Modern Occitanian, and French; 2°. as *gz*, in Catalan, Modern Occitanian, and French; 3°. as *k*, in French; 4°. as *s* in *so*, in Portuguese, Modern Occitanian, and French; 5°. as *z*, in Portuguese and French; 6°. as *sh*, in Asturian, Portuguese, Galician, and Catalan; 7°. as *s* in *pleasure*, in Cagliaritan and Genoese.

73. (y), as *e* in *he*, in Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Modern Occitanian, and French; and as *y* in *you*, in Spanish, Catalan, Modern Occitanian, Franco-Occitanian, and French.

74. (*z*): 1°. as *z*, in Portuguese, Catalan, Modern Occitanian, Franco-Occitanian, French, and Wallachian; 2°. as *s* in *so*, in Southern Galician; and, at the end of a word, also in French, when it is neither silent nor "*lié*"; 3°. as *sh*, or nearly so, in Portuguese, when it occurs at the end of a word not followed by another word; 4°. as *s* in *pleasure*, or nearly so, in Portuguese, when it occurs at the end of a word followed by another word beginning with a sound other than *f*, *k*, *p*, *t*; 5°. as *th* in *think*, in Spanish and Northern Galician; 6°. as Italian *z* in *lo zio*, or nearly as *ts*, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, and Romanese.

75. (*z*), as Italian *z* in *lo zelo* "the zeal," or nearly *dz*, in Italian, Sardinian, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, and Romanese.

N.B. Wherever accents are merely tonic without reference to quality or quantity, they are, in print, expressed only: 1°.

in the last syllable of words ending with a single vowel sound, except "ö" or "eu"; 2°. in the last syllable but one of words ending with a consonant, or with more than one vowel sound, or with "ö" or "eu"; 3°. in the tonic syllable of words of more than two syllables. Every word having no printed accent is to be read as if the accent were placed: 1°. on the last syllable of words ending in a consonant, or with more than one vowel sound, or with "ö" or "eu"; 2°. on the last syllable but one of words ending with a single vowel sound, except "ö" or "eu." These rules do not apply to French and its dialects, where all the words are oxytone, at least for the ears.

APPENDIX II.

Explanation of the Names of some of the Dialects mentioned.

Angevin: The French sub-dialect of the ancient province of Anjou.

Berrichon: The French sub-dialect of the ancient province of Berri.

Broyard: A Franco-Provençal dialect of the canton of Fribourg, in Switzerland.

Castrais: A Provençal sub-dialect of the ancient province of Languedoc, spoken at Castres.

Cévennois: A Provençal sub-dialect of the ancient province of Languedoc, spoken in the Cevennes.

Forézien: The Franco-Provençal dialect of the ancient province of Le Forez, dependent on the Lyonnais.

Gallot: The French sub-dialect of the ancient province of Bretagne.

Gruérin: A Franco-Provençal sub-dialect of the Canton of Fribourg, in Switzerland.

Jurassien: A Franco-Provençal sub-dialect of the ancient province of Franche-Comté.

Kutzo-Wallachian: The Wallachian dialect of the ancient territory of Macedonia.

Manceau: The French sub-dialect of the ancient province of Le Maine.

Messin: A French sub-dialect of the ancient province of La Lorraine.

Monagasque: The Genoese sub-dialect of the principality of Monaco.

Montois: The French sub-dialect of Mons, in Belgium.

Morvandeau: The French sub-dialect of the Morvan, an ancient district dependent on the Nivernais.

Niçard: The Provençal sub-dialect of Nice, in France.

Nivernais: The French sub-dialect of the ancient province of the Nivernais.

Percheron: The French sub-dialect of Le Perche, an ancient dependency of the province of Le Maine.

Poitevin: The dialect of the ancient province of Poitou.

Qouetso: A Franco-Provençal sub-dialect of the canton of Fribourg, in Switzerland.

Rouchi: The French sub-dialect of Valenciennes, in the ancient province of Flanders.

Rouergois: The Provençal dialect of the ancient district of the Rouergue, in the province of Guienne.

Saintongeais: The French sub-dialect of Saintonge.

Tourangeau: The French variety of the ancient province of Touraine.

Velaunien: The Provençal sub-dialect of Le Velay, an ancient district dependent on the province of Le Vivarais.

Vosgien: The French dialect of the Vosges, in the ancient province of La Lorraine.

APPENDIX III.

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APPENDIX IV.

Arrangement of the Lists, and some Explanations.

In the preceding lists, the names of the thirteen living Neo-Latin languages which I recognize as distinct are prefixed in order to each paragraph in SMALL CAPITALS, and the names of the dialects are given in *Italics*. When an * is prefixed to a name and no authority is annexed, it indicates that the name is antiquated, or obsolete, or uncommon, or not very common, or less used, or not principally used. When an * is prefixed and the authority is added in ( ), the name is given on that authority only, as I have not heard it myself or found it in other works.

When the name of one of the thirteen languages is immediately followed by that of its dialect, the word quoted belongs only to the dialect and not to the literary or principal dialect itself by which the whole language is represented.

The dialectal Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French names are not given when they do not differ more or less in form, meaning or orthography from those still in use in the standard language to which they belong; and, when a dialectal word is given in one of the principal dialects of a language, it is not repeated in the other dialects of the same language.

X.—THE TREATMENT OF ENGLISH BORROWED WORDS IN COLLOQUIAL WELSH. By Thomas Powell.

The following paper is an attempt to give a general account of the use and treatment of English words in the colloquial Welsh of the present day. Most of the statements here made are applicable to the whole of Welsh-speaking Wales; but the paper treats more particularly of the dialect spoken, with slight variations, in the Counties of Brecon, Caermarthen, and the greater part of Cardigan.

The subject is thought to be one of considerable interest, both linguistically and historically. As a study of language, it is instructive to mark the laws which operate under our actual observation, in studying which we are less liable to error, than when dealing with the fossilised remains of earlier times, while it may reasonably be expected to help us in arguing from the "living present" to the "dead past." Historically, it is part of a larger subject, the question of the relation of the Celt and the Teuton in Britain. It has generally been thought that down to a comparatively recent period the two peoples maintained an attitude of almost complete isolation; and proof of this is supposed to be found amongst others, in the slight influence which the two languages had upon each other. But I am inclined to think that fuller inquiry will show this influence on both sides to have been greater than is generally allowed. If the inquiry of the present paper were extended to the literary language, and carried out fully in historical order, it would probably be found that Welsh has borrowed from English a larger number of words, and from an earlier period, than some of our authorities have been willing to admit. In the same way, again, the influence of Welsh on English has been very

much under-estimated, being generally limited to some forty or fifty words. This is because scholars have not looked to the right place, viz., the provincial dialects. When a competent scholar undertakes to sift thoroughly the Glossaries and Word Lists of the English Dialect Society, the Celtic element in English will appear much more considerable than has hitherto been recognised.

The application of the phonetic laws described hereafter (which are of course the same laws that have shaped the language throughout its history), varies in completeness and regularity, in accordance with (1) the length of time during which the borrowed words have been in use in Wales, and (2) the degree of culture or knowledge of English possessed by the particular speaker. Those words which have been longest current in the Principality, have been forced into the most complete conformity with Welsh phonetic laws. Many words borrowed at an early period have been so completely naturalised, that their foreign origin has been forgotten, and they have not seldom been brought forward by lexicographers to explain the very words of which they are themselves merely corruptions.

Again, old people and the uneducated carry out the changes described much more regularly than younger people who have attained a fuller knowledge of English.

Terminations of Nouns and Verbs.

When English nouns and verbs are borrowed in colloquial Welsh, certain terminations are frequently added. In the case of verbs this is always the case. Adjectives take no such addition.

Noun Endings (Diminutives and Singulatives).—Nouns often take the diminutive or singulative terminations *-an*, *-yn*, forming masculine, and *-en* forming feminine nouns. The form *-an* was formerly used, but now *-yn* and *-en* are regularly employed for the two genders respectively.

1. *-an* was occasionally used to form both masculine and feminine nouns, *e.g.*, *stacc-an*, mas. (a stook, fr. "stack"), *hŏs-an*, fem. (a stocking, fr. "hose").

2. *-yn* is now very regularly employed to form diminutives or singulatives of the masculine gender, *e.g.*, *ffiowr-yn* (a flower), *ffowl-yn* (a fowl), etc.

3. *-en* forms feminines of the same kind, *e.g.*, *bwlĕt-en* (a bullet), *whĭl-en* (a wheel), etc.

These endings are generally used to form singulatives from such English nouns as first obtained currency in their plural form. Consequently, the singulatives are most usually formed from the English plural, *e.g.* :—

(*a*) *-yn*, masc. *cŏls-yn* (a burnt coal, a cinder), *ffowls-yn* (a fowl, sometimes heard as well as *ffowl-yn*), *tĭwls-yn* (a tool; applied also to persons, "a queer fellow"), *mĭwls-yn* (a donkey, fr. "mule," with a fem. *mĭwls-en*, heard as often as the literary *ăsyn* and *ăsen*).

(*b*) *-en*, fem., *bĭwts-en* (a boot), *brĭcs-en* (a brick), *cwĭls-en* (a quill), *lăts-en* (a lath), *pĭls-en* (a pill), *shŏts-en* (a shot, a pellet), *whĭls-en* (a wheel, as well as *whĭlen*), *wĭrs-en* (a wire), *teils-en* (a tile, a coarse slate); the plural *teils* is used to designate the coarser kind of slate, *tô teils* (a tile roof) being distinguished from *tô slâts* (a slate roof), as well as from *tô gwellt* (a straw-thatched roof).

Sŏfren (a sovereign, a pound) is, from its form, naturally regarded as feminine, though not a singulative.

Plural Endings.

(*a*) Generally English plural forms are kept, as in the case of the words from which the singulatives just given are formed.

(*b*) Sometimes a vowel change takes place in addition. So the recently borrowed word *fforc* (a fork) has a plural *ffyrcs*, with the same vowel change as the native word *fforch*, plural *ffyrch*. So *corc* (a cork), has *cyrcs*.

(*c*) Sometimes, again, a word has a Welsh plural as well as the English one, *e.g.*, *băsn* (a basin), has plural *băsnau* and *băsnis*.

(*d*) In Welsh, as in English, some words are used only in the plural, *e.g.* *trowsys* or *trawsys* (trowsers; though in this

case *trowser* or *trawser* is also used), *tings* (a pair of "tongs," in which the vowel change is apparently made under the feeling that the word is plural, *o* of the singular very often being modified into *y* in the plural), *tŏcyns* (copper coins, "coppers"), fr. E. *tokens*.

(*e*) In a few words we find the plural termination curiously doubled, *e.g.*, *lŏcs-is* (whiskers, fr. "locks"), *galŏs-is* or *gálosis* (braces, fr. "gallows").

Verbal Endings.

When an English verb is borrowed, a distinctive verbal ending is always affixed. The following are the most common terminations:—

(1) *-an*, or *ian*, as in *mŏcian* (to mock), *pĭpian* (to peep).

(2) *-ed*, as in *blong-ed* (to belong), *watshed* (to watch).

(3) *-o*, which is by far the most common ending used for this purpose, as in *treio* (to try), *tendo* (to tend), *wĭrso* (to make a wire fencing), and numberless others.

(4) *-a* is used in forming verbs from nouns, as in native words, *e.g.*, *bargeina* (to bargain), *ffowla* (to fowl, *i.e.*, go out shooting), *samwna* (to fish for salmon).

The Influence of Accent.

As is well known, the accent in Welsh regularly falls on the penult, with very few exceptions. When an English word is borrowed, therefore, differently accented, an attempt is soon made to modify its form in such a way as to adapt it to the general principle of Welsh accentuation. This is done by dropping unaccented vowels in accordance with the figures called syncope, apocope, and aphæresis.

Syncope.

Syncope takes place under the following circumstances:—

1. In trisyllabic words, accented on the first syllable, the vowel of the second syllable (that immediately following the accent) is dropped. This preserves the accent in its original position, and at the same time the word is brought under

the general Welsh law of accentuation. Thus we have *cámmil* (camomile), *cópras* (copperas), *emprwr* (emperor), *intrest* (interest), *lábrer* (a labourer, a common unskilled worker, as opposed to an artisan or craftsman), *mágnel* (mangonel), *pérwig* (a periwig), etc.

2. Similarly, when a verb or noun ending is added to words accented on the penult, and thus throws the accent to the ante-penult of the new Welsh word thus formed, the vowel of the syllable following the accent is dropped, and the regular accentuation thus restored. Thus we have:—

(*a*) Verbs, as *áltro* (for *áltero*, fr. "alter"), *blistro* (to blister), *cantro* (to canter), *entro* (enter), *hapno* (happen), *laddro* (to lather), *cyfro* (to cover), *recyfro* (recover), etc.

(*b*) Nouns, as *altrad* (a change, fr. "alter"), *fflówryn* (for *fflóweryn*, fr. "flower"), *sgiwren* (a skewer).

3. When the suffix is added to a word accented on the last syllable, the vowel preceding the accented syllable is sometimes dropped, as in *blongo* or *blonged* (to "belong").

Apocope.

Apocope often takes place in English proparoxytone words, *e.g.*, *libert* or *libart* (fr. liberty), *pendyl* (pendulum), *pliwris* (pleurisy), *fólant* (a valentine), *whilber* (wheelbarrow, where the *a* has been changed to *e*, apparently under the attenuating influence of the preceding *i*).

Aphæresis.

Aphæresis is effected under the following circumstances:—

1. When no termination is added, the first syllable of oxytone trisyllables is often cut off, *e.g.*, *seisis* (assizes), *piniwn* (opinion), whence is formed an adjective *piniynus*, obstinate, opinionated, *lastic* (fr. the noun "elastic," a very late importation), *lecshwn* (a Parliamentary election), *twrne* (attorney, perhaps fr. M.E. "attourneie").

2. When to an English word of two syllables accented on the last, an affix is added, the first syllable is in the same way often dropped, *e.g.*, *'lowo* (to allow), *sisto* (to assist), *solfo*

(to resolve), *specto* (to suspect). So *hosan-au* (stockings), plural of *hosan* (fr. "hose"), is generally cut down in colloquial speech to *'sanau* or *'sane; pytăten* (a potato), is shortened into *tăten*, and the plural *pytăto* is heard in the various forms, *tato, tato, tatws.*

3. Sometimes two syllables are cut off, as in *sashiwn* (fr. "association," a synodical meeting of the Welsh Nonconformists), *stando* (to understand).

APHÆRESIS and APOCOPE take place in the word *seiet* (a "society," a church meeting), which has the plural *seiĕti* in South Wales; but in North Wales is often *seiat*, plural *seiāde.*

The two forms assumed by the plural of this word lead us naturally to notice two points:—

1. The influence of accent on quantity. It will be observed that there is a pretty general tendency to shorten the vowel in the accented syllables, of which the following forms are examples:—*brĭtshis* (knee-breeches as opposed to trowsers), *brŏtshan* (to muddle, to thrust in a foolish or bungled statement or remark, fr. "broach"), *ffŏrso* (to force), *hŭper* (a "hooper," or cooper, the native name being *cylchwr* fr. *cylch*, a hoop), *hŭtio* (to hoot), *cĭper* (a keeper), *pĭlo* (to "peel," though this may be fr. M.E. "pillen"), *pĭpo, pĭpian* (to peep), *trŭp* (a troop).

2. The relation of quantity to the character of the succeeding consonant. Short accented vowels are followed by surds, long accented vowels by sonants. This has already been illustrated by the two plurals of *seiet* or *seiat*, viz. *seiĕti* and *seiāde*. So *bonnet* (a bonnet) has plural *bonnĕti*, and the word "bullet" gives us a singulative *bwlĕten*—in each case the short vowel being followed by a surd dental. But the regularly modified form of "bullet" is *bwled* (the literary form), which has the plurals *bwlĕdi* or *bwlēdau*—a long vowel succeeded by a sonant. It is unnecessary to multiply instances, as the rule obtains generally in native as well as in borrowed words.

Occasionally a word is differently accented in colloquial and literary Welsh; thus "farewell" has in conversation the English accent, *ffarwél*; but in the written language, in

hymns and popular poetry, it takes generally the Welsh accent and the form *ffärwel*, though even here it may, *metri causa*, keep the original accentuation.

Hybrid Forms and Phrases.

Sometimes we hear an amusing combination of English and Welsh forms in the same word or phrase. The common translation of the English verb "mistake," is *camsynied*, and of the first part of the W. verb *cam* (lit. bent, crooked), and the last element of the English one, together with a Welsh verbal ending, a word *camstaco* (to mistake), has been formed, and is at times heard from the mouths of uneducated people in some such forms as *camstaco 'nēs i* (mistake did I), or *Mi gamstaces* (I mistook).

Again, the adjective *gwir* (true, L. *verus*), and its derived noun, *gwirionedd* (truth), are often used adverbially in such phrases as *odi wir* (literary, *ydyw yn wir*, it is truly), or *odi wirionedd* (it is in truth). For the Welsh *wir* in such cases, the English "sure" in the form *siwr* is often used, *odi siwr* (it is surely); and from this, on the analogy of *gwirionedd* from *gwir*, has been made a hybrid substantive *siwrionedd*, which is used at times for its native prototype, *odi siwrionedd*, *do siwrionedd* (it is, yes, of a surety), etc.

Sometimes an English borrowed word is translated by a Welsh one combined with it, as in *Dir anwl!* (Dear me!) in which *dir* is the modification of the English "dear," and *anwl* is merely the Welsh word, *anwyl* (dear), translating and strengthening it. So the English "blue" becomes in Welsh *bliw*, and the "blue" used in the laundry is often called *bliw glâs*, *glâs* being the regular Welsh translation of "blue." These and similar forms are closely parallel to the Scriptural "Abba, Father," as doubtless the linguistic condition of Palestine in the time of Christ closely resembled that of Wales at the present day. These forms also clearly show how hybrid proper names might have arisen, and give plausibility to the derivation, for instance, of Cotswold from Welsh *coed* (wood), and its A.S. equivalent *weald*, *wald*, added for explanation.

The Vowels.

The vowel changes affected in borrowed English are much more obscure and difficult to treat in a satisfactory manner, than those which the consonants undergo. Many words were borrowed originally in provincial forms, the exact sounds of which it would probably be difficult for one much better versed in English phonology than the present writer to determine with exactness. Then it is often difficult to ascertain at what period a given word was first introduced. I shall therefore for the present aim at no more than presenting the principal facts without comment.

A.

1. Those forms which have in modern English long *a*, accented and followed by a single consonant and *e* mute, take very generally in Welsh the long sound of *a* in "father," *e.g.*, *câr* (care), *câs* (condition, case, fr. M. E. "cas"; also a covering, a case, fr. M. E. "casse, kace"), *cnâf* (a knave), *crâp* (crape), *ffâdo*, verb (to fade), *ffrâm* (frame), *gâm* (game, pluck, courage), *gât* (a gate, especially a toll-gate), *grâs* (grace), *grât* (grate), *lâs* (lace, M.E. "las, laas"), *lâdi* (lady), *pâs* (pace, M.E. "pas, paas"), *plât* (plate), *râs* (race, running), *Cwâcer* (Quaker), *cwâfer* (quaver), *stât* (state, estate), etc., etc.

2. *A*, accented and followed by more than one consonant and *e* mute, is represented by short *ä*, *e.g.*, *häst* (haste), *päst* (paste), *täst* (taste), *tästo* (to taste), *wäst* (waste, M.E. "wast"), *näshwn* (fr. "nation," used contemptuously, "a scurvy lot").

3. *A* becomes *o* very often, not only (*α*) in accented syllables, as *siom* (disappointment, fr. "sham"), *fforwel* (farewell), *hongian* (hang), *soffgart* (a riding-skirt, fr. "safe-guard"), *tösel* (tassel), *folant* (valentine), *pongcag* (pancake), *plöd* (plaid), etc.; but also

(*β*) in final unaccented syllables, as *ecseismon* (exciseman), *spectol* (spectacles), *stymog* (stomach), *rhiwbob* (rhubarb), *saboth* (sabbath), etc.

Here also, probably, should be placed the words *bongc* (a bank, hillock), and *rhongc* (coarse in growth, or rancid),

which, if borrowed in the M.E. forms "boncke" and "ronk," would doubtless have become **bwngc* and **rhwngc*, like *swnd*, fr. E.E. "sond" (sand).

4. *A* is also represented by *e*—

(*a*) in monosyllables, as *prês* (brass), *het* (hat), etc.

(*β*) in final unaccented syllables, as *ffwlbert* (M.E. "fulmart"), *tangced* (tankard), *öced* (awkward).

(*γ*) in accented syllables, if followed by *e* or *i*, as *thengci* (thank ye), *letshed* (latchet), *cweryl* (quarrel), etc. This modification of *a*, under the influence of a succeeding *i*, is exceedingly common in native words from a very early period.

5. The long diphthongal sound expressed by *a*, *ai*, *ay*, and *ei*, becomes in Welsh *âe*, corresponding very nearly to the sound of English "aye" (yes); this *âe* becomes *ei* when an accent is made to fall on it through the addition of another syllable, *e.g.*, *crâen* (a crane, for hanging pots and kettles on over a fire), *clâem* (a claim), whence verb *cleimo* (to claim), *cmplâent* (complaint), *entâel* (entail), *ffâel* (fail), whence verb *ffeilu*, *ffrâe* (fray), *mâel* (mail), *pâens*, also *pâns* (pains, care), *pâent* (paint), vb. *peinto*, *plâen* (plain), *stâen* (stain), verb *steino*. By this change of *ai* to *ei*, we have also *beili* (bailiff), *ffeirins* (fairings), *ordeino* (to ordain), *reilin* (railing), *teilur*, (tailor), etc., etc.

So again *râen* ("rein," of a bridle), *fâel* (veil).

6. The open sound of *a* in fall, *au*, *aw*, becomes *â*; *e.g.*, *câlin* (calling, trade), *wâc* (a walk), *sâser* (saucer). This English sound, unknown in Welsh, is found difficult by Welshmen learning English, and in their mouths generally becomes *ó*, so that "a tall man" is metamorphosed into "a toll man." And in borrowed words it becomes *o* as often as *a*; "auction" is turned into *oeshon* as well as *aeshon*; *sawer* coexists with *sâser*; but the forms in *a* are heard chiefly from old people.

7. Diphthongal *au* becomes in Welsh *aw*, *e.g.*, *dawns* (a dance), fr. M.E. "dauns-en," *chawns* (chance), fr. M.E. "chaunce," *cawse* (a raised pavement), fr. M.E. "causse," *cawdel* (a candle, a mess, a bungle), fr. M.E. "candel."

8. As in so many native words diphthong *ei* has developed into diphthong *ai* in *ffair*, from M.E. "feire, feyre," and perhaps in *clai* (clay), fr. M.E. "clei"; so *consâit* (egotism, fancy), and *resâit*, both with accent on the last syllable, from "conceit," "receipt."

E.

1. The old English *ê*, now represented by *ea*, is kept in Welsh in loan-words, *e.g.*, *tshêp*, (M.E. "chêp," cheap), *clên* (M.E. "clêne," clean), *mên* (M.E. "mêne," mean, sordid), *arrêrs* (arrears, fr. M.E. "arere"), *sêt* (M.E. "sete," seat), *repêt* (a repeat in music, fr. M.E. "repete"), *sêro*, *serio* (to sear, to brand, to burn, fr. M.E. "sêre, seerin"), *sêl* (M.E. "seel," a seal), *sêl* (zeal, fr. M.E. "zele"), *appêl* (with accent on last syllable, fr. M.E. "appelen"), whence a Welsh verb *appêlo* or *appelio*, *tshêt* (M.E. "chete," cheat), *lês* (a lease, M.E. "lese"), *lêgo* (to leak, M.E. "leken"), *plê* (a plea, M.E. "plee"), *plêdo* (to plead, M.E. "pleden"), *plesio* (to please, M.E. "plesen").

Sometimes the *ê* is shortened, as in *hêp* (a heap), fr. M.E. "heep."

2. When occurring before *r*, *e* becomes *ê* in Welsh, *e.g.*, *clêr* (clear, fr. M.E. "cler, cleer"), *dêr* (dear, M.E. "dere"), often heard in the expression *dêr anwl!* (dear me!), where, as already mentioned, *anwl* is the literary *anwyl*, the Welsh equivalent of "dear"; *bêr* (beer, M.E. "bere"), *appêro* (to appear, M.E. "apperen").

3. The indefinite vowel sound heard in final syllables, and expressed by *a*, *e*, or *o*, becomes in Welsh a distinct and clear *ĕ*, e.g., *ficer* (a vicar), *gramer* (grammar), *licer* (liquor), *reiet* (riot), *wagen* (wagon).

4. Final unaccented *e* sometimes becomes *i*; as in *wstid* (worsted), *sydyn*, also *syden* (sudden); so "friend" has become Welsh *ffrind*.

5. Accented *e* has become *y* (with sound of *u* in English "but"), in *clyfer*, N.W. *clyfar* (clever), *trysor* (M.E. "tresor," treasure), *tryspas* (trespass), with verb *tryspâsu* (to trespass).

6. Sometimes again *e* becomes *a*; e.g., *carsimēr* (kerseymere), *diffrant* (different), *diffrans* (difference), *dransh* (a drench), *dēsant* (decent), *libart* (liberty), *nýrsari* (nursery, of trees), *presant* (present), *sēramoni* (ceremony), *tārier* (terrier), *transh* (a trench).

I.

1. In a large number of monosyllables *i* is kept unchanged, *e.g.*, *ffit*, *pin*, *tin*, fr. "fit," etc.

2. In accented syllables *i* becomes in Welsh *y* (=*u* in English "but"); *consydro* (to consider), *hysio* (to hiss), *dylyfro* (to deliver), *mynud* (minute), *syfil* (civil).

3. Final *i* in dissyllabic or polysyllabic words becomes *e*; *ffāfret* (favourite), *garlleg* (garlic), *marnes* (varnish), *ysgarmes* (M.E. "scarmishe").

4. The diphthongal sound of *i* in monosyllables and accented syllables is retained; *ffeil* (file), *ffeindio* (find), *ffeino* (to fine), *lein* (a line), *seidir* (cider), etc.

O.

1. When under the accent, *o* is generally shortened, whether followed by one or more consonants, *e.g.*, *cŏlsyn* (a live coal), *cŏst* ("cost" and "coast"), *cŏcso* (to coax), *nŏbl* (noble), *nŏted* (noted, excellent), *nŏtis* (notice), *pŏst* (post), *pŏtsher* (poacher, also a bungler), *rhŏst* (roast), *spŏrt* (sport), etc., etc.

"Close," the adjective, becomes *clŏs*, but the noun "close" (a yard), becomes *clŏs*.

2. Very often *o* becomes *w*—

(*a*) in accented syllables, *e.g.*, *bŏtcyn* (bodkin), *cwmpas* (compass), *cwnshéro* (to conjure), *cwnstab* (constable), *cŏter* (a gutter, M.E. "gotere"), *mwngc* (a monk), *mwngci* (monkey), *rhŏsin* (rosin), *swnd* (M.E. "sond," sand).

(*β*) in final unaccented syllables, *e.g.*, *ceisbwl* (M.E. "cachepole"), *ffashwn* (fashion), *hŏrswn* (whoreson), *cwestiwn* (question), *randwm* (random), *samwn* (salmon).

Such forms as *bācwn*, *barwn*, *cwstwm*, *galwn*, *handswm*, etc., were probably borrowed from M.E. forms, "bacun," "barun,"

"custume," "galun," "handsum," rather than from the modified forms in *o*. In *was-bwnt* (waist-band), the *a* first became *o* (*wasbont*, which is also heard), and this *o* then became *w*.

3. Analogously the diphthong *oi* became in Welsh *wy* in numerous forms, such as *lwyn* (loin), *pwynt* (point), *pwyntel* (a pencil, fr. "pointel"), *pwynto* (to point), *appwynto* (to appoint), *pwyntredyn* ("point-thread," of a saddler or shoemaker), *spwylo* (to spoil), etc.

4. Diphthong *ou*, *ow*, becomes *w*, e.g., *crwner* ("crowner," coroner), *dormws* (dormouse), *fflŵr* (flour), *malws* (mallows), *hwsing* (housing), *pwd* (pout).

5. Conversely *o* sometimes becomes *ow* (=*ou* in English "*out*"), *e.g.*, *bowt* (bolt), *howlder* (holder), *powsi* ("posy," a bouquet of flowers), *rowli-powli* (a rolly-polly), etc.

U.

1. In words borrowed at an early period, *u* has become *w* in Welsh, *e.g.*, *bwndel* (M.E. "bundel"), *brŵsh* (M.E. "brusche"), *clŵb* (club), *clwmsi* (clumsy), *dŵl* (dull), *dwst* (dust), *drŵm* (drum), *grwmblan* (to grumble), *hwcster* (huckster), *hŵmian* (M.E. "hummen"), *lŵc* (luck), *lwmp* (lump), *mwsslin* (muslin), and many others.

2. In words more recently introduced, having the sound of *u* in "but," that vowel is represented by its equivalent *y* in Welsh, *e.g.*, *bynnen* (a bun), *byrsto* (to burst), *lysti* (lusty), *nymbro* (to number), *nýrsari* (nursery of trees and shrubs). So "London" is colloquially *Llynden*; "business" is hardened into *bysnes*.

3. Unaccented *u* sometimes becomes *i*, e.g., *coris* (chorus), *regilato* (to regulate), *régilar* (regular), etc.

4. Diphthongal *u* is practically retained, and may be represented by *iw*, e.g., *ciwr* (cure), *ciwrat*, *ciwrad* (curate), *diw* (due), *diwti* (duty), *ffliw* (flue), *ffliwt* (flute), *siwr* (sure), *piwr* (pure).

5. The *u* in justice (a magistrate), becomes *e*; "*Jestis o pês*" is sometimes heard as representing "Justice of the Peace."

Assimilation.

The assimilation of vowels is carried out to a large extent in Welsh, as well in borrowed as in native words. It may be distinguished into two kinds:—

1. A vowel in a succeeding syllable is assimilated to the one going before it:

a: *shambar* (chamber), *calap* (gallop), *lantar* (lantern), *plastar* (plaister), *stapal* (a staple, fr. M.E. "stapel"), *acádami* (academy), *gálari* (gallery).

e: *mĕtel* (metal), *penneff* or *penneth* (a penknife). We also often hear from elderly people *pengcneth*, carrying us back to the time when the *k* was sounded in the English word.

i: *cripil* (cripple, fr. M.E. "cripel"), *mistir* (master, fr. "mister"), *ffidil* (M.E. "fidel"), *shinshir* (ginger), *swifil* (swivel), *sicir* (M.E. "siker").

o: *bordor* (border), *coffor* (coffer), *coppor* (copper), *clofor* (clover), *ordor* (order), *prŏpor* (proper), *sobor* (sober), etc.

u=*w*: *bwtshwr* (butcher), *clwstwr* (cluster), *cwpwrt*, *cwpwrdd* or *cwbwrt* (cupboard), *mwstwr* (a great noise, fr. "muster"), *swclwn* (a foal, fr. "suckling").

Even where no written change would take place, a perceptible modification in pronunciation is effected, as in the word *doctor*, which in the mouth of a Welsh-speaking native has the last *o* nearly or quite as distinct as the first, not vague as in English.

N.B.—A vowel is sometimes assimilated in the same way to the *last element of a preceding diphthong, e.g.*, *seidir* (cider), *powdwr* (powder), *sowldiwr* (soldier).

Sometimes again we find *a backward-working* assimilation, as in *caticism* (catechism).

2. An assimilated vowel is inseretd in the succeeding syllable:—

a: *Abal* (able, literary form is *abl*), *stabal* (stable, literary form *ystabl*; *ystafell*, a room, is from the same root, but borrowed from the Latin).

e: *Berem* (barm, fr. M.E. "berm"), *helem* (a cornstack, fr. "helm," probably on account of its shape). So the literary

forms *sengl* (single), and *cengl* (a girth, fr. Latin *cingula*), are colloquially *shengel* and *cengel* or *cingel*.

i: *Cilyn* (a kiln), *simpil* or *shimpil* (poorly, ailing; also mean, shabby, fr. "simple").

o: *Storom* (storm).

u, *w*: *Cŭpwl* (couple, a pair), *bŭcwl* (a buckle), *ffŭrwm* (a bench, a form), *nŭngcwl* (uncle), fr. "nuncle," arising from "mine uncle," *Lear* i., 4, 117), *plŭmws* (plums), *trŭbwl* (trouble).

The Consonants.

I. The Surd Mutes, *P*, *C*, *K*, *T*.—In native words, and words borrowed from Latin at an early period, the surd mutes, when vowel-flanked, or final preceded by a vowel, have very generally been modified into their corresponding sonants, and when preceded by *l* or *r* have been *aspirated*. In borrowed English words the former change has been only partially carried out, the latter not at all.

1. *P*, has become *b*: (*a*) *medial*: *llabed* (lappet), *tebot* (teapot), *rhymblo* (rumple), *hobbo* and *hoppo* (hop).

(*β*) *Final*: *pib*: O.E. pîpe.

2. *C*, *k*, have become *g*: (*a*) *medial*: *Bégŭns* (the Beacons), *clogyn* (cloke), *ego* (echo), *lêgo* (leak).

(*β*) *Final*: *câg* and *câgen* (cake), *háfog*[1] (havock), *cámrig* (cambric), *bóncag* (pancake).

(*γ*) Before *l*: *triagl*, O.E. triacle (but we now hear often *trêcl*, fr. "treacle").

3. *T*, has become *d*: (*a*) *final*: *ffiled* (fillet), *fforffed* (forfeit), *cŭshed*[2] (gusset), *gŭásgod* (waistcoat), and many others.

(*β*) *Medial*: *rediciw* (reticule), *sadin* (satin, by old people),

(*γ*) Before *n* and *l*: *cod'n* (cotton, but often *cot'n*), *cedl* (kettle, also *cetl*).

The plural of *ffiled* is *ffilĕti*, and the verb. fr. *fforffed* is *fforffĕtu*, the surd remaining after the *short accented* vowel. If the vowel is lengthened, the sonant is used. So we have

[1] I think it is borrowed by Welsh. We had the word, however, in the form *hebog*, = Ir. *sebac* (hawk).

[2] There is no doubt whatever that it is borrowed in Welsh.

the plurals *pocêdi* (pockets), *blangcêdi* (blankets), *bwcêdi* (buckets), etc., etc.

4. After *r* and *l*, *c*, *k* are not aspirated: *Carc* (cark), *clerc* (clerk), *marc* (mark), *corc* (cork).

Thus we have *shalc* (chalk), besides the older form of the same word *calch* (lime) fr. the Latin.

So *fforc* (fork), besides *fforch*.

5. *T* is not aspirated after *r*, e.g., *Cwrt* (court), *cwart* (quart), *tarten* (tart, by the side of a native form *torth*, a loaf).

6. *Qu* becomes *chw* in many words in North Wales, but never in South. Thus we find N.W. chw*arel*, chw*arter*, etc., against S.W. cw*arel*, cw*arter*, etc.

The *u* has been dropped after *q* in the words *quay*, *quote*, *quotation*, which are represented by colloquial *cei*, *côto*, *cotashiwn*. Cf. Gk. *κοδραντης*, fr. "quadrans."

7. *C* before *t* is sometimes lost or assimilated, *e.g.*, *ffattri* (factory), *cáritor* (character), *gysát* N. Wales (exact).

8. *C* before *l* disappears in *spectal*, *spectol* (spectacles).

9. *T* after *s* is lost or assimilated: *Ffasno* (fasten), *gwasgod* (waistcoat), *tesment*, will (testament), *pasbort* (pasteboard), *possel*, N.W. (O.E. "postel").

Ts becomes *tsh* under the influence of the thin vowels, *e*, *i*, in carrots (*garetsh*, *garetshyn*), courtesy (*cwrtshi* and *cwtshi*, cf. Scot. *curchie*).

10. *T* after *n*, and before *s*, is lost: *cyrens* (currants).

11. *T* after *s* appears to become *g* in *trysglen* (throstle) as *gwisg* (Latin *vestis*), *gwasg* (waist).

12. *T* is inserted after *s* in *ffalst* (wily), fr. English *false* (or was the *t* inserted as an English provincialism before the word was borrowed?)

13. The dental spirant *th* is represented by *d* in *drefa* ("thrave").

II. The Sonant Mutes, *B*, *D*, *G*,—1. In a number of instances the sonants have undergone provection, thus:—

(*a*) *B* has become *p* in Welsh *pastwn* (baston),[1] *padl* (battle,

[1] This may be a Celtic root, as we have *bas* in Breton, with the same meaning.

occasionally in the mouth of old people), *plŏcyn* (block), *pledren* (bladder), *potel* (O.E. botel), *powns* (bounce), *pwnshyn* (bunch), *prês* (brass).

(β) *D* has become *t* in *tesni*[1] (fortune, fr. "destiny"), *tracht* (a drink, fr. "draught," borrowed while the guttural was yet sounded in England); *trŏpyn* (drop); *tŭwco* (to duck, dive); *tŏcio* (to dock).

(γ) *G* has become *c* in *calapo* (gallop), *cŏl* (goal), *crand* (grand), *cwshed* (gusset), *cwter* (gutter).

2. *B*, *d*, *g* are changed into their corresponding surds, before another surd.

B: "Crab," plural "crabs," gives *crĕpsyn* (a small crab-apple, also a stingy fellow).

D: "Bodkin" becomes *bwtcin*.

G: "Rag," "rags," gives *rhăcs*, pl., *rhĕcsyn*, s.; "rogues," gives *rhŏcsyn* (a rogue); "clogs," gives *clŏcs*, pl., *clŏcsen*, s.

Also "odds" becomes *ŏts*, as in *Beth yw'r ots?* (What does it matter?) *Dim ots* (No matter).

3. *B* has been dropped in *camrig*, fr. "cambric," which I have heard from old people. On the contrary,

4. *B* has been inserted in *wmbredd* (great quantity), which I think is a corruption of O.E. *unrĭde* (enormous). But we often hear *wmredd* without the B.

5. *D* has not generally been aspirated by a following *r* in borrowed English words. Cf. *cardio* (to card), *cordyn* (a cord). But we have *mwrddwr*, fr. "murder," and *cyffyrddus* (comfortable), fr. "comfort," through an intermediate *cyffyrdus*. So possibly *bord* (a table), is a borrowed form of board, M.E. "bord," while *bwrdd* may represent the older Celtic form of the root.

6. *D* final after *n* and *r* often becomes *t*; e.g., *cwbwrt*, also *cwpwrth* (cupboard), *hasart* (hazard), *meilart* (mallard), *mwstart* (mustard), *saffgart* (safeguard, for riding).

Less frequently after *n*: *wasbont*, *wasbwnt* (waistband), *punt* (O.E. "pund").

7. *D* final after a vowel sometimes becomes *t*. *Solit* (solid, constantly), *stiwpit* (stupid).

[1] *Dweyd tesni* (to tell one's fortune).

D is assimilated in the word *coppis*, fr. "codpiece."

8. The soft dental spirant *dh* disappears from O.E. *feorðling*, which gave *ffyrling* (literary), and *ffyrlling*, *ffrylling* (colloquial), a farthing.

III. The Nasals, *M*, *N*, *Ng*.

M.

1. *M*, vowel-flanked, is not aspirated, as in many native and Latin borrowed words.

2. *M* has become *b* in the word *ffwlbert* (polecat, fr. M.E. "fulmart").

3. *M* is assimilated to *f* in *cyffyrddus* (comfortable, fr. "comfort").

N.

1. *N* final (*a*) preceded by a vowel, becomes *m* in *bŏtwm*, *bĭtwm*, *cŏtwm* (M.E. "cotoun, -une"), *llătwm* (latoun), *pâm* (pane, of glass), *plaem*, also *plaen* (plain, clear), *plâm* (plane, for carpenters), *rhĕswm* (M.E. "resûn").

(*β*) *N* final becomes *ng* in the corruption of English coffin *coffing*, pl. *coffingau*.

(*γ*) *N* final is lost in *crimsi* (M.E. "crimosin"), *shĕspi* or *shespin* (shoespin), *lantar*, also *lantarn* (lantern), but restored in plural *lanterni*.

2. *N* after *m* is lost in "chimney," which gives *shĭmie*, plural *shimeie*.

3. *N* is introduced after *r* in *pinshwrn*, *trinshwrn*, *sishwrn* (fr. "pincer-s," "trencher," "scissor-s"), and the *r* is generally dropped in pronunciation, leaving *pinshwn*, etc., etc.

Ng.

1. *Ng* becomes *g* in the syncopated form *magnel* (cannon), fr. "mangonel."

2. *Ng* final often becomes *n* (as in too colloquial English); e.g., *bredin* (braiding), *cŏcin* (cocking, a cockfight), *ffeirins*

(fairings), *gaddrins* (gatherings, in a dress), *leinin* (lining), *sacin* (sacking, in old-fashioned beds), *swclin* (suckling, a foal), *trimins* (trimmings), etc., etc.

IV. The Liquids, *L*, *R*.

1. Initial *l* is aspirated in *llābed* (lappet), *llampren* (lamprey), *llātwm* (latûn, M.E.), *llŏc*, a pen (lock), *llofft*, upper floor (loft). Very many others are not aspirated.

2. *L* after *r* becomes *ll* in *garlleg*, fr. "garlic," and *ffyrlling*, fr. *ffyrling*, fr. "feor*d*ling."

3. *L* final is dropped in *possib* (colloquial, the literary form is *possibl*) and *cwnstab*, fr. "possible" and "constable"; the plural of the latter is *cwnstebli*.

L final is dropped after a vowel in *rédiciw*, fr. "reticule."

4. *L* before *t* occasionally[1] is replaced by *w*; e.g., *bowt*, but the literary form is *bollt* (bolt), *powtis* and *powltis* (poultice), *sowdro* (solder).

R.

1. *R* initial regularly becomes *rh* in all words that have been used familiarly for any length of time, *e.g.*, rasp, rent, rest (remainder), rock, roll, become *rhasp*, *rhent*, *rhest*, *rhoc*, *rhŏl*.

2. *R* tends to disappear before *b*, *d*, *t*, *ch* (sharp palatal), and *s*; e.g., *riwbob* (rhubarb), *stifficat* (certificate), *tanced* (tancard), *pĕtris* (pertriche), *wstid* (worsted), *shitict* (surtout), *cwrtshi*, *cŭtshi* (courtesy), *pôtsh*, also *pŏrtsh*, vowel very short (porch).

3. *R* before *n* final disappears in *pinshwn*, *sishwn*, *trinshwn*, the more usually heard forms of *pinshwrn*, etc. (in which the final *n* is an accretion), fr. "pincer-s," "scissor-s," "trencher."

4. *R* is inserted after *ff* in the word *ffrwstian*, fr. "fustian."

5. In some words the initial *r* has been taken for the Welsh article *'r*, contracted from *yr*. Thus *râser* (razor), has

[1] Regularly, of course *lt*, *ld*, give *llt*.

been often analysed into *yr âser*, resulting in such phrases as *yngaser i* (my razor). So "wristband" has been corrupted into *rhysbant*, and this resolved into *'r hysbant* with plural *hysbantau*.

V. The Spirant, *H*.

1. *H* is prefixed to initial *i* in the colloquial forms, *himpyn*, fr. *imp*, *himpo* (to sprout, to imp). Also to *w* in *hwen*, fr. *wen*.

2. *H*[1] after a sonant mute changes it into a surd. *Bedehûs* gives *bettws*, a common place-name in Wales.

VI. The Labial Spirants, *F*, *V*, *W*.

F.

1. *F* becomes *w* in *brecwast* (breakfast), *picwarch* (M.E. "pik-forke," but possibly it is a native compound; note the aspiration of guttural after *r*).

2. *F* becomes *th* in *pengcneth*, an old pronunciation of penknife, heard in the mouths of old people sometimes. So the *binfic* of the Oxford Glosses, from Lat. *beneficium*, has passed into *benthyg*.

V.

1. Initial *V* has become *m* in *mantes* (vantage), *mentro* (venture), *marnes* (varnish), *milen* (villain), *melved* (velvet).

2. Initial *v* becomes *b* in *becso* (to grieve, fr. "vex"). Welsh words in *m* and *b* have the initial, in certain relations, regularly modified into *f* (*mh*, *bh*). As few native Welsh words begin in *f*, and as English *v* has the sound of Welsh *f*,

[1] This force of *h* gives rise to a peculiar rule in Welsh alliterative poetry. According to the laws of assonance, certain consonant sounds at the beginning of a line must be answered by similar sounds at the end. But it is ruled that "a soft" (*i.e.*, sonant) consonant, strengthened by *h*, is equivalent to a "hard consonant," as in the line:

"*Tan* ei*liad hwn* a we*fir*."
t- n- l = dh- n -l.

the Welshman unconsciously regards English words in *v* as modified forms, and so, naturally, changes the *v* into *m* or *b*, in those relations which demand the radical.

So I have heard *vôte* transformed into *bôt*. The process is a natural one. *Bara* after *ei*, for example, becomes *fara*, *ei fara* (his bread). So a Welshman, speaking of *ei vote* (his vote), unconsciously assumes a radical *bôt*, and will perhaps say, *Y mae bôt ganto* (he has a vote). If he is innocent of any knowledge of English, he is very likely to say so.

W.

1. Initial *w* is very frequently preceded by *g*, which of course is dropped whenever the "medial" form is required. *Gwast* (waist), *gwarant* (warrant), *gwasgod* (waistcoat), *gwidw*[1] (widow), *gwidwar* (widower), etc., etc.

2. *W* has the effect of changing the more vague vowel sounds into a distinct *a*, cf. *gwidwar* (widower), *picwarch* (M.E. picforke). So the sound of the first *a* in Welsh *gwarant* is very different from that in "warrant."

VII. The Palatals *Ch*, *J*, *G* (soft).

Ch.

This combination is variously represented. In *older* loan-words it becomes *s* or *sh*, in *later* ones, *tsh*.

1. *Ch* vowel-flanked becomes *s*, e.g., *piser* (O.E. "picher"), *petris* (O.E. "pertriche").

So M.E. "cachepol" is Welsh *ceisbwl*; but match, march, latchet, give *matshen*, *martsho*, *letshed*.

2. *Ch* initial becomes *sh*. *Shalc* (chalk), *shimie* (chimney). *shalens* (challenge), *shanel* (channel), *shawns* (chance),[2] *shibwlsyn* (chibolle-s). But now chaff, cheap, touch, are sounded *tshaff*, *tshêp*, *twtsh*, etc., etc.

[1] This word exists in an older form, *gweddw* (fr. Latin *vidua* perhaps), which is the literary form, while *gwidw* is probably more common in colloquial speech.
[2] M.E. *chance*.

J, *G* (soft).

1. *J* initial becomes *sh*: *Shân*, *Sian* (Jane), *shiŭc* (jug), *shwrne* (M.E. journée), *Shac*, *Shaci* (Jack-ie), *shibêdo*, verb (gibbet), *shinshir* (ginger), *shipswn-s* (gipsen, gipsy).

2. (*a.*) *G* final after a vowel[1] becomes *s*: *Mantes* (vantage), *pŏtes* (pottage), *estrys* (estridge).

(*β.*) *G* final after *n* becomes *sh*: *mansh* (mange), *plwnsh* (plunge), *ffrensh*, (fringe, fr. M.E. 'frange'), *spwnsh* (O.E. spunge); challenge becomes *shalens*, by dissimilation.

(*γ.*) *G* final after *r* becomes *s*: *Shars* (charge).

3. *J* medial after *n* becomes *s*: *Consúrwr* (conjurer). Now, however, the *j* sound is more familiar than formerly, and *cwnjéro* becomes "conjure," *jŭg* (jug), and job, Jack, jockey, etc., are heard constantly.

VIII. The Sibilants, *S*, *Z*, *Sh*.

S.

1. *S* initial or medial, when followed or preceded by *e* or *i*, tends, as in Irish, to become *sh*. Hence we find *bĭshi* (busy), *hŏsher* (hosier), *shĕspan* (saucepan), *shife*, M.E. "sive" (verb, *shifeio*), *shimpil* (simple), *shingco* (sink).

S never becomes soft=z in Welsh. Hence M.E. "leyser becomes *lĕser* or *lesser* (the *s* is quite hard and vowel short), *plĕser* (pleasure), etc.

S initial followed by other vowels, even *o*, often becomes *sh*: *shwto* (suit), *shitwt* (surtout), *shwr* (sure),[2] *short* (sort), *shŏced*, or *sŏced* (socket); sock-s gives *shŏcs*, *shŏcsen*, *shŏcas*, plural *-au*.

Sh.

Curiously, *sh* final, even when preceded by *e* or *i*, often becomes *s*: *Marnes* (varnish), *twndis* (tundish), *ffrĕs* (fresh); *sh* is also heard in such words.

[1] But cabbage is *cabetsh*, sing. *cabĭtshen*.

[2] O.E. *seŭr*, *sûr*. We hear also in Welsh sometimes *siwr*, in which the *s* is pure and the diphthong has its own sound, as in *lliw*.

Z.

This letter is not known to Welsh, and in borrowed words it becomes *s*, as in *sêl* (zeal), *dâslo* (to dazzle), *pyslo* (to puzzle), *râser* (razor), etc.

But *z* is occasionally found in books, in words like *zêl*, fr. E. "zeal"; and ostentatious readers pronounce it as in English, but it is felt to be an importation.

X.

This compound is at times cut down to simple *s*, as in *esgus* (excuse), *testun* (text), and final, in *piccas* (pickaxe).

Many Consonants Avoided.

In borrowed English words, if more than two consonants come together, an effort is made to get rid of one of them. Thus:

1. *D* after *n*, and followed by another consonant, goes out or is assimilated. *Bambocs* (bandbox), *gwlfinsh* (gòldfinch), *hangcyff* (handcuff), *hanswm* (handsome).

2. *B* and *P* after *m* also. Cambric becomes *camrig*, and company *cwmpni*, and then *cwmni*.

3. Similarly we find "turnpike" metamorphosed into *tyrpeg*; "point-thread" into *pwyntred*, and *pwyntred-yn*; and by the help of metathesis, "mantel-piece" is worn down into *mamplis*.

Metathesis.

In Welsh is carried out in a very systematic way; it comprises not only (1) simple transposition of a letter, but also (2) an exchange of position, and (3) an interchange at once of position and character.

1. Simple change of position, as *clasgu* for *casglu* (to gather).

2. Interchange of position between two consonants, as in *gofedd* for *goddef* (suffer), *wsnoth* for *wthnos* (a week), *tangneddef* for *tangnefedd* (peace), *llâswyr* for *sallwyr* (a psalter).

3. Interchange of character as well as of position, as in *aped* for *ateb* (to answer), *gwymed* for *gwyneb* (face).

Here, it will be observed, *b* takes the place of *t*, and in so doing assumes the character (surd) of the dental, while the *t* becomes sonant, to answer the character of the letter it displaces. In the second example, likewise, the labial *b* is nasalised to *m*, having displaced the nasal dental *n*, which changes in turn to the *sonant* dental, as it takes the place of a sonant *b*.

These principles are applied also to borrowed words:

1. Transposition we have in *ffrylling* for *ffyrlling*, *shindris* for O.E. "sindirs" (scoria).

2. Exchange of position. *Comsinshwn*, fr. "consumption."

3. Interchange of position and character. *Matcyn* for "napkin," in which the labial *p* is nasalised to *m*, to take the place of the nasal *n*, and the latter changes to its corresponding surd *t*, to replace the surd *p*.

But of all words, that which undergoes the greatest changes is the Latin *beneficium*. In the Oxford Glosses it is *binfic* by assimilation; *benffic* by change of *ff* to *th*, noticed above (p. 374), and modification of surd *c*, gives *benthig*, the present literary form. In colloquial speech this is often hardened into *bentig*. Then as initial *b* and *m* modify into *f* (see p. 373, under letter *V*, 2), the two radicals are occasionally mistaken one for the other. This gives us *mentig*. Lastly, by the third mode of metathesis just described, *mentig* becomes *mencid*. Thus we have *beneficium* slowly passing through the forms *benffic*, *benffig*, *benthig*, *bentig*, *mentig*, and *mencid*, where for the present ends its "strange eventful history."

Popular Etymologies.

In using many English words, the etymology of which is unknown to the speakers, fancy often exerts itself to find an origin for them. I can here only notice two or three by way of example. The popular etymology is sought sometimes in English, sometimes in Welsh. Thus, an "hostler" having to do with horses, the word is very commonly supposed to have

been derived from the name of the animal, and pronounced accordingly, *horsler*. Again, among gatherers of "simples" I have often heard the plant-name "horehound" transformed into *yr O rowcnd* (the round O); and I have known the same ingenious fancy more poetically resolve the herb "valerian" into *yr efail arian* (the silver tongs).

Here, for the present, the writer is compelled to drop a subject which he had hoped to treat much more fully. What he may have to add must await a more favourable opportunity.

XI.—THE OSCAN INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED AT CAPUA IN 1876. By G. A. Schrumpf.

I intended at first to report on the progress achieved within the last few years in the study of the Oscan dialect generally, but want of time and other circumstances have unfortunately prevented me from carrying out my intention. I will therefore confine myself to the most important material which has been brought to light of late, namely, to the Capuan lead-tablet of 1876. Seven years have now elapsed since Dr. F. Buecheler deciphered the inscription on it, and the most competent voices have been heard on its interpretation. The literature on the subject is, however, rather lengthy and sometimes difficult to read without a thorough knowledge of the German philological style. It may therefore not be deemed out of place to condense the principal opinions and to present them in as readable a form as the dryness of such matters will allow. In attempting to do this, I have imitated Zvetaieff[1] and not given any interpretation of my own. Zvetaieff, however, merely gives the Latin translation of the Oscan inscriptions without a word of comment. This precludes the reader from obtaining a connected idea of the meaning, nor does it enable one to appreciate the rendering of many an individual word. I have tried to be rather more explicit with regard to the inscription of 1876, and I would especially draw attention to what has been "restored" by

[1] Sylloge inscriptionum oscarum ad archetyporum et librorum fidem. Petropoli et Lipsiae. Text, 8vo. and a magnificently got up folio volume of plates containing the exact reproduction of all the Oscan inscriptions (1878).

two out of the three interpreters, and to what has been translated with the foregone conclusion that the inscription is a "devotio." It is to be deplored that "restored" words are beginning to find their way into vocabularies as undoubted Oscan words, and it is high time that we had a thoroughly reliable Oscan grammar and vocabulary. Zvetaieff's Sbornik osskikh nadpiseĭ s očerkom fonetiki, morfologii i glossariëm, published at Kiev in 1877 (only 300 copies printed), and evidently founded on Bruppacher's Lautlehre and Enderis' Formlehre, accepts too much of the conjectural element. The Oscan words quoted by Greek and Latin writers should be more carefully collected than has been done heretofore. The able articles by Aufrecht, Bugge, Corssen, Ebel, Kirchhoff, Kern, etc., in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Dr. Buecheler's in the Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, as well as his and Fiorelli's essays in the Commentationes philologicae in honorem Theodori Mommseni (1877), and above all Corssen's Beiträge zur italischen Sprachkunde, have not yet been turned to the best account. I am, therefore, afraid it is still somewhat premature to aim at a satisfactory interpretation of such a fragmentary inscription as the one I am now going to describe.

1.—The Inscription. (See pp. 380–381.)

In 1876 Buecheler received from a friend at Naples a rolled-up lead tablet found in an Oscan grave at Capua. Buecheler unrolled and cleaned it with great care, got the inscription lithographed, and presented the tablet to the Naples Museum, where it is now preserved. The inscription is in the Oscan language, the writing being from right to left. There is one line on the outside and the inside contains twelve, but the end of each has perished, so that it is not possible to say exactly how much is wanting; the twelfth line, however, is the concluding one, as there is a blank space below. When the tablet was unrolled, it broke in several places, where now there are slight gaps or mere fragments of letters. Buecheler was the first who read and interpreted the inscription. His conjectures were published in the Rhein.

THE OSCAN INSCRIPTION ON THE LEAD-TABLET DISCOVERED AT CAPUA IN 1876.

[Numbers 1-12 denote the lines. (*a*) is Buecheler's reading; (*b*) Huschke's; (*c*) Bugge's. A dash means the absence of an uncertain number of letters. Square brackets enclose conjectural readings; ordinary brackets in (*b*) the correction of grammatical mistakes. A dot under a letter in (*a*), as under the *d* of Kluvatiuḍ in line 2, means that Buecheler does not vouch for the accuracy of the reading.]

1. *a.*) Keri arentik[ai man] afum pai pui . . . heriam suvam legin — —
   b.) Kerí arentík[aí man] afúm paíplí[kúm]heriam suvam legin[úm ínim ater, p]ún la[matiiad, — —
   c.) Keri aren[tikai man] afum pai po[i] heriam suvam leg[inom suvam es] aka [ratos aflokid]

2 *a.*) uṣurs inim malaks nistrus Pakiu Kluvatiuḍ valamais p[uklu] ạnikạdum damia —
   b.) úsurs ínim malaks nistrús. Pakiú(í) Kluvatiúí vala(í)maís p[uklú(m) anikad:um damia[túm eísunk tuvú]
   c.) osurs inim malaks nistros Pakiu Kluvatiud valaimas p[uklu]ant kadum damia[ntud suvam]

3. *a.*) leginum aflukad idik tfei manafum Vibiai prebaiam pu . ụlum da [da]d Keri ar[entikai inim]
   b.) leginúm aflukad, ídík t(í)feí manafúm Vibiiaí prebaíam pú[k]úlúm da[di]d: Kerí ar[entíkaí — eíseís]
   c.) leginom aflokad idik tifei manafum Vibiiai prebai ampo[l]olom. da[da]d Keri ar[entikai]

4. *a*) valaimas puklum inim ulas leginei svai neip dadid lamatir akrid eiseis dunte —
   b.) valaímas puklúm ínim úlas leginei: svaí neíp dadid lamatir, akrid eíseís dunte[ís — —
   c.) valaimas puklom inim olas leginei svai neip dadid lamatir akrid eiseis donte[is . . .]

5. *a.*) inim kaispatar i[nim] krustatar svai neip avt svai tiium idik fiflkus pust eis —
   b.) ínim kaíspatar í[nim] krustatar: svaí neíp, avt svaí tiiúm ídík fiflkus púst eís [eís — —]
   c.) inim kaispatar i[nim] krustatar svai neip avt svai tiium idik fiflkus post eis [oi . . . . .]

6. *a.*) pun kahad avt n . . . rnum neip putiiad pun um kahad avt svai pid perfa — [neip]
   b.) pún kahad pvtn[iia]rnum, neip pútiiad: pún um kahad avt svaí píd perfa [kum kahad, neip]
   c) pon kahad pod n[ene]rnom neip potiiad ponom kahad avt svai pid perfa [htum id ni]

7. *a.*) **putiiad nip hu[n]truis nip supruis aisusis putiians pidum putiians ufteis ud —**
b.) pútiiad, nip hú[n]trúis níp suprúis aísúsis pútiians, pídum púṭiians úfteís úd [úd níp Vibiias]
c.) potiiad nip hó[n]trois nip suprois aisusis potiians pidum potiians ofteis odf[akium]

8. *a.*) valaimas puklui pun far kahad nip putiiad edum nip menvum limu pi —
b.) valaímas puklúi: pún far kahad, níp putiiad edum, níp menvum limú(m) pa[flúís (?), perum]
c.) valaimas pukloi pon far kahad nip potiiad edum nip menvum limo pi[dum eisunk ?]

9. *a.*) pai humuns bivus karanter suluh Pakis Kluvatiis valaims puk turumiiad —
b.) paí húmúns bivús karanter. Súlúh Pakis Kluvatiis valaím(aí)s puk[lúd turumiiad l — —
c.) pai homuns bivos karanter soluh Pakis Kluvatiis valaim(a)s puk(lo) toromiiad l[ovfrom]

10. *a.*) Vibiiai Akviiai svai puh aflakus Pakim Kluvatiium valaimas puklui supr — —
b.) Vibiiaí Akviiaí, svaí puh aflakus Pakim Kluvatiium valaímas puklúí supr[ústeras]
c.) Vibiiai Akviiai svai poh aflakus Pakim Kluvatiiom valaimas puklo supr[os . . .]

11. *a.*) inim tuvai leginei inim sakrim svai puh aflakus huntru steras huntru sa —
b.) ínim tuvaí leginei ínim sakrim, svaí puh aflakus húntrústeras húntrúsa [krím ínim]
c.) inim tuvai leginei inim sakrim svai poh aflakus hontros teras hontros a . . . .

12. *a.*) valaimais puklú avt Keri aret[ikai] avt ulas leginei — as trutas tus —
b.) valaímaís puklú[í] avt Kerí are[n]t[íkaí] avt úlas leginei * * h[e]rnas trutas tus [iias].
c.) valaimas puklo avt Keri are[tikai] avt olas leginei — as trutas tus —

The outside inscription:—

a.) Keri arentik[ai pai pui suvaḥ . . . . . egin . . . . . krus — —
b.) Kerí arentík[aí * *] paíplí. Suva(m)h[eriam ater l]egin[úm — — — lamatir avt] kru[statar avt limud turumiiad]
c.) Keri arentika[i] pai pui suva h[eriam suva l]eginu[m aflukid lamatir] krus[tatar]

Museum, xxxiii. part 1, and again in a separate reprint 'Oskische Bleitafel, "Frankfurt a.M. 1877, pp. 78. In 1878, Sophus Bugge of Chistiania, in "Altitalische Studien," pp. 60, and in 1880, E. Huschke, in "Die neue oskische Bleitafel," Leipzig, pp. 98, published some important suggestions more or less differing from Buecheler's. There is also a notice of Buecheler's essay by Michel Bréal in the *Revue Critique* of the 9th February, 1878.

In the accompanying table numbers 1 to 12 denote the lines, (*a*) is Buecheler's reading, (*b*) Huschke's, and (*c*) Bugge's. A dash means the absence of an uncertain number of letters, dots or stars denote the absence of so many letters. Square brackets enclose conjectural readings, ordinary brackets in (*b*) the correction of grammatical mistakes. A dot under a letter in (*a*), as under the ḍ of Kluvatiuḍ, line 2, means that Buecheler does not vouch for the accuracy of the reading.

Bugge distinguishes *u* and *o*, although it is no longer possible to make out the dot over the *u* in the original; Huschke also distinguishes u and ú, but Bugge's o's and Huschke's ú's do not everywhere coincide. Huschke, moreover, distinguishes i and í, which are represented by one and the same letter in the original, and also restores the punctuation of the sentences.

Considering that many words of this inscription are entirely new to us, that it is very difficult to read, and that there are numerous gaps, it is no easy matter to attempt its interpretation. Buecheler gives what he considers to be the *general* meaning and confines himself chiefly to the discussion of individual words without pretending to give their syntactical relations. Bugge's and Huschke's translations are confessedly based on Buecheler's, but they go a step further and present connected sentences. This could of course not be done without filling up the gaps with conjectural words (see the table), and however plausible the results of such a process may appear, the very fact that the two translations are widely different from each other does not inspire one with much confidence. Bugge adheres more to Buecheler, but Huschke,

still unshaken in his conviction that the Italic dialects must be interpreted through Greek, is far more original. Bréal describes Buecheler's interpretation as "des tours de force étymologiques," and I am afraid the description also applies to those of the two other scholars. Still it may prove interesting to notice what they make of the inscription, without, however, entering into the lengthy details by which the translation of every word is accompanied (over 200 pages). They all agree to see in the tablet a defixio or devotio (cf. Wordsworth, Specimens of Early Latin, pp. 231 sqq.), *i.e.* a sort of incantation whereby a private enemy is "devoted" to the vengeance of the infernal powers. The name of the enemy in this instance is a man named Paquius Cluatius, and the aggrieved person a woman called Vibia Aquia. The tablet with the curse inscribed on it is laid in a grave, the abode of death, and the avenging demons are called upon to destroy the offender either at once or by lingering illness. The offence is believed to have consisted in robbing Vibia of her daughter (Buecheler), of a "minister" (Bugge), of a goblet "poculum" consecrated to the goddess of death, *Κήρ*, and thus acting as a charm "praebia" (Huschke). The last-named offence might be considered too trifling for such an awful incantation, but we know of similar cases, as, for instance, the loss of a ring, giving rise to a devotio.

2.—Buecheler's and Bugge's interpretations.

A glance at the accompanying table will show that Buecheler does not attempt to fill up the gaps in the inscription, except when justified by the analogy of similar passages in the preserved portions of the tablet. Bugge, however, like Huschke, fills in a number of conjectural words, but agrees with Buecheler in so many respects that we may consider his interpretation *pari passu* with Buecheler's. I found it convenient to place Bugge's translation first, and only to mention Buecheler's where it differs, but I am anxious once more to call attention to the fact that Buecheler was the first to decipher and interpret the inscription.

In the following account B. stands for "Buecheler," the rest is both Bugge's and Buecheler's :—

Keri=Cereri (Ceres, as the goddess of the infernal regions, Keri for Kerrí), | *arentikai*=ultrici (according to a gloss to Hesychius *ἀράντισιν, ἐρινύσι, Μακεδόνες*) | *manafum*=mandavimus (B. mandavi), *i.e.* Vibia and others, | *pai poi*=quae qui (cf. sei deus sei deiva), *i.e.* and to any other deity besides Ceres who | *aflokid*=adigit | *esakaratos*=execratos | *heriam suvam* =ad regnum suum, *cf.* herus (B. arbitrium suum) | *leginom suvam*=ad cohortem suam, *cf.* Horace's "febrium cohors," here the train of avenging demons (B. connects legin with re*ligio* and renders potestat-) | *aflokad*=adigat (B. deferat) *suvam leginom*=ad suam cohortem (B. potestatem) | *osurs*=osores (B. -orus) *inim*=et, *malaks*=malevolos, *cf.* malus, *nistros*=nostros (B. *μαλακός* = mollis ; nistrus = ni-s-trus, with comparative affixes, cf. nexus, St. 'near,' thus, = propiores) | *Pakiu Kluvatiud* abl. absolute with damiantud=Paquio Cluatio *ant* =ante, 'above all others, haters, and evil-wishers' | *damiantud*=demeante, *i.e.* going down to the infernal regions | *kadum*=cadere, instead of supine, *i.e.* to fall as a victim | *puklu*=purgamento, as an atonement, *valaimas*=optimae scil. deae (*not* Ceres). Bugge thus renders valamais, as valaimas, gen. sing., and translates it by Optimae deae, *cf.* bona mater as applied to Terra ; *puklu*, same root as in purus=atonement. Buecheler sees in valamais a dat. plur.=optimis, and in puklu a gen. plur. same root as puer, puella=puellarum, and interprets 'the best of maidens,' as an euphemistic appellation of the avenging spirits, thus=dis Manibus *idik tifei manafum* =id tibi mandavimus, referred by Bugge to what follows (B. id tibi mandavi, referring to what precedes) | *dadad*=reddat. *Vibiiai*=Vibiae, *prebai cf.* privatae = spoliatae, *ampololom*, ne root as ancus, ancilla=ministrum | (B. reads prebaiam ım, but does not translate these two words, although he g that pu. ulum may refer to Vibia's first-born daughter). *tikai* Cereri ultrici | *inim olas leginei*=et illius cohorti, *i.e.* Cere , *lamatir*=mancipator, *svai neip dadid*=si nec, *i.e.* reddit | *puklom valaimas* = (ut) purgamentum Optimae (B. Cereri ultrici et dis Manibus et sepulcri potestati, cf. olla,

the funeral urn, here, the tomb, si nec reddit, veneat, lamatir, third sing. root of latro, λῃς) | *akrid*=raptim, *eiseis donteis*= =eius devoti, scil. cinis *inim kaispatar* et caespitibus tegitor *inim krustatar* et glebis tegitor, *i.e.* in other words, may the enemy be brought into the grave! (B. acri eius defuncti, mortui, *i.e.* the body in the grave, fato opprimatur, et caedatur et cruentetur, *cf.* caespes, caedere, and cruor) | *svai neip* si nec, *i.e.* sinon, *avt* aut *svai* si *fifikus*, *cf.* figo=decreveris, tiiom=te [facere] *idik* id *eisoi*=ei, *post*=post (B. taking tiiom as nom. aut si tu id decreveris, pust eis=postea) meaning, if thou ordainest that the punishment should be deferred; line 6, *pon kahad* quum incohat (prepares anything for enjoyment) *pod* quod *nenernom*, root ner, *cf.* ἀνήρ with suffix as in paternus: nerno and negative prefix=virilitate carens *neip potiiad*=ne possit (B. kahad=capit; no translation for n . . . rnvm, avt instead of pod; B. explains 'opus quum incohat aut negotium ne possit') *ponom kahad*=unquam incohat (B. pun um kahad =cum — capit), *avt svai pid perfahtum id*=aut si quid perfectum it (B. aut si quid perficere velit, Oscan avt svai pid perfa — —), *neip potiiad* ne possit | *nip* nec, *aisusis* sacrificia, nom. *hontrois nip suprois* inferis nec superis (dis), dat., *potiians* possint, *pidum potiians* quidquam possint, *ofteis* optati, grati, *odfakium*, *cf.* olfacere, odoris facere, *i.e.* may no sacrifices whatsoever be able to effect anything agreeable; *pukloi*, dat. purgamento, *valaimas* Optimae (deae) [B. takes hontrois and suprois as ablatives agreeing with the abl. aisusis=nec inferis nec superis sacrificiis possint quidquam possint, *i.e.* nullo modo possint; then the subject of putiians would be the nom. valaimas puklui=di Manes; B. leaves ufteis untranslated, but supposes it to be a gen. =devoti, of the cursed one]. *pon kahad far* cum far parat (B. capit), *nip potiiad edum* ne possit edere, *nip menvum limo* nec minuere famem (quoquam eorum per), *pai* quae, *homuns bivos* homines vivi, *karanter* pascuntur. *Soluh* omnino (B. denique), *Pakis Kluvatiis* Paquius Cluatius, *toromiiad* torqueatur, *cf.* tormentum (B. tabescat, *cf.* terere), *valaimas puklo* Optimae purgamentum in apposition with Paquius Cluatius (B. dis manibus, the instrumental abl.), *lovfrom Vibiiai Akviiai* liberum Vibiae Aquiae

(B. sine detrimento V. A.), *i.e.* but let there arise no mischief to Vibia herself from the destruction of her enemy, *svai poh aflakus* sive adegeris (B. detuleris), *Pakim Kluvatiiom* Paquium Cluatium, *valaimas puklo* Optimae purgamentum (B. dis manibus), *supros* ad superos (B. supra), *inim tuvai leginei* et tuae cohorti (B. potestati), *inim sakrim* et sacrum, *svai puh aflakus* sive adegeris (B. detuleris), *hontros* ad inferos (B. infra), *teras* terrae, *hontros* ad inferos, *valaimas puklo* Optimae purgamentum (B. dis Manibus), *avt Keri aretikai* aut Cereri ultrici, *avt olas leginei* aut illius cohorti (B. sepulcri potestati). In the fragment—as trutas tus—B. renders trutas 'certas' and thinks it refers to the statement of a period of time, during which the curse shall be available; Bugge takes trutas for a gen. =quartae.

Bugge interprets the outside inscription:—Cereri ultrici quae qui ad suum regnum ad suam cohortem adigit, mancipator, glebis tegitor; and supposes that then the name of the enemy was mentioned.

With regard to the date of the inscription, Buecheler is inclined to place it in the first half of the second century B.C.

3.—Huschke's Interpretation (*cf.* the lines marked (*b*) in the accompanying table, pp. 380–381.)

I. HERIAM, 1st sing. pres. subj. of the Oscan and Umbrian her(e)um, Lat. velle=velim, *I desire* (*that*); PAÍPLÍKÚM MANAFÚM, paíplíkúm, an adverb, same origin as *παιπάλη*=callide, craftily, manafúm, past part. pass. of manaum, *cf.* Lat manuarius, 'fur'=furto ablatum, subreptum, stolen, thus paíplíkúm manafúm, *the object craftily stolen*; KERÍ ARENTÍKAÍ, Kerí, dat. of *Κήρ*, the goddess of death, arentíkaí, same origin as *ἀρά*=ultrici, avenging, *from avenging Kêr* (*may experience*); SUVAM LEGINÚM=suam stragem, *cf.* *λέγειν* as in *ταυηλεγής*, *her laying low*; ÍNÍM, *and* (*that*); ATER=noxius, *the offender*; PÚN LAMATIIAD=quum obstinatus est, *cf.* *λημα-τίας*, with suffix *τηρ*, *if he is obstinate* (*i.e.* does not restore what he has stolen), scil. *may also experience it as a*; ÚSURS, *οἴζυρός*, wretched;

ÍNÍM, *and*; MALAKS, μαλακός, *debile*; NISTRÚS, νευστάζω, nod, let the head drop in dying, = *half-dead* (*man*).

II. PAKIÚÍ KLUVATIÚÍ, dat. *To Paquius Cluatius*; ANIKAD, ἀνήκω, 3rd. sing. subj. pres. *may happen*; PUKLÚM, πύξ, *cf.* pugna, pugil, = *the striking* (*down*); VALAÍMAIS, *cf.* valere, valetudo = *of* (*his*) *health* [Den Paquius Cluatius betreffe das Schlagen das Gesundheit]; UM, οὖν, *thus*; TUVÚ LEGINÚM, nom., *thy laying-low*; AFLUKAD, Lat. ad-fligere, 3rd sing. subj. pres. *may afflict*; EÍSUNK, *him*, acc.; DAMIATÚM, δαμῶ, *subdued* (acc. agreeing with eísunk), (*so that*); DADAD, Lat. dedat, *he may give up*; VIBIIAÍ, *to Vibia*; ÍDÍK, *that* (*object*); MANAFÚM, *stolen*; TÍFEÍ, *from thee* (Lat. tibi) (*namely*); PREBAÍAM, *cf.* Lat. praebia, 'an amulet'; PÚKÚLÚM, Lat. poculum = *the protecting goblet* (prebaíam púkúlúm are in apposition to ídík manafúm); KERÍ ARENTIKAÍ, *to avenging Kêr* (*I commend*, mando); PUKLUM VALAÍMAS EÍSEÍS, percussum valetudinis eius = *the striking* (*down*) *of his health*; ÍNÍM, *and*; LEGINEI, stragi, *to the laying-low*; ULAS, gen. sing. αὐλή, the abode of the dead in the infernal regions, *of Orcus*; SVAÍ, Lat. si, *if*; LAMATIR (*being*) *obstinate*; NEÍP, Lat. nec; DADIT, *he does not give up the* (*goblet*); ÍNÍM KAÍSPATAR ÍNÍM KRUSTATAR, 3rd sing. imper. pass. Lat. -tor, kaispatar, καί-ω, σπάω, *cf.* febris and fervere; ÍNÍM . . ÍNÍM, 'both . . and,' *may he both be consumed* (*by burning fever*) *and*; KRUSTATAR, κρύος, *consumed by cold*; AKRID, Lat. acri = extremo, the noun is lost, ? exercitio, *through the utmost* (*exercise*); DUNTEÍS, *cf.* δύναμαι, *of the power*; EÍSEÍS, Lat. eius, *of her* (*i.e.* of Kêr); SVAÍ NEÍP, *if not*, *i.e.* if this destruction of the enemy does not take place; AVT, *or*, Lat. aut; SVAÍ, *if*; TIIÚM, *thou*, nom.; FIFIKUS, 2nd sing. fut. perf. sum fik. Lat. figo = defixeris, *arrestest*; ÍDÍK, Lat. id, *it*, *i.e.* the enemy's destruction; PUST, Lat. post. *after*; (*ANFLAKIUM (?), *the affliction*); EÍSEÍS, *of him*, *i.e.* of the enemy; PÚN KAHAD, quum desiderat, χαίνω, χατέω, κιχάνω, *if he wishes*; POTNIARNUM, ποτνιάομαι, *to pray* (*to the gods*); NEÍP PÚTIIAD, ne possit, *may he not be able*; PÚN, *when*; UM, οὖν, *thus*; KAHAD, *he wishes*, *i.e.* to pray; AVT SVAÍ, *or if*; KAHAD, *he wishes*; PERFAKUM PÍD, perficere (ali)quid, *to do anything*; NEÍP PUTIIAD, *may he not be able*; NÍP, Lat. nec,

nor (*may*); AISUSIS, nom. plur. ἴσωσις, ἰσόω, make good, atone, hence Oscan aisus, aisusis, *the offerings* (*of victims*); HUNTRÚIS, abl. plur. of Lat. contra, as, contraria exta, *through the lower* (*gods*); NIP SUPRUIS, *nor through the upper*; PUTIIANS, *be able*; PUTIIANS, *be able* (*to do*); PÍDUM, *anything*; ÚDÚD, ὁδός, *in the manner*; ÚFTEIS, gen. Lat. votum, *of a vow*; NIP, *nor*; PUKLÚI, *towards the striking* (*down*); VALAÍMAS, *of the health*; VIBIIAS, *of Vibia*, *i.e.* may the prayers of the cursed one be utterly useless in every respect, including the prayers which he may make for Vibia's destruction; PÚN KAHAD, *if he wishes for*; FAR φῆρος, *food*; NIP PUTIIAD EDUM, *may he not be able to eat*; NÍP MENVUM LIMÚM, μινύειν λιμόν, *nor to diminish hunger*; ? *PAFLÚIS, *by* (*such*) *food*; PERUM, Lat. per, *through*; PAÍ, *which*, Lat. quae; BIVÚS, *cf.* βιός, *living*; HÚMÚNS, Lat. homines, *men*; KARANTER, *cf.* κ(α)ράτος, *are strengthened*, 3rd plur. ind. pres. pass, *cf.* Oscan caria, 'bread,' so called from its giving 'strength.'

III. SÚLÚH, ὅλως, *lastly* (*may*); PAKIS KLUVATIIS, *Paquius Cluatius*; TURUMIIAD, θρύπτω, τρύω, conteratur, *be destroyed*; PUKLÚD, abl. *by the striking* (*down*); VALAÍMAÍS, *of* (*his*) *health* (*without any mischief arising therefrom*); VIBIIAÍ ÁKVIIAÍ, *to Vibia Aquia*; SVAÍ PUH, Lat. si, πού (repeated Lat. sive . . . sive), *be it that*; AFLAKUS, 2nd sing. = afflixeris, *thou afflictest*; PAKIM KLUVATIIUM, *Paquius Cluatius*; PUKLÚÍ, dat. although we expect the abl. *by the striking* (*down*); VALAÍMAS, *of* (*his*) *health*; SUPRÚSTERAS, adv. *on the earth above*; INÍM, *and*; TUVAÍ LEGINEÍ, also dat. for abl. *by the laying low*; INÍM, *and*; SAKRÍM, Lat. sacrum (scil. dis superis), acc. agreeing with Pakim Kluvatiium = (*as*) *a victim*; SVAÍ PUH, *or be it that*; AFLAKUS, *thou afflictest* (*him*); HUNTRÚSTERAS, *below*; HÚNTRÚSAKRÍM, (*as*) *a victim for the lower gods*; INÍM, *and*; PUKLÚÍ VALAÍMAÍS, *by the striking* (*down*) *of* (*his*) *health*; AVT KERÍ ARENTÍKAÍ, *or by avenging Kêr*; AVT LEGINEÍ ÚLAS, *or by the laying-low of Orcus*; HERNAS TRUTAS TUSIIAS, three genitives governed by leginei ulas hernas, *cf.* χέρσος, dried up, trutas, τρύειν, past part. pass. tusiias, θύειν = (*as*) *of a weak, wretched victim*, (ut) inopis, protritae hostiae.

Huschke suggests for the outside inscription :—Ceri ultrici

(per)callidae. Suam velim noxius stragem (sentiat); obstinatus aut frigore conficitor aut fame conteratur.

The division into three paragraphs is Huschke's.

M. Bréal thinks line 5 ought to be read:—*inimk* (=pariter, item) *ais* (gen. of a demonstrative=eius) *patar* (=pater). In "rustatar" he sees *ais matar*, thus, item eius (*i.e.* Vibiae) pater, item eius mater. In line 9 he reads *valaims pukil*; in line 6 he considers *punum* for *pundum* as a relative; and in line 7 *edum* appears to him a pronoun for *ed-dum*, similar to *pid-dum*.

If I have thus succeeded in calling forth some little interest in the progress of Oscan studies, I will endeavour in a subsequent paper to present an account of the Oscan inscriptions generally, and of the various interpretations hitherto suggested. This would not be the first time that the Philological Society has interested itself in Italic dialectology, for I notice in the list of its Transactions for 1864 "Newman's Text of the Iguvine Inscriptions, with an Interlinear Latin Translation." It is only through the study of the old Italic dialects that we may hope to discover some day the origin of Latin, and to fill up the gulf which at present seems to divide it from Etruscan.

XII.—ON πέλωρ, πέλωρος, πελώριος. By R. F. WEYMOUTH, Esq., D.Lit.

VARIOUS attempts have been made to assign an etymology to these words and explain their primary meaning.

One derivation affirms πέλωρ s. πέλωρος to be "dictum quasi πέλας ὄρους ὢν ἐν τῷ μεγέθει, quod magnitudine proxime ad montem accedat": so Stephens writes in his Thesaurus, but without quoting his authority. A second is ἀπὸ τοῦ πέλας εἶναι τοῦ Ὠρίωνος, which is hardly satisfactory when

we find πελώριος used as an epithet of Orion himself. Thirdly, Damm takes it from πέλας and ὥρα, "ut notetur talis qui curas magnas congredientibus aut versantibus secum ciet statim, ob magnitudinem suam." A fourth derivation is that of the Etymologicon Magnum: παρὰ τὸ πέλω, ὑπάρχω, καὶ τὸ ὥρα, ἡ φροντίς, ᾧ πέλει φροντὶς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. The etymology which will here be maintained refers these words to the same πέλω and ὥρα—or rather ὤρα, if the majority of modern editors are right in following the authority of Hesychius, who says ψιλῶς δὲ φροντίς,—but with a very different set of ideas attached to them.

But first we have to ascertain in what sense the early writers used the words now under consideration. Τὸ πέλωρον, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ μέγα, and again τὸ πελώριον, τὸ μέγιστον: so says Etym. Magn. And the first, third, and fourth of the above etymologies, and probably the second also, indicate that vast size was the only notion that πέλωρ, etc., conveyed. And so Eustathius, when commenting (p. 1135) on Hector's reply to Glaucus, Il. xvii. 174,

ὅς τέ με φῇς Αἴαντα πελώριον οὐχ ὑπομεῖναι,

remarks, "Here observe also how Hector seems to insinuate by the epithet he chooses that there is nothing worthy of respect in Ajax beyond mere bulk" (ἔνθα καὶ ὅρα καὶ τὸ Αἴαντα πελώριον, δοκοῦντος οἷον παραλαλεῖν τοῦ Ἕκτορος μηδὲν προσεῖναι τῷ Αἴαντι σεμνὸν πλέον ἢ τὸ πέλωρον). And he proceeds to illustrate the meaning of the word by reference to the πελωρίς as being "not only a Sicilian promontory,[1] but also a large kind of cockle (scallop?)," as also Etym. Magn. explains this name by saying ἐπειδὴ μεῖζόν ἐστι τῆς χήμης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίων ὀστρέων. In like manner the Scholiasts frequently. For instance, on Il. xviii. 410, πέλωρ· μέγιστον. On Il. iii. 166, πελώριον· μέγιστον. On Il. iii. 229, v. 395, vii. 208, πελώριος· μέγας. That modern commentators and translators have commonly followed in the same track is only what might be expected.

[1] Ob magnitudinem sic vocatum.—Damm.

Yet Hesychius does not so limit the sense: he adds the element of awe and amazement: πέλωρα· θηρία, δείματα, τέρατα, σημεῖα μέγαλα· and again, πελώρια· μέγαλα τέρατα· and, πελώριος· μέγας, δεινός· while some seem to have found here the notion of destiny, for he gives πελώρης· τινὲς, εἱμαρμένης. Photius gives πέλωρα· μέγα, τεράστιον, and πελώρου· τέρατος, μεγάλου. And Eustathius himself mentions that among the ancients ὁ πέλωρος was an epithet of Zeus, as applied to whom the word seems necessarily to connote something more than mere hugeness of bulk. But we must look into this question more in detail.

In Homer πέλωρ occurs five times. In Il. xviii. 410 it is used of Hephæstus, πέλωρ αἴητον ἀνέστη: "reverendus ille magnus" is Damm's paraphrase. In Odyss. ix. 428 it is the Cyclops, πέλωρ ἀθεμίστια Ϝειδός; in xii. 87 it is Scylla that is the πέλωρ κακόν; and in the plural portents sent from heaven are δεινὰ πέλωρα, Il. ii. 321, as the weird terrors of Circe's house are αἰνὰ πέλωρα in Odyss. x. 219, in each of these cases the prominent thought being that of terror rather than that of vastness.

Πέλωρος is an epithet of the Cyclops in Odyss. ix. 257; in Odyss. xv. 161, of a white goose borne off in the talons of an eagle—an alarming sign of the destruction that was coming on the haughty suitors; in Il. v. 741 and Odyss. xi. 741, of Gorgo, whose head was in the ægis of Pallas—a head large enough, as we learn from Hes. Scut. 223, to cover all the back of Perseus when he carried it slung over his shoulders; in Odyss. x. 168 to a huge and formidable stag just slain in hunting—δεινοῖο πελώρου; in Il. xii. 202 and 220 of a serpent carried off by an eagle.

Πελώριος is an epithet of Ajax in Il. iii. 229, vii. 211, xvii. 174 and 360. Looking at these more in detail, in iii. 229 we find Helen using the epithet when naming to Priam, as they together gaze on the Achæan host from the Trojan ramparts, the warrior ἠΰν τε μέγαν τε about whom the aged king enquires. That he was a tall man and of noble presence the king saw, and stated so much in those words: what more natural than that Helen should *add* to the force of the epithets

he had used, and describe Ajax as a "great and formidable" foe? In vii. 211 we find him just appearing in this character, and about to make Hector taste his prowess in single combat. An epithet indicating mere bigness would be jejune indeed when the antagonist was the μέγας Ἕκτωρ. Most appropriately too is πελώριος used, if it signifies terrible as well as great, in xvii. 360, where we find him leading on the Greeks in furious slaughter. How Eustathius interprets the word in xvii. 174 to signify mere bulk we have already seen; but on further consideration it seems obvious that Hector, while saying to Glaucus "thou sayest," may have meant only to hint sarcastically at Glaucus's fear by exaggerating the μεγαλήτορος which the latter had used into the larger and weightier πελώριον—"thou sayest I have not dared to meet the great and formidable Ajax (as he seems to thee)."

It is used of Periphas in Il. v. 842 and 847, of whom we know that he was Αἰτωλῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος, and that he dared to encounter and was slain by Ares; of Hector in Il. xi. 819, where "great and terrible" may well be the meaning at a time when Hector was apparently triumphant and irresistible as well as μέγας; of Achilles in Il. xxi. 527, where the aged Priam, standing on the Trojan rampart, beholds the Ἀχιλῆα πελώριον routing and scattering the unresisting Trojans; and again of Achilles in Il. xxii. 92, where we see Hector, unmoved by the piteous appeals of his father and mother, proceeding to encounter the warrior "tall and dread" (as he seemed to them) by whom he is about to be slain.

Πελώριος is an epithet of Ares, in Il. vii. 208 οἷός τε πελώριος ἔρχεται Ἄρης; of Ἀΐδης in Il. v. 395 (where Newman renders "stupendous Aïdes," and Cordery "Hades, the ancient giant"); of the Cyclops Polyphemus in Odyss. ix. 187, who also in line 190 is called θαῦμα πέλωρον; and of Orion in Odyss. xi. 572, as chasing in the lower world the shades of the wild beasts that he himself had slain upon the mountains during his life. It is obvious that as applied to all these it may be intended to convey the sense of awful and terrible as well as great, even if no further meaning lies under the surface.

It is an epithet in Il. v. 594 of the spear of Ares, and of that

of Pallas Athene in Il. viii. 424; in Odyss. xi. 594 of the "huge and threatening" boulder which Sisyphus was compelled to heave up the hill; of the awe-inspiring arms of Rhesus in Il. x. 439 (where the Scholiast says, *οὐ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος νῦν, μέγαλα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος τεράστια*—an explanation of which we may accept the negative clause, and yet resist the blandishments of the affirmative); and of the arms of Achilles in Il. xviii. 83. Lastly in Odyss. iii. 290 it is applied to waves huge as mountains, "ingentes et horribiles" (Damm).

These are all the passages in which these words occur in Homer, and glancing again over the list we find there is, or at least may be, in every instance an element of awe or dread, something divine or supernatural, or threatening, or which has threatened, danger. In no instance apparently where size alone is to be indicated, either literal or figurative, is one of this class of words employed. The size of Odysseus and Menelaus is compared: these are the lines:—

στάντων μὲν Μενέλαος ὑπείρεχεν εὐρέας ὤμους,
ἄμφω δ' ἑζομένω γεραρώτερος ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς.

A great crowd is *πολλὸς ὅμιλος*. Great grief is *μυρίον πένθος* or *πυκινὸν ἄχος*. Great fury is *κρατερὴ λύσσα*. Great lamentation is *ἀδινὸς γόος*. Great Olympus is *μακρὸς Ὄλυμπος*. And almost every kind of object may be described as great by *μέγας*, as again great Olympus, *μέγας Ὄλυμπος*; and so a great stag, horse, ox, lion; a great hand, sword, tripod, anvil, stone; a great threshing-floor, marsh, cloud, eddy, river, sea-beach, cliff, heaven; a great voice, battle-cry, grief, mind, passion, violence, oath, boast, honour, cause of conflict, disaster, necessity, honour; a great man—Priam, Ajax, Hector, Tlepolemus, Iphidamas; a great God—Cronos, Zeus: to all of these and other objects besides *μέγας* is applied. But *πέλωρ* and its derivatives are much more restricted in use.

Turning now from Homer to Hesiod we find *Γαῖα πελώρη* in Theog. 159, 173, 479, 505, and 821, in all which places it is the vast and venerable Mother of all the gods who is thus distinguished: in 731, 858, 861, the same epithet

is felt to be appropriate for the earth in the literal sense. In the old poet's mind the two ideas may have been nearly or quite identical. *Γαῖα πελώρη* occurs also in Theog. 9, and in the later epics in Qu. Smyrn. Posth. ii. 225 and Tzetz. Hom, 468, in each case a simple and tolerably correct borrowing from the earlier bard. Besides this fem. *πελώρη*, the adjective occurs only in Theog. 299, *πέλωρον ὄφιν*, where the words which follow, *δεινόν τε μέγαν τε*, seem to be added by way of explanation.

Πελώριος occurs but once in Hesiod, namely in Theog, 179, where the sickle of Cronos is thus described—the *μέγα δρέπανον* which Earth had made for him to do the deed of blood with.

Πέλωρον as a noun, equivalent to the Homeric *πέλωρον* or *πέλωρ*, is used of the Echidna in Theog. 295, of Typhoeus in 845 and 856, and of Gorgo in Scut. 223, each of these being a monster both terrible and great.

In Pindar *πελώριος* alone is found, and only in three passages, in the sense simply of great. They are *πελώριον ἄνδρα* (O. vii. 15), *πελώριον κλέος* (O. xi. 21), and *ἔργον πελώριον* (P. vi. 41).

Proceeding to the Tragedians, we nowhere find these words employed by Sophocles, but *πελώριος* occurs both in Æschylus and Euripides, and in the more ancient fuller meaning. In Pr. V. 157, we have *τὰ πρὶν δὲ πελώρια νῦν ἀϊστοῖ*,—"things formerly *πελώρια* he now causes to disappear. Here Blomfield explains in his Glossary, "venerabilis, grandis." Linwood, "vast, powerful." Blackie paraphrases, "the great trace of Titan times hath vanished." This, however, is hardly satisfactory. It overlooks the *πρίν* by which the *πελώρια* is qualified. The position of this *πρίν* shows that the beings referred to were formerly *πελώρια* and are so no longer. As to mere magnitude, there is no hint that Cronos and his allies the Titans had shrunk in bulk; or Atlas, who now stood bearing on his shoulders that mighty superincumbent pressure of the pole of heaven; or the furious Typhon, now blasted with the bolt of Zeus and buried beneath Ætna, whence he spouts forth fiery ruin o'er the fair fields of Sicily. The sense evidently

is, "all that of yore was majestic and venerable is vanishing before the tyrannous usurpation of Zeus." So Æschylus has, Fr. 168, 9, πελώριος βυθὸς θαλάσσης "the awful abyss of ocean." In Euripides we find only, in Iph. in Taur. 1248, γᾶς πελώριον τέρας, of the monstrous Pythian dragon which the infant Phœbus slew.

Passing on to the later epics we find this same dragon noted by the same epithet in Ap. Rh. Arg. 706, Δελφίνην πελώριον; and instances that are more or less successful imitations of Homer are not very infrequent. Such are πελώριον Ἄρην (Qu. Sm. Posth. i. 189), Ἡρακλῆα πελώριον (Ap. Rh. Arg. i. 1242), Ἰτυμονῆα πελώριον (ib. ii. 105), Χείρωνα πελώριον (ib. ii. 1240), Βασιλῆα πελώριον, viz. Memnon (Qu. Sm. Posth. ii. 109), Αἴαντα πελώριον (Tz. Antehom. 299), Ἀχιλῆα πελώριον (Tz. Posth. 410), and the same Achilles is elsewhere styled πελώριος ὄβριμος ἥρως (ib. 400). As in Homer a stag may be πελώριος, so a lion in Ap. Rh. (Arg. iv. 1438), and the dragon (ὄφις) that guards the golden fleece is πέλωρ τόδε and κεῖνο πέλωρον (ib. 143 and 1440), as also he hisses loudly and horribly, ῥοίζει πελώριον (ib. 129), though this use of πελώριον as an adverb is not Homeric. Nor is the use of πέλωρ as an adjective, as in Γαίης πέλωρ τέκος (Ap. Rh. Arg. ii. 39), nor the quasi-adverbial use of πελώριος where it is said of Boreas νυκτὶ δ' ἔβη πόντονδε πελώριος. We have seen that Homer applies this epithet to the spears of Pallas Athene and of Ares, but that of Æetes is so described by Ap. Rh. (Arg. iv. 224), and that of Neoptolemus by Tzetzes (Posth. 564). We have seen in the Iliad the arms of Rhesus bearing this epithet, and those of Achilles: but this hardly prepares us to read of the κνημῖδες πελώριαι of Achilles (Qu. Sm. Posth. v. 112)—as though some bard now-a-days should sing of Wellington's or Napoleon's awe-inspiring boots,—or to find Penthesilea's double-headed axe extolled as πολέμοιο πελώριον ἄλκαρ (ib. i. 16). Homer might possibly with Tzetzes have called the wooden horse πελώριος (Posth. 636 and 697), but Homer nowhere uses this adjective of a dead inert mass like the walls of Troy, πελώρια τείχεα Τροίης (Tz. Anteh. 18), or of a sepulchral mound, σῆμα πελώριον (Qu. Sm. Posth. iii. 740),

or a log of timber floating on the water and to which drowning men cling for safety, δούρατος πελωρίου (Ap. Rh. Arg. ii. 1111); or again of mere sound as in the ῥοίζῃ πελώριον already quoted, and ἤχῃ πελώριος (Tz. Posth. 328). In short these late writers seem to have used πελώριος as simply an emphatic equivalent for μέγας, as also the Scholiasts commonly explained it: in Homer the word implied much more. It underwent in course of time a change, not to say a degradation, of meaning, such as I pointed out some years ago in one or two papers read before this Society to have taken place in ὄβριμος and several other Homeric epithets.

The view which I have been led to take of the original meaning of these words is of course based partly on their use in Homer and the other early poets, partly on the etymology which I shall venture to propose. To this let us now pass. It will be admitted that πέλω signifies primarily *to revolve*. Hence in the middle voice it is equivalent to *versari* (whence also it comes to signify simply *to be*); and πόλος is the pivot round which the whole heaven revolves, and hence by a common synecdoche the whole revolving vault of heaven itself. The first syllable then may not improbably contain the notion of *revolving*. So ἐπιπλόμενον ἔτος, the revolving year.

From ὥρα (or ὥρα, as Gaisford edits) *care*, come πυλωρός a gate-keeper, θυρωρός a doorkeeper, θεωρός (from θέα, not θεός) an official inspector of the games, νεωρός a dockyard superintendent, σκευωρός a watcher of the baggage, ὑλωρός an inspector of forests, ἄωρος, ὀλίγωρος, etc. Combining this notion of care, watching, inspection, superintendence, with that already assigned to the first syllable, we arrive at *revolving watcher* as possibly or probably the primary meaning of πέλωρ or πελώριος.

But besides the etymology can we find any other considerations that may assist our inquiry? In the old poets, as we have seen, there is always in these words not only the idea of magnitude, but also that of something divine or preternatural or alarming; and hence one might reasonably expect to find in them some trace of primeval religion. Such trace I believe they actually contain, and that as based on, or connected with, early

astronomical observation. This idea of a watcher, it may be remarked, is found also in the Chaldee portion of the Book of Daniel, where Nebuchadnezzar narrating his dream says that he beheld "a watcher and a holy one come down from heaven," and again, "this matter is by the decree of the watchers" (iv. 13, 17).

Who first mapped out the mighty heavens, and traced among the stars figures of beings of scarcely imaginable vastness incessantly observing human affairs; whether this was done in early antediluvian ages by the immediate descendants of Seth the son of Adam, as Jewish tradition recorded by Josephus seems to assert;[1] whether the Mazzaroth by them traced out were intended (as was maintained by the late erudite Miss Rolleston of Keswick) to preserve the knowledge of great religious truths therein mystically shrouded (just as Mr. Gladstone contends—and I accept the view—that certain primeval prophecies, which we find in the earliest Hebrew Scriptures, lie embalmed in the mythology of Homer); whether, descending to later times and approaching the regions of history, the constellations were first known to the Chinese or (as Mr. Robert Brown believes) the Accadian observers, to the Indians, the Phœnicians, or the Greeks;—these and other deeply interesting problems we must to a great extent leave unsolved. But as to the Greeks a few observations are necessary.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis says: "The constellations of the heavenly sphere seem to have been gradually formed by the Greeks. Those which are mentioned by Homer and Hesiod are doubtless the most ancient" (Astron. of the Anc., p. 68). And again, with reference to the Bear as never bathing in the Ocean (οἴη ἄμμορος λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο) he says: "The most probable supposition seems to be that the Great Bear was the only portion of the arctic sky which in Homer's time had been reduced into the form of a constellation" (ib. p.

[1] Of these ἀπόγονοι of Σήθος Josephus declares that σοφίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν: Ant. Jud. i. 3. Similarly the Rabbinical interpretation of the closing words of the fourth chapter of Genesis is, "then, in the days of Enosh the son of Sheth, a beginning was made with calling stars and planets by the name of the Lord."

59). Against these views of Sir G. C. Lewis we must set the statements of an earlier but weighty authority apparently overlooked by him. Sir William Jones informs us that the Bráhmans "divide a great circle, as we do, into three hundred and sixty degrees, called by them *ansas* or portions, of which they, like us, allot thirty to each of the twelve signs in this order: *Mésha* the Ram, *Vrisha* the Bull, *Mit'huna* the Pair, *Carcata* the Crab, *Sinha* the Lion, *Canyà* the Virgin, *Tulà* the Balance, *Vrishchica* the Scorpion, *Dhanus* the Bow, *Macara* the Sea-Monster, *Cumbha* the Ewer, *Mina* the Fish" (Asiat. Res., vol. ii. p. 291). And again: "The Bráhmans assure me with one voice that the names of the Zodiacal stars occur in the *Védas*, three of which I firmly believe, from internal and external evidence, to be more than 3000 years old" (ib. p. 305). Nevertheless that the Indian astronomers borrowed something from the Greeks is clear. In each of the twelve Signs they reckon three divisions called *Dréshkánas* or *Drékánas*. Of this word Colebrooke says: "I do not suppose it to be originally Sanskrit, since in that language it bears no etymological signification" (Asiat. Res., vol. ix. p. 375). But the late Greek δεκανός, which Huet in his Animadversiones ad Manilium regards as a Greek numeral with a Latin termination, fully explains *Drékána*, as meaning a space—but only roughly and approximately—of ten degrees. For it is easy to suppose that this *vowel r* was appended to the *d* to produce a sound resembling that of the Greek δ (namely our sonant *th*) which was unknown in Sanscrit.

But to return to Sir G. C. Lewis. In supposing that the Greeks were the first to mark out the constellations, and that the process had only just begun in Homer's time, he has not only disregarded the statements of Sir W. Jones and Colebrooke, but has also overlooked the evidence furnished by what is probably the oldest book in the Hebrew literature, the book of Job. There we find (ix. 9) a group of stars, almost universally identified with Orion, called by a name that clearly indicates a person, כְּסִיל, signifying *fool* or *giant*; and רָהַב, *rebel*, a few verses, below is taken by Renan to be the name of another constellation, a monster "enchaîné au ciel avec tous

ses compagnons." The Vedas and the book of Job thus concur in showing that long before Homer's time the stellar heavens were peopled with imaginary beings.

Nor is this all. There is a theory (how ancient it is, or with whom it originated, I do not know) that among the old Phœnician races the worship of the Sun-god was to some extent based on a recognition of the Signs of the Zodiac: that the Greek myth of the crooked-counselled Cronos devouring his own children (Hes. Theog. 459) is of Phœnician origin, and that as originally told of Baal or Molech it signified the disappearance of the Signs of the Zodiac as the Sun comes among them, and that it was in celebration of this his perpetual achievement that Baal or Molech (originally one with one another and with the Sun) was honoured with the sacrifice of children. But such sacrifices were offered even as early as the age of Moses, being alluded to in Lev. xviii. 21. If therefore that theory is well-founded, and undoubtedly it is very plausible, it follows that at least twelve of the most important of the constellations were known in the west of Asia some centuries before Homer lived.

But if so, how can we account for the fact that he has named so few of them? Possibly thus.

The Emperor Napoleon was of opinion, contrasting the second book of the Æneid with the Iliad, that Homer had a practical acquaintance with war, such as Virgil never had: "in reading the Iliad," he says, "one feels throughout that Homer had been engaged in war." If we accept Napoleon's judgment on this point,—and surely he was eminently qualified to judge,—and suppose that Homer in early life was a warrior, and combine with this the statement in the Hymn to Apollo, which afterwards was the universal tradition, that in later life he was blind—I write as believing in an actual individual Homer, though I take the word Homer itself to be rather in its origin a descriptive epithet[1] than a strictly

[1] The Fitter-together, from ὁμο- and αρ. I take the name to indicate—and this is also substantially Mr. Gladstone's view—that just as our Chaucer, and in a later age Shakspere, found raw materials ready to hand which they worked up into their tales and dramas, so Homer did not invent all his facts, but worked up

personal name—we can readily understand his having studied the stars to a very limited extent. And yet he may have possessed on this subject, as on every other, a great amount of knowledge which there was no suitable opportunity to display.

Nevertheless he does mention—besides single stars such as the Dogstar and the Evening Star (so called), and groups as the Hyades and the Pleiades—three constellations, the Bear, Orion, and the "slow-setting Bootes" Moreover, he tells us that Hephæstus wrought on the Shield of Achilles all those τείρεα with which heaven is crowned.[1] This surely implies that he was acquainted with other τείρεα besides those which he proceeds to name, "the Pleiades and the Hyades and the might of Orion, and the Bear which also they surname the Wain, which revolves in the same place and lies in wait for Orion, and alone has no share in Ocean's bath;" for at least one, Bootes, is left out of the list.

But the question arises, on which with reluctance I must dwell awhile, what does this term τείρεα mean? constellations or simply stars? Prof. Paley takes it in the latter sense, and connects it with the Sanskrit *tárá* 'a star': the Scholiasts, Hesychius, and most modern authorities adopt the other view and take τείρεα from τέρας. Prof. Newman renders "all the marvels," Mr. Cordery "all the constellations," Lord Derby "all the signs." Let us look into this. If we take τείρεα as equivalent to *tárá*, the former of these like the latter has apparently lost an initial *s*; for the Lat. *astrum* and *stel-la*, Grk. ἄστρον and ἀστήρ, Zend *stare*, M.G. *stairno*, O.H.G. *sterro*, Pl.D. *steern*, O.N. *stjarna*, A.S. *steorra*, Gael. *steorn*, Welsh *stirenn*, Bret. *ster*, Old Corn. *steyr*, all confirm the

traditions which till then were common property, differing however from Chaucer and Shakspere in that he wove a series of traditions into one consistent and harmonious whole in the Iliad, and a second series, different from the former though consistent with it, he fitted together to form the Odyssey.

[1] ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν,
ἠέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα, σελήνην τε πλήθουσαν,
ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται,
Πληϊάδας θ' Ὑάδας τε τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος,
Ἄρκτον θ', ἣν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν,
ἥ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καί τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει,
οἴη τ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο.

Il. xviii. 483 seqq.

opinion that *tárá* was originally *stárá*; but such an aphæresis is very rare if not quite unknown in Greek. We may indeed take στέγος to be an earlier form than τέγος and στέγη than τέγη (given by Hesych. and Etym. Magn.); but this notion is exceedingly doubtful, certainly not supported by the Latin *tego*, our *thatch*, etc. The comparison of τέλλω with στέλλω and τρέπω with στρέφω is equally unsatisfactory. For the former pair I can find no Aryan kindred. With the latter Curtius considers the Latin *torqueo* to be connected, as well as the M.G. *threihan* (which seems to me very doubtful) and the O.H.G. *drâjan*. If he is right, as he probably is, as to *torqueo* containing the same root as τρέπω, this brings us also—which Curtius does not perceive—to the A.S. *þráwan* and our *throw* which is identical with *torqueo*, and primarily conveys the same idea of circular motion. But neither *threihan*, *drâjan*, *torqueo* or *throw* has an initial *s*. In all these pairs of Greek words there is an *s* prefixed to one of the pair, not one lost by the other. In short the supposed vanished sibilant in τείρεα creates a serious difficulty.

Another difficulty, if we imagine τείρεα to be the original form, is the change of vowel. The Greek ει commonly corresponds to *i* in Sanskrit, as in λείχω, στείχω, χείμων, compared with *lih*, *stigh*, *himas*. The comparison of the Skt. *más* 'a month' with Ionic μείς would be simply illusory, the latter having evidently undergone a mere euphonic change within the limits of the Greek language itself, and standing for μενς. On the other hand the derivation of τείρεα from τέρας is quite easy to account for. The stem of τέρας is in Homer not τερατ as in later Greek, but τερα; just as light in Homer is not φωτ but φα. This τερα after the analogy of hundreds of other epic forms becomes τειρα where the metre demands a long first syllable; and the change of a characteristic α into ε before another vowel is perfectly familiar in the Ionic dialect: in infinitives in -εειν from stems in α for example: *to honour* in Herodotus is τιμέειν, τιμάειν being only a theoretical form invented by the grammarians, unknown I believe to Greek writers of every age. Nor is there anything very startling in the co-existence in Homer of two distinct forms, τείρεα in this passage and τέραα

in Odyss. xii. 394, when we find in Æschylus εἰς and ἐς in a single line—

Σκύθην ἐς οἶμον, ἄβροτον εἰς ἐρημίαν,—

and in Homer himself Ἄρες and Ἄρες side by side in a very familiar line.

But may not τέρας itself, as Curtius seems to suppose, mean originally *star* and be akin to *tárá*. I think not, partly because of the vanished sibilant, partly because there is no single instance in Greek—excepting possibly the very passage under discussion—where τέρας means *star*. From Homer downwards τέρας signifies a wonder, a marvel, and then also a significant marvel or portent, as in Il. xvii. 548; never a mere star, though of course a star might be used as a portent. The purely etymological argument seems then strongly adverse to the identification of τέρας with *tárá*.

It is with some reluctance, as already intimated, that I have thus fully discussed the meaning of this τείρεα, the reluctance being based on doubts as to the genuineness of the line. One ground of suspicion is that urged by Mr. Paley, that the word is found but once in Homer, but is of frequent occurrence in the Alexandrine poets; an objection indeed to which a ready reply is that they may have borrowed it, *parce detortum*, from a genuine line of the old epic. A graver reason for doubt seems to me to be the fact that the intelligibility and concinnity of the passage as a whole are injured by this line. The difficulty lies in the τε after Πληϊάδας. Take this as *both* or as *and*, and τείρεα as *stars* or as *constellations*, the difficulty still remains. Let it mean *both*, so that Πληϊάδας, etc., are in apposition with πάντα τὰ τείρεα, the apposition is imperfect—or μετάβασις εἴς τινα μέρη, as Eustathius calls it,—because (as pointed out above) they are not πάντα which are enumerated, in either sense of τείρεα. And in either sense of τείρεα it makes nonsense to render the τε by *and*,—to add to the whole some of the parts which compose that whole. It is as if we should speak of the British Army *and* the Rifles *and* the Household Cavalry.

If however these are but futile objections, and we assume

the genuineness of the line, I conclude that πάντα τὰ τείρεα signifies "all those constellations," and that Homer was well aware of the existence of many such, though he has named but a few of them. And a constellation is a τέρας as being weird and marvellous as well as vast, often also significant in various ways, as old Hesiod shows, the marvellous character however being the dominant one in this name.

When therefore Odysseus, who has often gazed on Orion weird and marvellous and vast in the heaven, afterwards beholds him in the lower world, to call him the πελώριον Ὠρίωνα is to affix an appropriate epithet, if this πελώριος indicates, as I contend the derivation proves, that that same Orion in his supernal sphere of action was one of the "revolving watchers" of the sky.

To the explanation here proposed of the terms under discussion it is an obvious objection that they are not distinctly applied in Homer to any of the constellations; for even in πελώριον Ὠρίωνα it is not the constellation Orion of which the poet is there speaking. But the Greek language existed long ages before Homer, as doubtless did also astronomical observation; and my supposition is that even in Homer's time the primary meaning of these words was lost sight of.

Nor can this be deemed incredible. Many of Buttmann's etymologies in his Lexilogus may be correct, though Homer knew nothing of them. In our own language how many words are in common use the true sense of which is imperfectly understood or altogether wrongly apprehended. I have myself had to explain to educated people, and with difficulty to convince them, that a "*buxom* lass" did not mean one who was plump and fat. Very few who speak of a *jovial* temper or a *saturnine* disposition or a *humorous* remark have the least idea of the original meaning of those adjectives. Hundreds of well-informed men and women use the word *weird* without the least suspicion of the light that the Völuspâ throws on it. Canon Farrar affirms, though I have not found the passages he alludes to, that "Byron used English words ('ruth' for instance, and 'kibe') in absolutely mistaken senses." And in like

manner there is nothing to shock one's understanding in the hypothesis that the words we have been considering bore at a time earlier than Homer a sense which was in his time falling from sight, though the associated ideas hung about them still for centuries. And if so, it is readily conceivable too that the phrase τεθαμμένε Μίνωϊ, while where it stands it may mean no more than "the great giant Orion," may yet be a linguistic fossil which the Finger-together found and used without suspecting the life and force and beauty it once possessed.

From the various arguments here adduced it seems to me a reasonably probable conclusion (though I do not pretend that it rests on absolutely irrefragable evidence), that this small class of words, as alike etymology and the earliest usage show, signified much more than mere size: that in their Homeric sense they denoted, or at least suggested, mysterious terror as associated with those mighty beings with whom imagination peopled the visible heavens: that frequently, as is commonly the case with all words, they are used to convey only a part of their original sense; but that those late writers and commentators are simply in error who use these words, or who explain them, as normally indicative only of size.

XIII.—PORTUGUESE VOWELS, ACCORDING TO MR. R. G. VIANNA, MR. H. SWEET, AND MYSELF. By H.I.H. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte.

The accompanying Comparative Table shows: I°. That Vianna agrees with Sweet and disagrees with me: II°. In the admission of the low-mixed-wide *a* in *about* IV. in Portuguese words where I hear the low-front-wide *a* in *fat* III: 2°. In the rejection in Lisbon Portuguese of this same *a* in *fat* III, which Vianna and Sweet hear as the low-mixed-wide *a* in *about* IV; 3°. In the rejection of the mid-front-wide *e* in

pen X, a sound which they both hear as the low-front-narrow Italian open *e* in *cappello* 'hat' VIII.

II°. That Vianna agrees with me and disagrees with Sweet: 1°. In the very frequent admission of the mid-mixed-narrow French second *e* in *rejeter* 'to throw again' XIV. This sound, although admitted sometimes by Sweet, is far too often heard by him either as the high-mixed-narrow Welsh *u* XXII, or else as entirely suppressed. This suppression gives rise to the most unlikely groups of consonants, quite repulsive, in spite of Mr. Sweet's acceptance, to all Neo-Latin ears; as, for instance, in *vistes tu* 'didst thou see,' pronounced by him *vištštú*, instead of *vištištú*. The suppression of this vowel, although frequently admitted by Vianna, never goes so far as to allow such impossible, almost non-human, pronunciations; and, as Vianna states, the Portuguese tendency is sometimes in an opposite direction, as in *observar* 'to observe,' pronounced *obəsərvár*, in four syllables; 2°. In the rejection of the above-mentioned high-mixed-narrow Welsh sound XXII, of which Mr. Sweet seems to be so fond; 3°. In the rejection of the nasal modification of the mid-mixed-narrow French second *e* in *rejeter* XV, the only nasal *e* admitted by Vianna and me (in Lisbon Portuguese) being the nasal mid-front-narrow *ẽ* XII, corresponding to the French 'e fermé' XI.

III°. That Vianna disagrees both with Sweet and myself in recognizing 29, instead of Sweet's 16 and my 15 vowel sounds.

In a future note I shall speak perhaps of the consonant sounds; but, as far as vowels are concerned, I am unable to subscribe to Mr. Sweet's opinion, expressed at p. 233 of the "Transactions of the Philological Society for 1882–3–4," that, "in almost every case in which he differs from J. de Deus and me, Vianna is on his side."

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PORTUGUESE VOWELS ACCORDING TO VIANNA, SWEET, AND BONAPARTE.

	V.	S.	B.	BELL'S NOMENCLATURE.	EXAMPLES (I., Italian; S., Spanish; F., French; E., English.
I.	1. à	1. a	1. a	Mid-back-wide	p*á* 'shovel.' I. l*à* 'there.' F. l*a*rd 'bacon.' E. f*a*ther.
II.	2. ã (seminasal à)	——	——	*id.*, seminasal	vi-*a* *an*dar 'I saw her walk.'
III.	——	——	2. *a*	Low-front-wide	m*a*s 'but.' E. f*a*t.
IV.	3. ą; â; å	2. *ä*	——	Low-mixed-wide	*a*m*a*mos 'we love.' E. *a*bout.
V.	4. ã (seminasal ą)	3. *än*	3. ã	*id.*, seminasal	irm*ã* 'sister.'
VI.	5. ą (guttural. ą)	——	——	*id.*, gutturalized	*a*lado 'winged.'
VII.	6. à (gutt. labial à)	——	——	Low-back-wide-round, gutturalized	m*a*l 'evil.'
VIII.	7. è	4. æ	4. æ	Low-front-narrow	p*é* 'foot.' I. *è* 'is.'
IX.	8. è (guttural. è)	——	——	*id.*, gutturalized	m*e*l 'honey.'
X.	——	——	5. e	Mid-front-wide	s*e*bo 'tallow.' I. s*e*llaio 'saddler.' S. bi*e*n 'well.' F. mus*e*tte 'bagpipe.' E. p*e*n.
XI.	9. ê	5. e	6. *e*	Mid-front-narrow	s*e*xto 'sixth.' I. s*e* 'if.' F. *été* 'summer.'
XII.	10. ẽ (seminasal ê)	6. *en*	7. ẽ	*id.*, seminasal	v*en*to 'wind.'
XIII.	11. ê (guttural. ê)	——	——	*id*, gutturalized	f*e*ltro 'felt.'
XIV.	12. ę, i	7. ë	8. ə	Mid-mixed-narrow	s*e* 'if.' F. rej*e*ter 'to throw again.'

XIV.—SPOKEN NORTH WELSH. By Henry Sweet, M.A.

The following is a description of the sounds and forms of Welsh as spoken in the valley of Gwynant in Carnarvonshire, based on personal observations.

SOUNDS.

Description.

The following ar the elementary vowels and the diphthongs, with the Romic notation I employ:

ɜ	(a)	bara (*bred*); mab (*filius*)	bara; maab.
ɪ	(y)	sut (*how*); ty (*house*)	syt; tyy.
ɪ	(ä)	yma (*here*); *y* (the letter)	äma; ää.
ɪ	(i)	dim (*not*); ci (*dog*)	dim; kii.
ɛ	(e)	pen (*hed*); hen (*old*)	pen; heen.
ɨ	(u)	cwrw (*beer*); cwn (*dogs*)	kuru; kuun.
ɜ	(o)	pont (*bridg*); do (*yes*)	pont; doo.
ɜɪ	(ay)	dau (*two*); cae (*feeld*)	day; kaay.
ɜɪ	(ai)	gair (*word*)	gair.
ɜɨ	(au)	mawr (*great*); naw (*nine*)	maur; naau.
ɪɨ	(yu)	duw (*god*)	dyu.
ɪɪ	(əy)	deuddeg (*twelv*)	dəyðag.
ɪɪ	(əi)	eira (*snow*)	əira.
ɪɨ	(äu)	clywed (*hear*)	kl̥äuad.
ɛɨ	(eu)	ewch (*go ye!*); tew (*thick*)	eux; teeu.
ɨɪ	(uy)	blwyddyn (*year*); mwy (*mor*)	bluyðyn; muuy.
ɜɪ	(oy)	coeden (*tree*); coed (*trees*)	koydan; kooyd.
ɜɪ	(oi)	troi (*turn*)	tr̥oi.
ɜɨ	(ou)	dowch (*cum ye!*)	doux.

The consonants ar:

[illegible]	(h)	hanes (*history*)	hanas.
[illegible]	(x)	chwech (*six*)	xweex.
[illegible]	(j)	iaith (*language*)	jaiþ.
[illegible]	(rh)	rhaff (*rope*)	rhaaf.
[illegible]	(r)	ei ran (*his share*)	-i ran.
[illegible]	(rw)	gwraig (*wife*)	grwaig.
[illegible]	(ḷ)	llall (*other*)	ḷaḷ.
[illegible]	(l)	ei law (*his hand*)	-i lau.
[illegible]	(lw)	gwlad (*country*)	glwaad.
[illegible]	(þ)	cath (*cat*)	kaaþ.
[illegible]	(ð)	meddwl (*think*)	meðul.
[illegible]	(ʃ)	siarad (*speak*)	ʃarad.
[illegible]	(ʒ)	engine	inʒan.
[illegible]	(s)	Saia (*Englishman*)	sais.
[illegible]	(wh)	ei watch hi (*her watch*)	-i whatshi.
[illegible]	(w)	wedi (*after*)	wedi.
[illegible]	(f)	corff (*body*)	korf.
[illegible]	(v)	afon (*river*)	avon.
[illegible]	(qh)	fy nghefn (*my back*)	qhevn.
[illegible]	(q)	dringo (*climb*)	driqo.
[illegible]	(nh)	fy nhad (*my father*)	nhaad.
[illegible]	(n)	nain (*grandmother*)	nain.
[illegible]	(nw)	gwnio (*sew*)	gnwio.
[illegible]	(mh)	fy mhen (*my head*)	mhen.
[illegible]	(m)	mam (*mother*)	mam.
[illegible]	(k)	cacen (*cake*)	kakan.
[illegible]	(g)	y gog (*the cuckoo*)	-ā goog.
[illegible]	(t)	tad (*father*)	taad.
[illegible]	(d)	ei dad (*his father*)	-i daad.
[illegible]	(p)	pen (*head*)	pen.
[illegible]	(b)	ei ben (*his head*)	-i ben.

Before describing the s[illegible]s in detail, it wil be dezirabl[illegible] say something about the [illegible]neral elements of synthesis—stress, quantity, and tone.

STRESS.

The stress of many-syllabld words is regularly on the fore-last syllabl.

Many words, however, ar strest on the last. The following ar sum of the mor important of those enumerated in the grammars.

bä·rhay 'shorten,' ḷnay *glanhau* 'clenz' (with dropping of the unstrest vowel).

kanja·taad 'permission'; pa·rhays 'lasting.'

par·toi *parotoi* 'prepare,' gor·doi 'press'; dä·həy 'pant.'

a·mhəys 'doutful'; kä·froys 'exciting.'

But ·kävləys 'convenient.'

por·vyyȣ *porfeydd* 'pastures.'

I hav also noted the following:

käm·raayg 'Welsh'; käm·raays 'Welshwoman.'

pop·taay 'ovens,' bəy·daay, bdaay 'cowhouses'; ber·vaay 'wheelbarrows.'

Sum words taken from modern English, such as rä·seet 'receit,' keep the E. stress on the last syllabl.

Words beginning with unstrest *y* before *s*+cons. dropt the *y* in speech:

steen *ystên* 'jug,' storm *ystorm* 'storm.'

In modern compounds, as opozed to the old traditional ones, and in those loose compounds formd of a prepozition and a noun, and other groups, there is a tendency to stress the last element:

-dyyȣ syyl, often shortend almost to -dy syyl 'Sunday,' etc. -havod rhiisg *Hafod Rhisgl*, :betus kooyd *Bettws-y-Coed*, -pen guryd *Pen-y-gwryd*; so also in -jesy griist 'Jesus Christ,' -kry(y) glaas 'stork.'

-yynor ȣeeg 'eleven,' etc.; -ä myysg *yn mysg* 'among,' heb·lau 'besides.'

-o ȣar *oddiar* 'from on'; -ty drau 'beyond'; -iḷ day 'they two'; dra·xevn 'again'; ai·ee 'oh!' än·tee *onide* 'is it?'; :gora ooḷ 'all the better.'

Sum prefixes, especialy the negativ *an-*, often take full stress:

·an·amal 'seldom,' ·an·voðlon 'discontented,' ·aq·hovjo 'forget'; ·dio·valys 'careless'; ·ar·ðerxog 'excellent.'

The sentence-stress is, on the hole, mor even than in English. Prepozitions often seem to hav full stress, especialy thoze of markt and definit meaning, such as *ar*, *am*, and other particls ar often accented where they would not be accented in English. Verbs, on the other hand, ar often subordinated to the substantivs and adverbs, etc., they ar joind to, as in -rhoi tṛoo 'giv a turn'='take a walk,' -mynd aḷan 'go out.' Other exampls wil be found in the texts givn at the end of this paper.

The syllabl-stress always begins on the consonant, so that such a word as ʃugur 'sugar' is divided into ʃu-gur, not as in the E. ʃug-ə.

QUANTITY.

The unstrest vowels of a word ar always short.

Strest vowels ar long and short in monosyllabls (and final syllabls of polysyllabls), always short when an unstrest syllabl follows, so that two such words as (ton) 'wave' and (toon) 'tune' both hav the same plural (tona).

The length of the vowels of monosyllabls is greatly determined by the nature of the following consonant. If the vowel is final it is always long, as in (daa) 'good.' Nearly always long before the open conss. (x; þ, ð; s; f, v) and the voiced stops (g, d, b). Short before the nazals (ŋ, m), generaly befor (ḷ), and, according to the grammars, befor the voiceless stops (k, t, p), but very few nativ Welsh words end in theze three conss. Variabl befor the vowellikes (r, l), and befor (n). There ar two main classes of exceptions to theze rules: 1) the names of the letters of the alfabet ending in a cons., which ar always short—(ex, eþ), etc.; 2) monosyllabic words of English origin, which keep their E. quantity.

Polysyllabls of E. origin, accented in the regular Welsh way, shorten their vowels, as in Welsh—(steʃon, stabal, smokjo) 'station,' 'stable,' 'smoke.'

The following ar exampls, with the mor important exceptions:[1]

aax: baax 'litl,' kuux 'boat.'
[ox 'oh!']

aaþ: maaþ 'kind' sb., nyyþ 'nest.'
[byþ 'ever'].

aaȝ: graaȝ 'degree,' booȝ 'contentment.'

aas: glaas 'blue,' miis 'month,' nees 'nearer.'
[glas 'glass,' nes 'until'].

aaf: rhaaf 'rope,' kḷoof 'lame.'

aav: braav 'fine' (of wether), kḷaav 'il.'

aag: gwaag 'empty,' kiig 'meat.'

aad: taad 'father,' bood 'be.'
[nid 'not,' bid=*bydded* 'may be'].

aab: maab 'filius,' neeb 'no-one.'
[heb 'without,' tub 'tub'].

aŋ: ḷoq 'ship.'

am: mam 'mother,' dim 'nothing.'
[fraam 'frame'].

aḷ: gweḷ 'better,' tuḷ 'hole.'
[hooḷ, ooḷ 'all'].

ak: ḷak 'slack,' kḷok 'clock.'
[kuuk 'cook'].

at: at 'to,' het 'hat.'
[pḷaat 'plate'].

ap: top 'top.'

{ **aar**: aar 'ploughd land,' gwiir 'true,' paar 'pair.'
{ **ar**: ar 'on,' byr 'short,' är 'sir.'

{ **aal**: taal 'payment,' meel 'huney,' seel 'zeal.'
{ **al**: tal 'tall,' dal 'catch,' vel 'as.'

{ **aan**: taan 'fire,' hyyn *hyn, hun* 'older,' 'self,' heen 'old.'
{ **an**: tan 'under,' hyn 'this,' pen 'hed.'

Vowels ar short befor two conss., except in monosyllabls befor (ḷt) and (s)+stop, where they ar always long:

aaḷt: haaḷt 'salt' adj., gwyyḷt 'wild,' suuḷt 'shilling.'
[(suḷt) apears to ocur also].

[1] Words of E. origin ar givn only ocazionaly. Fuller lists for the vowels befor *r*, *l*, *n* wil be givn under the separate words further on.

aasg: paasg 'Easter,' gwiisg 'dress.'
aast: gaast 'bitch,' kiist 'chest.'
aasp: koosp 'punishment.'

Vowels ar, of course, always shortend in such compounds as (morva) 'beach' from (moor) 'sea.'

Diphthongs ar long (that is, the first element is long) only in strest syllabls not followd by an unstrest one. (ai, əi, oi; yu, ou; əy) ar always short, as also (ay, oy)=*au*, *ou* resp. (uuy) is long, as also (aay, ooy)=*ae*, *oe* resp. (aau, eeu) ar long only when final.

Intonation.

The Welsh intonation differs from the English, but not in any very markt way, and I hav not been able to investigate it in any detail. The Welsh seem often to uze the rize in plain statements of facts, and they speak altogether in a higher key than the English.

Vowels.

ɑ (a). a 'and'; kar 'car, trap,' bara 'bred'; ḷaḷ 'other'; tal 'tall,' dal 'catch'; glas 'glass,' basun *buasicn* 'I would be'; davad 'sheep'; man 'place,' glan 'shore,' gwan 'weak,' tan 'under,' kant 'hundred'; mam 'mother,' a'namal *anaml* 'seldom'; ḷac 'slack'; agos 'near'; at 'to,' tatus 'potatoes'; sad 'firm,' tada *tadau* 'fathers'; kap 'cap'; babi 'baby.' daa 'good'; baax 'litl'; aar 'ploughd land'; jaar 'hen,' paar 'pair'; saal 'il,' taal 'payment'; haaḷt 'salt' *aj.*; ḷaaȝ 'kil'; kaaþ 'cat'; glaas 'blue'; rhaaf 'rope'; braav 'good, fine'; maan 'fine' *aj.*; glaan 'clean'; kaan 'song,' taan 'fire,' braan 'crow' *sb.*; fraam 'frame'; gwaag 'empty'; pḷaat 'plate'; taad 'father'; maab 'sun.' Differs from the E. *a* in *father* only in being utterd with the mouth wide open, which givz it a clearer sound. No difference of quality between the long and short vowel.

ɪ (y) -än vyan 'soon'; yxal *uchel* 'lofty'; byr 'short,' tyr 'breaks'; hyḷ 'ugly'; rhyl 'Rhyl'; byþ 'ever'; gwyȝal,

'Irishman'; bysnas 'business,' ḷysgo 'drag'; hyn 'this,' ḷyn 'lake,' syn 'surprized,' kyn 'befor, as,' tyn 'tight,' bryn 'hil'; pymp 'five'; syt 'how'; bydyr *budr* 'dirty'; kany 'sing,' kefyl 'horse,' davyȣ 'David,' melys 'sweet,' deryn *aderyn* 'bird.' tyy 'house'; syyx 'dry'; kyyr 'pain,' dyyr 'steel,' pyyr 'pure'; -dyyȣ syyl 'Sunday,' kyyl 'narrow'; nyyþ 'nest'; pryyȣ 'serious'; kḷyyst 'ear'; yyn 'one,' -i hyyn 'himself,' hyyn 'older,' -dyyȣ ḷyyn 'Sunday,' ḷyyn 'picture,' kḷyyn 'thigh,' dyyn 'man'; kṛyyg 'hoarse'; stryyd 'street.' This is the most difficult of the North Welsh vowels for South Welshmen as wel as Englishmen. It is advanced from the normal high-mixt pozition towards (i), with which it is completely confuzed further South. In the Anglesea dialect it is I think even mor removed from (i) than in the Carnarvon dialect. When I round the Carnarvon sound I get exactly the Swedish *u*, which is decidedly ʉ. (yy) and (ii) end in a very slight voice-glide—they might almost be writn (yyə, iiə).

ɪ (ä). ä, är 'the,' är 'sir'; äsgol 'scool'; känta *cyntaf* 'first'; äma 'here'; mätn 'mutton'; ädu *ydyw* 'am.' Ocurs long only as the name of the letter *y*—(ää), in which it sounds deeper than the E. vowel in *sir*, being aparently mor retracted, but the difference is very slight. Quite distinct from our vowel in *but*.

ɪ (i). diod 'drink' *sb.*, tori 'break,' meri 'Mary,' pisin 'piece,' dim 'not,' tṛigjan 'sixty,' nid 'not.' kii 'dog'; hiir 'long,' siir 'shire,' gwiir 'true,' kḷiir 'clear'; miil 'thouzand'; hiin 'wether,' ḷiin 'flax,' miin 'edg,' gwiin 'wine,' kṛiin 'britl,' tṛiin 'treat,' bliin 'tired'; kiig 'meat.' The wide E. (*i*) is forein to North Welsh, and sugests (y) rather than (i) to a Welsh ear, but it apears to be gaining ground sumwhat among those who ar familiar with E., of course, only in words taken from E. It is, however, often very difficult to distinguish between (*i*) and (y).

ɛ (e). ṛeol 'rule'; ber 'short' *fem.*; gweḷ 'better,' peḷ 'far'; hel 'gather,' vel 'as'; pṛe·geþy 'preach'; fres 'fresh,' nes 'until'; pen 'hed'; het 'hat'; heb 'without.' ḷee 'place'; feer 'ankl,' gweer 'tallow'; seel 'zeal,' meel

'huney,' peel 'ball'; nees 'nearer'; heen 'old,' steen 'bucket,' kḷeen 'kind'; deeg 'ten.' Identical with the E. *e* in *pen*.

ɨ (u). kur 'corner,' turu 'noiz,' brus 'brush'; hun 'this,' gun 'I know,' 'gun'; luk 'luck.' ʃuur 'sure,' guur 'man,' duur 'water'; njuul 'mist'; suun 'sound,' cuun 'dogs'; druug 'bad.' Curiously enough, altho the E. (*u*) is forein to the language, I hav always herd cats calld (p*u*s) with a distinctly wide vowel.

ʒ (o). hono 'she'; ox 'oh!'; for *ffordd* 'road,' tor 'cut!'; koḷ 'loss'; tṛol 'cart'; kḷos 'close'; hon 'she,' ton 'wave' *sb.*, bron 'brest, nearly'; lot o bobol *bobl* 'lot of peple.' doo 'yes'; stoor 'store'; (h)ooḷ 'all'; ool 'track,' fool 'silly,' nool 'fetch,' dool 'vale'; soon 'sound,' moon 'Anglesea,' toon 'tune,' boon 'stump'; koot 'coat.' E *o* in *boy*, distinct from that in *not*. No difference of quality between short and long.

ʒɪ (ay). kay *cau* 'shut,' day 'two'; ayr 'gold,' hayl 'sun' [that shines], pa·rhays 'constant.' kaay *cae* 'field,' maay 'is'; xwaayr 'sister,' gwaayþ 'wurse,' blaayn 'frunt,' paayno wydyr *wydr* 'pane of glass,' käm·raayg 'Welsh,' tṛaayd 'foot.' (aay) ocurs only in monosyllabic words or final strest syllabls. I used to think that *ae* and *oe* wer ʒɨɪ (aaə) and ʒɨɪ resp., and I am stil not certain that their second element is not, in rapid speech at least, a vowel between (y) and (ə).

ʒɾ (ai). ai 'with his,' ḷai 'less'; gair 'word,' ail 'second,' sais 'Englishman,' main 'slender,' kṛaig 'rock.'

ʒɨ (au). ḷauar 'many'; maur 'big,' hauɤ 'eazy,' aust 'August,' jaun 'right,' daunʃjo 'dance,' braud 'brother.'

Ɪɨ (yu). ḷyu *lliw* 'culor,' hoylan skryu 'screw,' dyu 'God,' byu 'alive'; byux 'cow,' yud 'porridg.' dyuaɤ 'end,' dyujol 'divine.'

ʅɪ (əy). gwəy 'knit,' ḷəyad 'moon,' kəya *caeau* 'fields'; təyly 'family,' gwəyþa *gwaethaf* 'wurst,' dəyɤag 'twelv,' səysnag *Seisoneg* 'English,' pəyntjo 'paint' *vb.*, gnəyd *gwneud* 'do.' *ae* always has this sound when followd by an unstrest syllabl in the same word.

ɭɾ (əi). jəir 'hens,' əira 'snow,' kəiljog 'cock,' nəis 'nice,' təimlo 'feel,' rəit 'right.'

ɪɨ (äu). kläu-ad 'hear,' täu-yl 'dark,' bäu-yd 'life.'

ʃɨ (eu). neu-yð 'new,' deu-is 'chooz'; eux 'go ye!' -i meun 'within.' rheeu 'frost,' teeu 'thick,' bleeu 'hair.'

ɨɪ (uy). muya *mwyaf* 'most,' buyal 'ax'; duyran *dwyrain* 'east,' bluyðyn 'year,' luybyr *llwybr* 'path.' uuy 'eg,' muuy 'mor'; uuyþ 'eight,' uuyn 'lambs,' fruuyn 'bridle,' luuyd 'grey.'

ʒɪ (oy). loya *lloau* 'calvs'; hoylan 'nail,' kä·froys 'exciting,' äma·rhoys 'dilatory,' koydan 'tree,' ðooy 'yesterday'; ooyr 'cold,' pooyþ 'hot,' ooyn 'lam,' kooyts 'coach.'

ʒɾ (oi). rhoi 'giv,' troi 'turn'; oil 'oil.'

ʒɨ (ou). ouan *Owain*; doux 'cum ye!' mourþ 'March,' stout 'brave.'

Consonants.

ɦ (h). hanas 'history,' hii 'she,' heen 'old,' hun 'he.'

cɨ (x*r*). -i xevn 'her back,' xweex 'six,' axos 'cauz,' -i xii 'to you,' huux goox 'a red sow,' kəirx 'oats,' bulx 'gap.' The tril is as constant a feature of this sound as it is of the *r*. (xw) ar pronounced quite separately, and the (w) does not round the (x).

ɲ (j). jaiþ 'language,' njuul 'mist,' kufjo 'fight,' durdjo 'scold.' The controversy whether this is a cons. or not seems to be merely the rezult of its being writn *i*. It seems to me to be as much a cons. as the E. *y* in *yet*, altho there is no perceptibl friction in it any mor than in the E. sound. Perhaps the W. sound is narrow, =consonantal ɪ (i). In (-i hjaiþ) 'their language' the (h) and (j) seem to be utterd separately. Voiceless ɔ ocurs perhaps after (p), etc., in such words as (pjuʃjo) *piwsio* 'teaz.'

ɔɨɔ (r*r*h). rhaaf 'rope,' rhesum 'reazon,' rhaa *yr haf* 'the summer,' rhuq 'between.' The essential character of this sound, as of *nh*, etc., lies in the combination (r)+(h), and the breth-sound of the *r* is really unessential, altho I believ it is always breathd at the beginning of a sound-

group.[1] After a vowel it is, perhaps, voiced. I found that both pronunciations seemd to satisfy the ears of the nativs. It would, perhaps, be better to write ʊɣ, as the (h) seems to belong almost as much to the following vowel.

rh, ngh, nh, mh, which ar now real 'aspirates,' must originaly hav been the simpl breths ʊ, ɹ, ɔ, ɾ; *rh* must hav been parallel to *ll,* which is stil a simpl breth, and the nazal mutation *ngh-* from *c-* must hav been parallel to *ng-* from *g-*.

The aspiration was no dout the rezult of the atempt to make the sounds mor audibl, for the voiceless nazals, especialy, ar almost inaudibl, unless utterd with great force. Original ɯ (ḷ) was made mor audibl by other means: by being developt into a strong unilateral palatalized hiss.

Unaspirated (ṛ) ocurs in tṛoo 'turn,' kṛyy 'strong,' etc. See under (k).

ɯɨ (r*r*). -i ran 'his share,' ri-ooyd *erioed* 'ever,' druug 'bad,' bara 'bred,' gwiir 'true,' tärn 'turn.'

ɯɨɒ (r*rw*). gr*w*aig *gwraig* 'wife,' -i r*w*aig 'his wife,' -mi r*w*antai 'I warrant.' The regular sound of *rw* [when *w* is a cons.], the two conss. being utterd simultaneously.

ɯʷ\ (ḷ§*j*). ḷaḷ 'other,' käḷaḷ 'knife.' gweḷ 'better.' Always unilateral (right side) with the tung in the i-pozition, or aproximated to it. The unilaterality has hardly any effect on the sound, and the Welsh *ll* may be described as being essentialy a French *l* unvoiced. It is almost identical with the Icelandic *hl.*

ɯ (ḷ). kḷoo 'lock,' pḷyy 'fethers.' Devocalization of the ordinary *l.*

ɯ (l). -i lau 'his hand,' leni *eleni* 'this year,' ledi 'lady,' kalad 'hard,' meel 'huney.' Aparently identical in formation with the E. *l,* the front of the tung being hollowd.

ɯɒ (l*w*). gl*w*aad *gwlad* 'cuntry,' -i l*w*aad 'his cuntry.' Compare (r*w*).

ʊ (þ). -i þaad 'her father,' þaqkju 'thank you,' kaaþ 'cat,' gwerþson 'they sold.'

[1] I onse misherd (nhaad) 'my father' as (haad) 'seed,' which shows the initial (n) was nearly inaudibl, and therefor voiceless.

ʊ (ð). -i ðavad 'his sheep,' meðul 'think,' kḷauð 'hedg,' aðvad 'ripe.'

ƨ (ʃ). ʃarad 'speak,' ʃop 'shop,' tṛuʃjo 'mend'; tʃain 'chain,' katʃjo 'catch.' This sound seems to be essentially the same as the E., but I hav herd from older speakers a sound mor like ƨɩ or ƨ\—a palatalized ʃ, or sumthing between ʃ and (s).

ƨ (ʒ). inʒan 'engine'; -ä dʒain 'the chain,' dʒon 'John,' wedʒan 'wedg.' (dʒon) is stil often pronounced (ʃoon).

s (s). sais 'Englishman,' silf 'shelf,' isal 'low,' miis 'month,' brus 'brush.'

ɔ° (wh). -i whatshi 'her watch.' Only in ocazional mutations of (w) in E. words.

ɔ (w). -i waas 'his servant,' wedi 'after,' wats 'watch,' gwers 'lesson,' berwi 'boil.'

> (f). for (road), -i fen 'her hed,' kofi 'coffee,' korf 'body.'

ɔ (v). -i vam 'his mother,' voo 'he,' avon 'river,' kevn 'back.'

ɹ° (qh). qhevn 'my back,' qhaaþ 'my cat.'

The nazal mutation of *c*, *t*, *p*+*r*, *l* offers sum difficulties. *nghroen* 'skin,' *nhroed* 'foot' (from *croen*, *troed*), ar not pronounced (qhrooyd, nhrooyd), but the aspiration passes on to the (r), giving (qrhooyd, nrhooyd), which last seems often to becum (rhooyd). The initial (q) and (n) seem, however, to be often pronounced with voice. With *l* the rezult is the regular aspirated sound distinct from that of *ll*, as in *nghlust*, *mhlentyn*, from *clust* 'ear,' *plentyn* 'child,'=(qlhyyst, mlhentyn). Here, again, the initial nazals seem to be often voiced. Indeed, it is possibl to carry the voice thru the (l) as wel without offending an unattentiv ear—(-vä mlentyn).

ɹ (q). qavr 'my goat,' driqo 'climb,' ḷoq 'ship.'

ɔ° (nh). nhaad 'my father.'

ɔ (n). nain 'grandmother.'

ɔɔ (nw). gnwio *gwnio* 'sew,' basgjad nwio 'work-basket.'

r° (mh). -i mham 'her mother.'

r (m). mam 'mother.'

ɑ (k). kakan 'cake,' kii 'dog'; kṛyy 'strong,' kḷoof 'lame'; kḷok 'clock.' The off-glide of the breth stops is

stronger than in E., and completely devocalizes a following (r) or (l), but not an (n), the breth glide being aparently kept befor the (n), as in (knuud) 'crop.' The breth glide is very weak after (s), as in (storm) 'storm,' and in unstrest syllabls. In words of E. origin (k) and (g) generaly becum (kj, gj) befor (a), as in (kjastin, kjaf; gjard, gjaat) 'casting (in fishing), gaff; guard (of a coach), gate.' The same pronunciation may often be observd befor unstrest (a)=writn *e*, as in (basgjad, baxgjan) 'basket, boy.' Also in (ḷoygjar) *Lloegr* 'England.' In the neighboring Merioneth dialect the change is said to be fully carried out in nativ words befor strest (a). (k) and (g) ar, as in most languages, mor forward befor frunt vowels.

ɑ (g). -ä goog 'the cuckoo,' -i giid 'together,' glaan 'clean,' äsgol 'scool'; dʒug 'jug,' rhedag 'run.' Final voice stops ar pronounced quite short, and consequently when following a short stress vowel (which seldom hapns in nativ words) they hav the efect of (k), etc., to an E. ear. They hav the same pronunciation when they end the syllabl in the midl of a word, as in (goglaɤ, rhagblaayn) 'north,' 'at onse.' Final (g) after (s) is whisperd, as in (gwiisg, kuusg), 'dress,' 'sleep.'

ʊ (t). taad 'father,' tṛio 'try,' pont 'bridg,' guts 'goods,' kästal 'as good.' In forming (t) and (d) the point of the tung seems to be entirely on the teeth.

ʊ (d). -i daad (his father), druug 'bad,' tyd 'cum!', sad 'firm,' parod 'redy,' adra *adref* 'home' *adv.*, modvaɤ 'inch.'

ɒ (p). pen 'hed,' pṛen 'wud,' top 'top,' cospi 'punish.'

ɒ (b). -i ben 'his hed,' tub 'tub,' atab 'answer.'

Reprezentation and Ocurrence.

The following ar the letters and digrafs that make up the Welsh alfabet, with their Welsh names:

a (aa), b (bii), c (ek), ch (ex), d (dii), dd (eɤ), e (ee), f (ev), ff (ef), g (eg), ng (eq), ngh, h (aitʃ), i (ii), l (el), ll (eḷ), m (em), mh, n (en), nh, o (oo), p (pii), ph (ef), r (er), rh, s (es), t (tii), th (eþ), u (yy), w (uu), y (ää).

The letters wil be treated of in the following order: *a, u, y, i, e, w, o; au, ae, ai, aw, uw, yw, iw, eu, ey, ei, ew, wy, ou, oe, oi. h, ch, i, rh, r, ll, l, th, dd, s, w, ff, f; ngh, ng, nh, n, mh, m; c, g, t, d, p, b.*

Examples wil be givn only of iregular correspondence. The words ar writn foneticaly, the nomic spelling being only added when the word contains other changes than that givn by the heding.

Vowels.

A) Strest.

a: a, aa; e, o. gwerþol 'stirrup.' kṛogan *cragen* 'shel.'

u: y, yy; i. hiȝig *huddygl* 'soot,' tiþjo 'trot,' inig 'alone' [also in (i·nigol) 'lonely'], ninjon *yn union* 'at onse,' stimja *ystumiau* 'bends, tricks,' rhigil *rhugl* 'fluent of speech,' brigo *barugo* 'depozit hoar-frost,' hido 'entice,' stidjo *astudio* 'study' vb.

y: y, yy, ä; a, i, e, o. (y) in monosyllabls and final syllabls, as in *ty* (tyy) 'house,' *dyn* 'man' (dyyn), *llyn* (ḷyn) 'lake,' *gofyn* 'ask,' (ä) in syllabls followd by an unstrest syllabl, as in *dynion* 'men,' *gofynodd* 'askt' pret., *Llyndy* (ḷändy) 'Lake-house.' Also (ä) in *y, yr* 'the,' *fy* 'my,' *dy* 'thy,' *yn, yng* 'in,' etc., *myn* in (-män djaul) 'by the devil!' For further rules see the grammars. I find *cyd-* = (käd) in (kädol) 'hole' aj., (käd·wybod) 'conscience,' (kädna·bäȝys) *cydnabyddus* 'acquainted.'

The dialect has (y) befor an unstrest syllabl in the following words: sylu 'atention,' bryʃjo 'hurry,' hyna 'that one,' smydiþ, etc., from *symyd* 'move,' glydar [also (glädar)] 'Glyder,' glypax, etc., *gwlypach* 'wetter,' cp.

(a) in ḷas·enwi 'nickname' vb.

(i) in dirwin *dyrwyn* 'wind' vb., disgwl *dysgwyl* 'expect,' distau 'silent,' kimint *cymmaint* 'how much,' kä·nigjad 'offer' sb. [cp. (känig) vb.], -i giid 'together,' gida 'with,' diguȝ *dygwydd* 'happen.' Sum of these words, as also of those in the preceding paragraf, may vary between (i) and (y).

(e) in desgil *dysgl* 'dish.'

(o) in doro *dyro* 'put!' [also däro]. *dyfod* 'cum' is contracted into (duad) and (dood).

i: i, ii; əi. knəiþar *cyfnither* 'female cuzin.'

e: e, ee; ä, a, əi, i. äto 'yet,' ästyn 'strech,' dränyð *drenydd* 'day after to-morrow,' marljod *merlynod* 'ponies,' banu *benyw* 'female,' xwadal *chwedl* 'according to.' ge·vəiḷjaid 'twins,' həiðju, hiðju *heddyw* 'to-day.' xwəigjan *chwe ugain* 'ten shillings.'

w: u, uu; y. dyvn 'deep.'

o: o, oo; a, u, ä. kḷaguð *ceiliogwydd* 'gander' (lit. cock-goose). murþul *morthwyl* 'hammer,' guḷun *gollwng* 'let out.' gästun *gostwng* 'lower,' däduy 'lay egs,' näduyð 'needl.'

au: ay; əy, a, ai. (cəyad) adj. 'clozed,' (cəyoð), etc., pret., of (kay) 'cloze,' knəya *cynauaf* 'harvest.' This seems to be the regular sound of *au* when followd by an unstrest syllabl in the same word. The prezent of (kay) is (kaa-iþ). *a'u* 'and their' (ai), identical with *a'i* 'and his.'

ae: aay; aa, a, əy, y. (aay) in monosyllabls sumtimes seems to drop its (y) in sum words, such as *chwaer* 'sister,' *o'r blaen* 'formerly,' *traed* 'foot' [in *mae* 'is' and *cael* 'get,' aparently only when these words ar unstrest]. (a) in the dissyllabls (gwarad) *gwaered* 'descent,' (tany) 'spred.' When followd by an unstrest syllabl in the same word *ae* is regularly (əy): kəya *caeau* 'feelds,' -ä ðəyar 'the erth,' gwəylod 'bottom,' gwəyþa *gwaethaf* 'worst,' əyþox 'ye went,' pəyntjo 'paint.' Even in compounds, such as (bləynḷau) 'beforhand.' *ffraeo* 'quarrel' [from E. *fray*] seems to be (fryo) as wel as (frəyo).

ai: ai; y, əi, əy. hyarn 'iron.' rhəi 'sum,' pṛəi *pa rai* 'which ones?', rhəin *y rhai hyn* 'theze.' səy *saif* 'stands.'

aw: au; ou, uy. mourþ 'Tuesday, March,' dnouvad *deunawfed* 'eighteenth,' mounan *mawnen* 'piece of peat,' mounog 'place where peat is dug,' soudul *sawdl* 'heel.' *deunaw* 'eighteen,' and the plur. *mawn* keep their (au). suyro *saw(y)rio* 'smel, sniff.'

uw: yu.

yw: yu, äu; u, o, əy. (äu) in such words as *clywed*

'hear,' tywydd 'wether' [not=sheep], *tywod* 'mud' is pronounced so quickly that it is often difficult to hear the (ä) at all=kḷuad, etc. duad *dyfod* 'cum,' tuḷax, tuḷa *tywyllach, tywyllaf* 'darker, darkest.' toḷti *tywallt* 'pour.' dəyd *dywed* 'say.'

iw: yu.

eu: əy. *deuwch* 'cum ye' is (doux).

ey: yy. ḷyyn 'Lleyn' (a part of Carnarvonshire).

ei: əi; a, y, i, e, ee. asan *eisen* 'rib.' ḷya *lleiaf* 'least.' tṛio 'try,' iðau *eiddew* 'ivy,' ista *eistedd* 'sit.' iʃjo *eisieu* 'want,' kinjog *ceiniog* 'penny.' gwergloð *gweirglawdd* 'medow' [also pronounced gwärgloð?], ees 'I went.' (əi) seems to be sumtimes confuzed with (əy), but I hav not been able to determin how far this is realy the case.

ew: eeu, eu; ou, u. doux *dewch* or *deuwch* 'cum ye!', tuxy *tewychu* 'thicken,' ḷugy *llewygu* 'starv.'

wy: uuy, uy; y, u, əy. byta 'eat.' tṛuu 'thru,' puu 'who' [also pron. puuy], tru·any 'pierce,' xurny 'growl,' tuḷy *tywyllu* 'get dark,' knuḷbran *canwyllbren* 'candlestick,' di·guðoð *dygwyddodd* 'hapend,' etc., usnos *wythnos* 'week,' xuþy 'blow,' gunjon 'white' pl., gunuy 'white of eg,' guni·adyn *gwyniedyn* 'sea-trout,' tuny *tywynu* 'shine,' kä·xunoð 'started,' etc., tumo 'warm,' rhumoð 'tied,' etc., rhugo 'tear,' gubod 'know.' Many dissyllabic words seem to hav only (uy), such as *mwyaf* 'most,' *twyllo* 'deceiv,' *blwyddyn* 'year,' *rhwystro* 'hinder,' *llwybyr* 'path.' dəylo *dwylaw* 'hands.'

(wy) in *y Wyddfa* 'Snowdon,' gwyðal *Gwyddel* 'Irishman,' *chwyn* 'weeds,' *Gwynant*, gwynab *gwyneb* 'face,' *cwyno* 'complain,' etc. (wyy) in *chwys* 'swet,' *gwyllt* 'wild,' *gwydd* 'plough' [guuyð='goose'].

ou: *o'u* 'of their' is (oi), like the sg. *o'i* 'of his.'

oe: ooy; oo, o, əy, uy. In monosyllabls *oe* sumtimes seems to becum (oo) as in *noeth* 'naked'; shortend in (kogvran) *coegfran* 'jackdaw.' gləy-u *gloew* 'transparent,' kä·vəyþog 'welthy.' puyri 'spit.'

oi: oi. *troiodd* 'turnd' pret. is contracted into (tṛooð).

B) Unstrest.

a becums (o) in the verb-ending *-asant*, as in (gwelson) 'they saw,' govol 'care' sb., adloð 'after-grass,' kṛoxon *crochan* 'pot,' penog *penwag* 'herring,' o·vlauan *aflawen* 'dismal.' (i) in *gan* 'with.'

y: a, i. ädax 'ye ar,' etc., ädan *ydynt* 'they ar,' etc., edrax 'see,' dinbax 'Denbigh,' kḷeða *cleddyf* 'sword,' ämba·rel 'umbrella,' ḷas·enwi 'nickname' vb.

(i) befor the stress-syllabl: diarþ *dyeithr* 'strange,' di·oða *dyoddef* 'suffer'; dis·teui 'be silent.' After the stress-syllabl regularly in *-yg*, and in many other endings as wel: kerig 'stones,' tebig 'like,' känig 'offer,' perig *perygl* 'danger'; divir 'amuzing,' kaḷiḷ 'knives,' pistiḷ 'spout,' briþiḷ 'trout,' disgin 'alight,' dirwin *dyrwyn* 'wind' vb., diðim 'destitute.' When another syllabl is added, so that the *y* receivs the accent, the (i) is sumtimes kept, as in (briþiḷjad) *brithylliaid* plur., but generaly the original (ä) apears, as in (di·värax) compar., (dis·gänoð) pret. həiðju *heddyw* 'to-day.'

e after the stress-syllabl regularly becums (a): kävla 'oportunity,' rhula *rhywle* 'sumwhere,' oyðax 'ye wer,' amsar 'time,' robart 'Robert,' rubaþ *rywbeth* 'sumthing,' dodravn 'furniture,' gorfan *gorphen* 'finish,' rhedag 'run,' sekrat 'secret.' Of course (e) is prezervd in less familiar compounds; also in (popeþ) *pobpeth* 'everything.' (o) in (o, voo) *e*, *efe* (e·vee in the literary lg.) 'he,' (gwybod) 'flies' pl., kariktor 'character.' (i) in (naaki) *nage* 'not.' Sumtimes (ä) befor the stress-syllabl: dä·xrəynos 'evening,' -ägär ðinan *y Gerddinen*, prä·geþur 'preacher.'

o becums (a) in (duad) *dyfod* 'cum,' and sumtimes in (arnax) *arnoch* 'on you,' etc.

Diphthongs ar almost always simplified.

ae: a. madal *ymadael* 'leav, depart,' gadal 'leav' trans., kärað *cyrhaedd* 'reach.' Also in sum compounds, such as (gwe·niþvan) 'granit,' penman maur 'Penmaenmawr.' *mae* 'is,' *cael* 'get' becum (maa, ma, kaal) when unstrest.

ai: a, i, ja. meða 'said,' kara 'strap,' bygal 'shepherd,' mantas 'advantage,' damwan 'misfortune,' cu·panad 'cupful.' Also in the compound (kḷama) *Calan Mai* 'Mayday.' (ai) is often kept in plurals, such as (devaid) 'sheep,' aparently for the sake of distinctness. (i) in the verb-ending *-ais*, as in (gwelis) 'thou sawest' pret., and in eriḷ 'others,' ḷägid 'eyes,' kimint 'how much.' (ja) in ygjan 'twenty,' dəygjan 'forty,' tṛigjan 'sixty.'

au: a. ḷävra 'books,' änta 'he,' pia 'possesses,' para parhau [literary pa·rhay] 'last' vb., käþral 'devil.' (ay) is sumtimes kept in the plural of literary words even in common speech.

aw: o, a. gaðo *addaw* 'promise,' kinjo 'dinner,' taro 'strike,' anoð 'difficult,' kṛəylon 'cruel,' gwergloð *gweirglawdd* 'medow.' kena 'cub.'

yw: i, u. ädi 'is.' guru 'male,' banu *benyw* 'female.'

eu: a, i, o, ee. bora 'morning,' xwara 'play' vb., gora 'best,' gola 'light' (lucidus), tena 'thin,' ama *ammheu* 'dout' vb. The (əy) reapears under stress, as in the comparativs (gləyax, tnəyax). (i) in *eu* 'their.' (o) in (əiʃjo) 'want.' *neu* 'nor' is (nee).

ei: i, ä. in *ei* 'his, her.' (ä) in *eich* 'your.'

ew: au. iðau *Iuddew* 'Jew' [plur. i·ðeuon], iðau *eiddew* 'ivy,' paþau 'dormouse.'

wy: u. nhuu, nhu *hwy* 'they,' ädu *ydwyf* 'I am,' anul 'dear,' keluð 'falshood,' eglus 'church,' morun 'maid,' anud 'cold' (in hed, etc.); ḷu·odraþ *llwyodraeth* 'guvernment.'

oe: o. tṛooydnoþ 'bare-legd.' Unstrest *oedd* 'was' is (ooð, oð).

Unstrest vowels ar often dropt.

a. redig *aredig* 'plough' vb., rhosux *aroswch* 'stay ye!' stidjo *astudio* 'study' vb., sena *ais* pl. of asan *eisen* 'rib'; vala *afalau* 'apls'; gorjad *agoriad* 'key,' gorux *agorwch* 'open ye!'; tebux *atebwch* 'answer ye!'; deryn *aderyn* 'bird,' denyð *adenydd* 'wings.' -mi rwantai 'I warrant,' ʃradoð *siaradodd* 'spoke,' tṛany *taranu* 'thunder' vb., tṛauoð *tarawodd* 'struck,' pṛuydyð *parwydydd* 'walls.' pṛyyn *pa yr un, pa un* 'which one,' brigo *barugo* 'depozit hoar frost';

kḷeta *caletaf* 'hardest,' kḷama *Calan Mai* 'Mayday,' kḷonog *calonog* 'harty,' kḷona *calonau* 'harts,' pḷee *pa le* 'where?', pḷisoð *palisoedd* 'walls'; dþodoð *dattododd* 'undid.' welsox *welasoch* 'ye saw,' ðəytsox *dywedasoch* 'ye said,' etc.; kvəyloð *cafaclodd* 'took hold,' tvarna *tafarnau* 'taverns'; knuḷa *canwyllau* 'candls.' kṛe·dyrjaid *creaduriaid* 'creatures,' furti *i ffwrdd a ti* 'away with you,' vanku *fan acw* 'there.'

y. sgini *sydd genyf* 'I hav.'

ä. Of all the vowels this is oftenest dropt. It is almost regularly dropt when initial, especialy befor (s) followd by a stop: sgweny *ysgrifenu* 'write,' sgoljon 'scools,' sgavnax 'lighter'; xädig 'litl,' xwanag 'mor'; ranud *yr anwyd* 'the cold in the hed,' rheen uur *yr hen wr* 'the old man,' etc., rädu *yr ydwyf* 'I am,' etc.; vory *yfory* 'to-morrow'; nen·wedig *yn enwedig* 'especialy,' ninjon *yn uniawn* 'at onse,' nagos *yn agos* 'near,' etc., näsoð *ynysoedd* 'ilands'; menyn 'butter,' madal *ymadael* 'leav' intr.; molxi 'wash' refl. Dissyllabls which stres the initial (ä) do not drop it, and vice-versa: ästyr 'meaning,' äsgol 'scool'; swil 'shy,' -urþi sgiilo *wrth ei ysgîl ef* 'behind him' [riding on the same horse], stuur 'noiz.' But there ar sum iregularities. Thus I find infin. (äsgud) 'shake' but imper. sg. (sguuyd), and I believ that *yswil* is accented on the first syll. in the literary language.

After a vowel: vyyn *fy un* 'my one,' damsar 'thy time.' It is often difficult to say whether it is dropt or only pronounced very shortly, as in (beedio) *pa beth ydyw ef* 'what is it?', (:maan amsar) *y mae yn amser* 'it is time.'

Where it givs rize to new consonant combinations: *a*) initial. dräsy 'entangl,' brheux 'shorten ye!', kḷäma *cylymau* 'knots,' stḷenod *estyll* plur. of stäḷan *estyllen* 'plank,' kwi·läðys 'disgraceful,' kfredin 'general' adj., kvaða *cyfaddef* 'confess,' dveþa 'spoil,' cnəya *cynauaf* 'harvest,' knigjoð 'offerd,' dmyno 'wish,' ḷgodan 'mouse.' *b*) medial. ers *ys* 'sinse,' vanma *fan yma* 'here,' käm·dogjon *cymmydogion* 'neighbors.'

i. werðon *Iwerddon* 'Ireland,' fur *i ffwrdd* 'away'; dec *diengyd* 'escape'; dreidys *direidus* 'mischievous'; ðary

nəyd *ddarfu i mi wneyd* 'I did,' etc., -oð ar *oddiar* 'from off,' -oð äma *oddiyma* 'from here,' etc.

e. hedag *ehedeg* 'fly' vb., ri·ooyd *erioed* 'ever,' leni *eleni* 'this year,' lulan *elwlen* 'kidney,' smwyþax *esmwythach* 'smoother,' sgidja *esgidiau* 'boots,' stänoð *estynodd* 'strecht,' wäḷys *ewyllys* 'wil,' winað *ewinedd* 'nails,' fəiþjo *effeithio* 'effect,' vaḷa *ef allai* 'perhaps,' niḷoð *ennillodd* 'won' prt., dräxux *edrychwch* 'look ye,' divar *edifar* 'penitent,' peḷano ðavað *pellen o edafedd* 'ball of thred'; dränod *adar* plur. of (deryn) *aderyn* 'bird,' kḷuyðog 'lying,' glway *gwelyau* 'beds,' pḷeni plur. of (pelan) *pelen* 'ball,' kfäla *ceffylau* 'horses,' knuyḷyn, knuyḷod *cnewullyn, cnewull* 'kernel, kernels,' tnəyax *teneuach* 'thinner'; kṛadur *creadur* 'creature'; isla *iselaf* 'lowest.' An (e) which is strest in the literary language is dropt in (daaḷt) *deallt* 'understand.' The pron. (deaḷt) seems to ocur in the dialect also.

u. ðaryn=ðarynhu *ddarfu hwy* 'they did.'

o. ðəyty *oddeutu* 'about,' sgweluxän ðaa *os gwelwch yn dda* 'if you pleaz,' 'ndooys *onid oes* 'is there not?'; strəyon pl. of (stori) 'story,' kḷoman *colomen* 'pigeon,' gləyni *goleuni* 'light,' etc., gvänoð *gofynodd* 'askt'; par·toi *parotoi* 'prepare.'

ai. ḷond *llonaid* 'fulness.'

əy. bdaay *beudai* 'cowhouses,' sglyso *esgeuluso* 'neglect' vb. Strest in the lit. lang. in (ḷblodyn) *blodeuyn* 'flower.'

əi. steðoð *eisteddodd* 'sat' etc., probably thru (isteðoð).

The repetition of the same vowel is avoided by running them into one, which is often shortend, as in tyxa *ty uchaf* 'abuv.'

Parazitic unstrest vowels often develop befor a vowellike (r, l) or nazal (n, m) with another cons. befor them.

a. amal *aml* 'often,' abal 'able.' egar 'sharp, cruel,' ḷedar 'lether,' kḷedar 'palm of hand,' ḷestar 'vessel, dish'; ḷəidar 'thief,' ḷoygar 'England.' xwadal *chwedl* 'according to,' seqal 'singl, unmarried,' keqal 'girth,' hegal 'limb, leg.'

y. bystyl *bustl* 'gall,' bydyr 'dirty.' rhuystyr 'hindrance,' gwydyr 'glass,' bruydyr 'batl,' ḷuybyr 'path.' gwydyn 'tough,' dygyn 'toilsum.'

i. sikir 'sure.' rhigil *rhugl* 'fluent.' desgil *dysgl* 'dish.'

u. ʃugur *sugr* 'sugar.' bukul 'buckl,' ·pendra·munugul 'hedlong,' trusgul 'clumzy'; soudul *sawdl* 'heel'; kupul 'cupl'; kubul 'hole' aj., trubul 'trubl.' ludun 'wether' (sheep). -ars talum *er ys talm* 'sinse long, for sum time.'

o. oxor 'side.' gogor 'siv.' sobor 'sober.' koqol 'corner.' pobol 'peple.'

It wil be seen that the preceding cons. is generaly a stop, mor rarely a nazal (*sengl, cengl, congl*; *aml*) and very rarely any other conss. (*ochr, talm*).

Also that the inserted vowel is generaly a repetition of the root one, the diphthong (uy) repeating its last element, as also in *sawdl*. (m) develops an (u) in *talm*. (e) is not repeated, (a) being developt after it, as also after several diphthongs.

In sum words there is no insertion: gavr 'goat,' gwobr 'reward,' lyvr 'book.' dadl 'dispute,' batl 'batl,' xwedl 'story,' nobl 'noble,' syml 'simpl.' kavn 'trough,' dogn 'dose,' lyvn 'smooth.'

Consonants.

h. Often dropt in unstrest syllabls, as in kärað *cyrhaedd* 'reach,' anoð *anhawdd* 'difficult,' anos *anhaws* 'mor difficult,' kämar *cymhar* 'partner'; ama *ammheu* 'dout' vb., para *parhau* 'last' vb. In the last two the stress is on the last syllabl in the literary language. Often added after (r) and nazals followd by a strest vowel: rhosux *arosuch* 'stay ye,' ka·qhena *cangenau* 'branches,' da·qhosoð *dangosodd* 'showd.' (x) in (xwadan) *hwyaden* 'duck.'

i (=j). Dropt in iðau *Iuddew* 'Jew,' prodi *priodi* 'marry.' In sum words the second element of a diphthong apears to be identified with (j) and then transpozed: ygjan *ugain* 'twenty,' trigjan *trigain* 'sixty,' eiʃjos *eisoes* 'alredy.'

r. Often dropt in unstrest syllabls, especialy before *n*: trafaþ *trafferth* 'trubl,' bu·tʃasan 'top-boot' [from Blucher?], fenast *ffenestr* 'window'; garðun *arddwrn* 'wrist,' sadwn

'Saturday,' sisun 'scissors.' gub·neðig *gwrboneddig* 'gentlman.' In most of these words the *r* is restord in strest syllabls, as in (fe·nestri, si·särna) plurals. Not in the plural (gar·ðäna). Strest *r* is dropt in (kulid) 'cuverlet.' Inserted in (poultris) 'poultice,' (gerḷig) *gellaig* 'pears.' Transposed in (ewyrþ) *ewythr* 'uncl,' diarþ *dyeithr* 'strange.' In (kerad mesyl day) 'walk two and two,' (mesyl) aparently stands for *mesur* 'mezure.'

l. Often dropt in unstrest syllabls: hiðig *huddygl* 'soot,' posib 'possibl,' perig *perygl* 'danger.' Also in (rhiisg) *rhisgl* 'bark.' Not in *banadl* 'broom,' *anadl* 'breth,' and sum others.

th. Dropt in (bee) *pa beth* 'what?' (s) in usnos *wythnos* 'week.' In old-fashiond pronunciation (taqkju) is said insted of (þaqkju) 'thank you.'

dd. Often dropt: ista *eistedd* 'sit,' syy *sydd* 'is'; for *ffordd* 'road' [kept in the plur. *ffyrdd*], -i fur 'away,' bur 'table'; boo *byddo* 'wil be,' oon *oeddwn* 'I was,' rhoi *rhoddi* 'giv'; kerad *cerdded* 'walk.' (v) in vanoð *y ddannodd* 'toothache,' əivil 'slender.' (d) in (difod) 'go out' (fire).

s. Dropt sumtimes in baat *buasit* 'wouldst be.' *sy* becums (ʃ), thru (sj), in (ʃarnai) *sydd arnaf fi* 'I owe,' lit. 'is on me.' (ʃ) also in the expletiv (ʃort ora) 'best sort' [also (sort ora)]. In older words (s) reprezents E. *sh*, as in (fres) 'fresh.'

w. Dropt in xi *chwi* 'ye'; gnəyd *gwneyd* 'do,' glyyb *gwlyb* 'wet'; penog *penwag* 'herrings,' gwatar *gwatwar* 'mock.' (v) in brivo 'hurt,' gorvað *gorwedd* 'lie.' *diweddaf* 'last' is (dwəyþa).

f. Often dropt finaly: haa 'summer,' ḷii 'flood,' kryy *cryf* 'strong,' sloo 'slow' (of clock), pḷuuy 'parish'; känta 'first,' pentṛa *pentref* 'village,' kävri 'acounts,' gweḷa *gwellaif* 'pair of shears.' Reapears when a vowel is added: kṛävax 'stronger,' slovax 'slower,' gwe·ḷəivja *gwelleifiau* plur. Medialy in dary *darfu* 'finisht,' duur *dwfr* 'water,' kees *cefais* 'I got.' Developt out of vowels in ivaqk *ieuanc* 'yung' [comp. jeqax], ḷevyð *lleoedd* 'places.' (w, u) in (sgweny) *ysgrifenu* 'write' [sgrivan *ysgrifen* 'writing'], sgwarnog *ysgyfarnog* 'hare,' cwarvod *cyfarfod* 'meet,' tauly *taflu*

'throw,' guðu *gwddf* 'neck.' E. (f) has becum (w) in (brekwast) 'brekfast.'

ng. (n) in guḷun *gollwng* 'let out,' gästun *gostwng* 'lower.'

nh. *nhr* becums (rh) in (rhuuyn) 'my noze.'

n. Dropt in (-meu mynyd) mewn munyd 'in a minute.' Added in neplas *eples* 'leven.' *nt* dropt in *maent* 'they ar,' namor *Nant-y-mor.* (m) in rhesum 'reazon.'

m. (n) in verbal endings: ädan *ydym* 'we ar," oyðan *oeddem* 'we wer,' etc.

c. (qk) in *hecian* 'limp.' (f) in (fəind) 'kind,' by confusion with (fond) 'fond.'

g. Dropt in (wiqo) *gwingo* 'strugl,' ḷnaay *glanhau* 'clean' vb. Added in gonast 'honest,' garðun *arddwrn* 'elbow,' gaðo *addaw* 'promise.' (k) in (naaki, naake) *nage* 'no,' (dräkin) *dryghin* 'bad wether.' (d) in havod-tandrag *Hafod-tan-y-graig.*

t. Dropt in *-nt* in verb-endings: ädan *ydynt* 'they ar,' welson *welasant* 'they saw,' etc. Added in daaḷt *deall* 'understand.' (d) in stryyd 'street.' *sut* seems to be sumtimes (syd) [befor a vowel?]. E. *ch* is regularly reprezented by (ts), as in (wats) 'wach.' *tl-* seems to be (kḷ-) in *tlws* (kḷuus) 'pretty.'

d. (dʒ) is reprezented by (ʃ) in the older pronunciation (ʃon) 'John,' etc., by (d) in (dest) 'just' adv.

Initial consonants ar often lost by the dropping of the vowel of an unstrest syllabl, which often makes the cons almost inaudibl:

h. genod *hogenod* 'girls,' naku *hwn acw* 'that one,' dɛ *hyd at* 'as far as.'

rh. sämol *rhesymol* 'reazonabl.'

f. stinjog *Ffestiniog.*

n. duni ðim *nid wn i ddim* 'I don't know,' etc., do *nadolig* 'Christmas.'

m. moga *mamogau* 'ewes,' ðäljun *meddyliwn* 'I sh think,' vii *myfi* 'I.

p. sgota *pysgota* 'fish' vb., tatus *pytatws* 'potatoes.'

Other cases ar:

nabod *adnabod* 'recognize.' (nai) the unstrest for

(arnai) *arnaf fi* 'on me.' (ta) *ynte* 'therefor, then,' always unstrest.

pnaun *prydnawn* 'evening,' knarvon *Caernarfon* 'Carnarvon,' kḷänai *canlynaf fi* 'I wil follow,' kḷaguð *ceiliogwydd* 'gander,' sglaig *ysgolhaig* 'scolar' [pl. sgləigjon *ysgolheigion*], kooyð *cyhoedd* 'public.'

pṛyyd *pa bryd* 'when?', ḷee *y mha le* 'where?', blee *o ba le* 'whense,' ndooys *onid oes* 'is not?', pam *paham* 'why?'

oona *oddiyna* 'from there,' vanma *fan yma* 'here,' vano *fan yno* 'there,' gwaað *gwahodd* 'invite,' xwəigjan *chwe ugain* 'ten shillings,' rhəin *y rhai hyn* 'theze,' dood [also duad] *dyfod* 'cum' inf., tyd *tyred* 'cum thou!', tṛooð *troiodd* 'turnd' pret., dee *deheu* 'south.' herob *hannerob* 'flich of bacon.'

dol·ðelan *Dolwyddelan*, oðyd *oddiarhyd* 'from off,' kä·vino *cynnefino* 'get used to,' dotux *dattodwch* 'untie ye!', gwani·əyþa *gwahaniaethau* 'differences,' wedyn *wedi hyn* 'afterwards,' knəiþar *cyfnither* 'female cuzin.'

In sum cases a syllabl which is strest in the literary lang. has been dropt, pointing, of course, to an erlier stress-shift in the dialect: kämyd *cymmeryd* 'take,' gadoð *gadawodd* 'left,' malwan *malwoden* 'snail,' marljod *merlynod* 'ponies.'

Strong contraction in the peculiar hybrid expletivs rotʃun = (ri·ooyd faʃun) *erioed fashion* 'ever the like,' 'ever,' nov·natsan = (-änov naduy faʃun) *yn ofnadwy* (terribly) *fashion*, 'in terribl fashion,' 'terribly.'

Also in ogla *arogl* 'odor.'

Sum miscellaneous irregularities may now be noticed.

Transpozitions (generaly with other changes) in: kävnas *cynfas* 'canvas, sheet,' kenslys *cenllysg* 'hail,' sluan *llysŵen* 'eel,' swigan *chwysigen* 'bladder,' tṛaux *tarwch* 'strike ye!' (ruan) 'now' seems not to be conected with the literary *yn awr*, but to be *yr awr hon* 'this hour.'

miga moga *igam ogam* 'zigzag' is an interesting parallel to our *(n)ickname*.

nos·daux *nos dda i chwi* 'good night (to you)!'

-pe tasa *pe buasai* 'if it wer,' etc.

käd·mary *cymharu* 'compare.'

Mutation.

For convenience of reference I giv here a table of the regular mutations.

RADICAL.		MIDL (VOICE) ei *his*	NAZAL fy *my*	ASPIRATE ei *her*
cefn	*back*	gefn	nghefn	chefn
pen	*hed*	ben	mhen	phen
tad	*father*	dad	nhad	thad
gair	*word*	air	ngair	gair
bara	*bred*	fara	mara	bara
dillad	*clothes*	ddillad	nillad	dillad
llaw	*hand*	law	llaw	llaw
mam	*mother*	fam	mam	m(h)am
rhan	*share*	ran	rhan	rhan
nain	*grandmother*	nain	nain	n(h)ain

kevn	gevn	qhevn	xevn
pen	ben	mhen	fen
taad	daad	nhaad	þaad
gair	air	qair	gair
bara	vara	mara	bara
diḷad	ðiḷad	niḷad	diḷad
ḷau	lau	ḷau	ḷau
mam	vam	mam	mham
rhan	ran	rhan	rhan
nain	nain	nain	nhain
wats *wach*	wats	wats	whats

Note that the aspirate mutations of *m* and *n* ar not admitted in the literary language. In the dialect (m, n) ar regularly aspirated after (i) *ei* 'her,' *eu* 'their': i **mham**, *ei*

m(h)am, eu m(h)am 'her mother,' 'their mother.' (w) in E. words generaly follows this analogy, but aparently not always: bood ari w(h)ats *bod ar ei (eu) gwyliadwraeth* 'to be on her (their) guard,' -i w(h)atshi, -i w(h)atsnhu, *ei, eu oriawr* 'her, their wach.'

The laws of mutation ar carried out with the same strictness in the dialect as in the literary language, and follow, in the main, the principls laid down in the grammars, tho there is divergence in detail. Forein words, even of the latest introduction, ar as much subject to them as nativ ones: -i kootnhu 'their coat,' -i gooto 'his coat,' qhooti 'my coat,' -i xoothi 'her coat,' lego fätn 'leg of mutton,' etc. (tʃ) is regularly mutated to (dʒ): tʃain 'a chain,' -ä dʒain 'the chain.'

When an initial vowel is dropt in the dialect, so that a mutabl cons. becums initial, it is liabl to mutation, as in (menyn) *ymenyn*: printano venyn 'pat ['print'] of butter.'

In the dialect sum of the particls which cauz mutation ar regularly dropt, which givs the mutation generaly a mor abstract character, and makes it mor difficult to master. The affirmativ particl *y* which does not mutate, and the affirmativ and interrogativ *a* which cauzes voice mutation, ar dropt. *y* apears as *yr* befor vowels, which is often kept in the dialect in the form of (r). The dialect often uzes an affirmativ particl of its own (mi), which takes voice mutation. The different affirmativ forms of two such verbs as *oedd* 'was' and *cymmerodd* 'he took,' when standing at the hed of the sentence ar: rooð, -mi rooð, kämoð, gämoð, -mi gämoð. I hav not been able to investigate the laws which govern these variations. Numerous exampls may be seen in the texts. The voice-mutation of the initial verb in questions seems constant: gämuxi *a gymmerwch chwi* 'wil you take?', weloðo *a welodd ef* 'did he see?' The negativ particls *na* and *ni* govern the aspirate of *c, t, p,* the voice-mutation of the others; in the dialect these particls ar simply dropt, *ddim* being added, unless the sentence alredy contains sum negativ word besides the dropt initial particls: xämai ðim tee 'I wil not take tea,' welisi monoxi 'I did not see you,' gəyþoxi

beeþ 'did you get sum?' If the verb begins with a vowel (d)=*nid* is prefixt, and if it begins with radical *g*, (d) is substituted: dädio ðimän barod 'he is not redy,' daḷai ðim duad 'I cannot cum.'

Sum verbs in frequent use, such as the auxiliary (ðary) *(d)darfu*, ðäla, ðälsa *dylai, dylasai* 'he ought,' show a great preponderance of the voice-mutated over the radical form, which latter only ocurs after sum words which do not allow the voice-mutation after them, such as (vel) 'how,' (a) 'and, as.' The same is the case with sum other words, such as (ðooy) 'yesterday,' which only takes the radical form in the same special cases, as in (ryyn faaþa dooy) 'the same as yesterday.' Sum words, such as *wedi*, never apear at all in any but the voice form. (gan, gin) *gan* 'with,' and its pronominal compounds, never apear in the radical form, tho they take the aspirate mutation after *a* 'and,' etc.: -a xänovo 'and with him,' etc.

In sum cases there is a real or aparent neglect of mutation in the dialect.

Feminin nouns ar not mutated after *un* 'one': yyn karag *un garrag* 'one stone,' yyn matʃan 'one mach.'

The want of mutation in (-nos daux) 'good night!' and (usnos dwəyþa) *wythnos ddiweddaf* 'last week,' seems to be due to an avoiding of the combination (sð).

The absence of mutation in such a sentence as (-maayoän gəid) 'he is a guide' is only aparent, for the radical of this word is (kəid). Forein words beginning with (g, d, b) seem generaly to form new radicals in this way: pelan, -ä belan 'ball,' 'the ball,' tṛol, -ä drol 'cart.' Many adjectivs, such as *parod* 'redy' hardly ever ocur except with the predicativ particl *yn* befor them, and it is therfor difficult to tel whether the radical of *braf* in (-maar täuyðän braav) 'the wether is fine,' etc., is (praav) or not. I hav never herd the radical of these two words in speech. (g), etc., seem to be left unmutated sumtimes even in nativ words, as in (gnəydi gora) *gwneyd ei oreu* 'do his best,' (beemaayoän daa) *i ba beth y mae ef yn dda?* 'what is it good for?' As (v) is the mutation both of (b) and (m), it sumtimes happens that

m(h)am, eu m(h)am 'her mother,' 'their mother.' (w) in E. words generaly follows this analogy, but aparently not always: bood ari w(h)ats *bod ar ei (eu) gwyliadwraeth* 'to be on her (their) guard,' -i w(h)atshi, -i w(h)atsnhu, *ei, eu oriawr* 'her, their wach.'

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stabal 'stable,' steʃon 'railway station,' step 'step' (of cart, etc.), stool 'stall,' stori 'story,' stymog 'stumac,' stryyd street'; tempar 'temper' (good, bad), tem·taʃun 'temptation,' tṛesal 'kitchen dresser'; wats 'wach.'

Plural.

The use of the different plural endings is, on the hole, the same in the dialect as in the literary language, allowing for the vowel-changes of the latter (both in the words themselvs and the endings), and its dropping of the unstrest initial vowels, etc., by which such pairs as *llyn, llynau* 'lake'; *cae, caeau* 'field'; *afal, afalau* 'apl' apear as (ḷyn, ḷäna; kaay, kəya; aval, vala). The following ar examples (taken from the most frequent words) of the different ways of forming the plural, as clast in the grammars, many words of E. origin being given:

1) Iregular. kii, kuun 'dog.' guur, gwyyr 'husband.' tyy, tai 'house'; popty, pop·taay 'oven'; bəydy, bəy·daay, bdaay 'cow-house.' kṛooyn, kṛuuyn 'skin'; ooyn, uuyn 'lam.' tṛooyd, tṛaayd 'foot.' braud, brodyr 'brother.'

2) Vowel-change. braan, brain 'crow'; ḷäfant, ḷäfa(i)nt 'frog.' jaar, jəir 'hen'; kar 'trap' (carriage), kəir; gaast, gəist 'bich.' bystax, bystyx 'bullock.' käḷaḷ, käḷiḷ 'knife.' korn, kyrn 'horn.' for, fyrð 'road.' karag, kerig 'stone,' kasag, kesig 'mare,' parxaḷ, perxiḷ 'yung pig.' davad, devaid 'sheep.' ḷägad, ḷägid 'eye.'

-a. The original ending is prezervd only in (gl*w*au) *gwelyau* from (gwely) 'bed,' thru having the stress, and ocazionaly in plurals of words of a mor or less literary character, such as (dəi·sebay) 'petitions.' kupan, ku·pana 'cup'; usnos, us·nosa 'week'; enu, enwa 'name'; kaay, kəua 'field'; oxor, oxra 'side'; ḷäþyr, ḷä·þära 'letter'; kaqan, ka·qhena 'branch.' stabal, stabla 'stable'; ʃop, ʃopa 'shop'; gwasgod, gwas·goda 'waistcoat'; paayn, pəyna 'pane of glass.' The following hav vowel-change (in addition to changes required by the laws of the dialect). druus, dräsa 'do '; bur, bärða 'table'; gun, gäna 'gun'; butum, ' button.' simða, sim·ðəya 'chimney.'

-ja. klyyst, klystja *clustiau* 'ear'; esgid, sgidja 'shoe'; hogyn, hogja 'boy.' kap, kapja 'cap'; koot, kotja 'coat'; frind, frindja 'friend'; het, hetja 'hat'; plaat, platja 'plate'; poulan, poulja 'bowl.' With vowel-change: kadar, ka·dəirja 'chair'; aur, orja 'hour'; ketyn, katja 'short pipe.' pump, pämpja 'pump,' tʃain, tʃəinja 'chain.'

-on. sais, səyson 'Englishman'; kaan, knəyon 'song,' stori, strəyon 'story.'

-jon. kä·mädog, käm·dogjon 'neighbor'; äsgol, sgoljon 'school'; polyn, poljon 'pole'; stool, stoljon 'stall.' With vowel-change: bargan, bar·gəinjon 'bargain.'

-ad. merx, -ad 'daughter'; di·əiþrjad 'strangers'; kradyr, kre·dyrjad 'creature.' With vowel-change: a·nival, ani·vəiljad 'animal, catl.'

-yd. kevndar, kevndryd 'male cuzin.'

-aȣ. dant, danaȣ 'tooth'; ewin, winaȣ 'nail' (of finger).

-i. lestar, lestri 'vessel'; kakan, ka·keni 'cake'; sospan, sos·peni 'saucepan'; fenast, fe·nestri 'window'; haqkas, kaq·ketʃi 'handkerchief'; lantar, lan·terni 'lantern.' With vowel-change: kroxon, kro·xeni 'pot'; maayn, məini 'stone'; taas, təisi 'rick.'

-od. kloman, klo·menod 'pigeon'; hefar, hefrod 'heifer'; deryn, drənod 'bird.' The literary plur. of *aderyn* ocurs only in the lake-name (lyn radar) *Llyn yr adar.* knəiþar, knəi·þerod female 'cuzin'; hogan, genod 'girl.' With vowel-change: byux, byxod 'cow'; kuux, käxod 'boat'; ʃurna, ʃur·niod 'journey'; merlyn, marljod 'poney.'

-oȣ. bläny ȣ, blä·näȣoȣ *blynyddoedd* 'year'; mäny ȣ, mä·näȣoȣ 'mountain'; änys, näsoȣ 'iland'; stryyd, strädoȣ 'street.'

-yȣ. farm, fermyȣ 'farm'; adan, denyȣ 'wing'; pentra, pen·trevyȣ 'village'; tresal, tre·selyȣ '(kitchen) dresser.' Contracted in (porva, por·vyyȣ) *porfeydd* 'pasture.'

-s, -ys. babi, babis 'baby'; ham, hams 'ham'; steʃon, steʃons 'railway-station,' krikjad, krikjats 'cricket' (insect). wats, watsys 'wach'; kooyts, koytsys 'coach.' Sumtimes added even to Welsh words, after the Welsh plural ending,

as in (milguns) 'greyhounds,' (sgoturs) 'fishermen,' (hyrns) 'irons.'

(souþman, plisman) 'South Welshman,' 'policeman' form their plur. (souþmyn, plismyn), showing an older stage of E. than our prezent spoken language, in which sg. and plur. both hav the same obscure vowel.

Sum words hav a different (often a longer) stem in the plur.: kävla, kävləys·dera 'opportunity'; ḷii, ḷi·vogyð 'flood,' gwerþol, gur·þavlja 'stirrup.' The last has also the regular plur. (gwer·þolja).

The following ar further exampls of the formation of fem. singulars in (-an) from E. plurals taken in a collectiv sense: kabaits, ka·bəitsan 'cabbage'; tatws, täsan [=ta·täsan] 'potato'; sweeds, swetsan 'swede, Swedish turnip'; slipars, slipan 'slipper'; butʃas, bu·tʃasan 'top boot' [from 'Blucher'?], härdls, härdlan 'hurdl'; spooks, spoksan 'spoke of wheel'; sklaits, skləitsan 'slate'; wəirs, wəiran 'wire.' The colectiv sense givn to the E. plurals is clearly shown in such collocations as (fens wəirs) 'wire fence.' It wil be observd that the (s) of the plur. is sumtimes prezervd in the sg., sumtimes not.

Adjectivs.

Gender.

The following vowel-changes take place in the fem. of adjectivs. Many adjj., however, which change their vowels in the literary language, remain unchanged in the dialect.

u: **o**. ḷum 'bare,' kṛun 'round,' tṛum 'hevy.'

[No change: kḷuus 'pretty,' pudur 'rotn,' brunt 'rude.' The literary *dwfn*: *dofn* is (dyfn) in the dialect.]

y: **e**. hyysp, heesp 'dry' (of cows); syyx, seex 'dry'; kṛyy, kṛee 'strong'; glyyb, gleeb 'wet'; gwyn, gwen 'white'; byr, ber 'short'; bryyx, breex 'brindld'; bäxan, bexan 'litl.' baax 'litl' is unchanged in the fem., not even mutating its cons. [No change: ḷym 'sharp,' melyn 'yellow,' trädyð 'third,' pe·dweryð 'fourth.']

ii: **ai**. [No change: briiþ 'speckld.']

Plural.

In the literary language many adjj. take a plural ending. In the dialect their number is reduced, and many of those left hav also the plur. the same as the sg. These ar markt (as far as my knowledg goes) with a star in the following lists:

*bäxan, bäxin; kadarn, kedyrn 'strong'; *kalad, kelyd 'hard'; ḷaḷ, ḷəiḷ 'other'; araḷ, eriḷ 'other.'

*dyy, dyon 'black'; *budur, budron 'dirty.' *maru, məirwon 'ded.'

rhyyð, rhäðjon 'free'; *koox, koxjon 'red'; gwyn, gwynjon 'white,' *teeu, teujon 'fat.' *ḷaays, ḷəiʃjon 'trailing'; saal, səiljon 'bad'; main, məinjon 'thin'; kam, kəimjon 'crooked'; *gwaag, gwəigjon 'empty'; kṛyy, kṛävjon 'strong'; kḷuus, kḷäʃjon 'pretty'; kḷaud, kḷodjon 'poor'; tṛum, tṛämjon 'hevy'; braas, brəiʃjon 'thick'; hyysp, hespjon 'dry.'

The following (among others) remain unchanged: *chwerw, llydan, buan, truan,* ivaqk *ieuanc* 'yung,' *byddar, hardd.*

Comparison.

The regular endings ar, of the equal degree (-ad) *-ed,* the comparativ (-ax), the superlativ (-a) *-af.*

Adjj. ending in (g, d, b) unvoice these conss. before the endings: tebig, te·bäkad 'like'; diog, di·okad 'lazy'; rhaad, rhatax 'cheap'; glyyb, glypax 'wet'; kalad, kḷeta 'hard.'

The vowel-changes of the literary language reapear to sum extent in the dialect: main, məinad 'thin'; kḷaud, kḷotad 'poor'; ḷum, ḷämad 'bare.'

The insertion of (j) ocurs also in words of E. origin: braav, bravjax 'fine'; kḷeen, kḷenja 'kind' [our *clean*].

Other changes ar the necessary rezult of the laws of the dialect: kalad, kḷetax 'hard'; esmuþ, smuyþax 'smooth.'

The following ar iregular:

Pozitiv.	*Equal.*	*Compar.*	*Superl.*
daa (*good*)	kästal	gweḷ	gora
agos (*near*)	a·gosad	nees	nesa
baax (*litl*)	ḷ(ə)iad	ḷai	ḷ(ə)ia
druug (*bad*)	dräkad gwəyþad	gwaayþ	gwəyþa
hauð (*easy*)	hauðad	haus	hauða
anoð (*difficult*)	a·noðad	anos	a·noða
heen (*old*)	hänad	hyyn hänax	häna
hiir (*long*)	hirad	huuy hirax	huya hira
ivaqk (*yung*)		jeqax	jeqa
ḷauar (*many*) maur (*great*)	kimint	muuy	muya
ḷädan (*broad*)		ḷetax	ḷeta
isal (*low*)	isad	islax iis *adv.*	isla
yxal (*high*)	yxlad	yux	yxa

Numerals.

	Cardinal.	*Ordinal.*
1	yyn	känta ynvad
2	day, duuy (*fem.*)	ail
3	tṛii, tair (*fem.*)	tṛädyð (*also fem.*)
4	pedwar, pedar (*fem.*)	ped·weryð (*also fem.*)
5	pymp	pymad
6	xweex	xwexad
7	saiþ	səiþvad
8	uuyþ	uyþvad
9	nau	nauvad
10	deeg	degvad
11	yynor ðeeg	ynvadar ðeeg
12	dəyðag	ðegvad
13	triiär (tairär) ðeeg	tṛädyðar ðeeg
14	pedwarär (pedarär) ðeeg	ped·weryðar ðeeg
15	pämþag	päm·þegvad
16	yynar bämþag	yn[illegible] ar [illegible]

17	dayar (duuyar) bämþag	railar bämþag
18	{ dəynau tṛiiär (tairär) bämþag }	dnouvad
19	pedwarär (pedarär) bämþag	ped·weryðar bämþag
20	ygjan	gəinvad
21	yynar hygjan	ynvadar hygjan
30	deegar hygjan	degvadar hygjan
35	pämþagar hygjan	ynvadarðeegar hygjan
40	dəygjan	
50	{ deegar hygjan hanar kant	
60	tṛigjan	
70	deega þrigjan	
80	pedwar ygjan	
90	deega fedwar ygjan	
100	kant	
120	xwəigjan *chwe ugain*	
1000	miil	

The clumziness of the higher Welsh numerals leads to the frequent use of the E. numerals, which, curiously enuf, ar always uzed in speaking of a street: nämbar fəiv, etc., wän þousand eet händradn eti wän = 1881. When the use of the E. numerals is avoided, as in giving out the number of a hymn in chapel, such a numeral as 70 is called 'seven ten,' etc. Thus (emyn pym kant saith deeg tṛii) 'hymn 573,' (dəynau kant uuyþ deeg yyn) = 1881.

The higher ordinal numerals ar not much uzed except in stating the day of the month.

Pronouns.

The personal pronouns ar:

	Simpl.	*Antithetic.*	*Conjunctiv.*
1	mi, vi, i	vii	·ina, vina
2	ti, di	dii	tiþa
3	{ vo, o	voo	änta, vänta
	hi *fem.*	hii	hiþa
pl. 1	ni	nii	nina
2	xi	xii	xiþa
3	nhu, n	nhuu	nhuþa

(vi, vina,vo, vänta) ar often uzed insted of (i), etc., after a vowel: -ðaryvi orfan 'I finisht,' -na vina xwaiþ 'nor I either,' hevovo 'with him.' (i) is chiefly uzed after the verb in the nom.: welisi 'I saw.' (nhu) is often contracted to (n) after a verb ending in a vowel: -ðaryn gweld 'they saw.'

The reflexiv pronouns ar:

1. -vä hyyn, -vä hynan. 2. -dä hyyn, etc. 3. -i hyyn.

pl. 1. -əin hynan, -n hynan, -n hyyn. 2. (ä)x(h)ynan etc. 3. -i hynan.

The reciprocal:

1. -(əi)n gilyð. -(ä)x gilyð, -i gilyð.

The possessiv:

1. v(ä). 2. d(ä). 3. i. *pl.* 1. (əi)n. 2. (ä)x. 3. i. The personal pronoun is generaly added after the noun, the repetition not necessarily conveying any idea of emfazis. *fy* is generaly only prezervd befor a vowel; befor a consonant it is dropt, leaving however the nazal mutation of mutabl consonants behind: vamsar 'my time,' -urþ nruusi 'at my door,' -än ḷee-i 'in my place.' The three (i)s ar distinguisht by their mutations when they cum befor certain sounds.

The following special combinations dezerv notice:

a) with (a) 'and'; exemplified in

-vä nhaada mam=*a'm mam* 'my father and mother,' -dä daad { -aad vam / -aaþ vam }. -i daadai vam. -i þaadai mham 'her.' -n taadaan mam. -äx taadaax mam. -i taadai mham *a'i mam.*

b) with (i) 'to.'

-iim taad. -idä daad. -yu daad *i'w.* -yu þaad *i'w.* -i taad. -iix taad. -yu taad *i'w.*

c) with (o) 'of.'

-oom taad. -odä daad. -oi daad. -oi þaad. -oon ta -oox taad. -oi taad *o'u.*

So also (welisi moom taad) 'I did not see my fatl (moodä daad), etc.

d) -ar vooli 'after me.' -ar dooldi. -ari oolo. hoolhi. -ar nhoolni. -arx oolxi. -ari hoolnhu.

e) -o mlaayni 'befor me.' -odä vlaayndi. -oi vl

-oi blaayn-hi. -oon blaaynni. -oox blaaynxi. -oi blaaynnhu.

f) -ar vinjon *ar fy uniawn* 'I at onse.' -ar dinjon. -ari injon. -ari hinjon. -ar nhinjon. -ar xinjon. -ari hinjon. An exampl of this construction is (aunni nuanar nhinjon) 'let us go now at onse.'

eiddo does not apear to be uzed in speech, but *yr Eiddoch yn gywir* is the regular equivalent of 'yours truly' in letter-writing.

The demonstrativs ar:

	singular.		*plural.*
1	*masc.* hun *fem.* hon *neut.* hyn		rhəin
2	*masc.* huna *fem.* hona *neut.* hyna		rhəina
3	*masc.* hunu *fem.* hono *neut.* häny		rhəiny

The distinction of meaning of these three groups corresponds to that of the Scoch *this, that, yon.* They ar all (at least, the personal ones) uzed both as substantivs, and as adjectivs following the noun. (hun), etc., seem, however, to be uzed as adjectivs only when they dezignate an object of thought, or refer to sumthing that has been mentiond alredy: dyynvel wiljamshunu, 'a man like that Williams' (of whom we wer just speaking). Otherwize the adverbs (äma, äna, aku) ar added to the noun with the def. articl prefixt to denote the three degrees respectivly: -ä dyyn(ä)ma, -ä dyyn(ä)na, -ä dyyn aku, 'this man,' 'that man' (within cognizance), 'that man' (not within cognizance).

(naku)=*hwn acw* subst., is uzed to denote a distant object within sight or hearing.

Verbs.

The normal inflections may be exemplified by the verb (gweld) 'see.' As the second future ocurs only in a few

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verbs it is exemplified by (gnəyd) 'do.' The pluperf. and 2nd fut. pass. seem hardly ever to ocur in speech, and the plup. act. is not very common.

The letters added in parentheses show the form assumed by the verb when (as is uzualy the case) the personal pronouns ar added:

ACTIV.

Prezent (Future).

	Singular.	*Plural.*
1	gwela(i)	gwelan(i), gwelun(i)
2	gweli(di)	gwelux(i)
3	gweel(o), gweliþ(o)	gwelan(hu)

Imperfect.

1	gwelun(i)	gwelan(i)
2	gwelat(i)	gwelax(i)
3	gwela(vo)	gwelan(hu)

Preterit.

1	gwelis(i)	gwelson(i)
2	gwelist(i)	gwelsox(i)
3	gweloȝ(o)	gwelson(hu)

Pluperfect.

1	gwelsun(i)	gwelsan(i)
2	gwelsat(i)	gwelsax(i)
3	gwelsa(vo)	gwelsan(hu)

Second Future.

1	gnelo(i)	gnelon(i)
2	gnelot(i)	gnelox(i)
3	gnelo(vo)	gnelon(hu)

Imperativ.

1	———	gwelun
2	gweel, gwela	gwelux
3	gwelad	gwelan

Infinitiv.

gweld.

PASSIV.

Prezent	gwelir.
Imperfect	gwelid.
Preterit	gwelud.
Pluperfect	gwelsid (?).
Second Future	——— *gweler.*

The second future also ocurs of the verb (mänu) in the fraze (amsar vänoxi) 'whenever you like,' mixt, however, with prezent forms in the 1st sg. and 2nd plur.: (vänai, vänux) as wel as (vänoi, vänox). I hav generaly herd (vänox).

The preterit is often exprest by (ȝary) *ddarfu* 'finisht' the pret. of (darvod) with the infin., and this circumlocution is regularly employed in the plural of verbs ending in a cons. which would not join eazily to the inflectional (s). Thus (berwi, dexra) 'boil,' 'begin,' hav their prets. 3 sg. and plur. respectivly (berwoȝ, dexroȝ; -ȝaryn verwi, -ȝaryn ȝexra). There is, however, considerabl latitude. As a general rule, the longer and less frequent verbs prefer the circumlocution.

The shorter form of the pres. 3 sg. is generaly less frequently uzed than that in (iþ), which is the only one that many verbs hav.

The various changes of the verb-stems ar the rezult partly of the older laws detailed in the grammars, partly of those of the dialect. The following ar the typical forms of many of the mor important 'regular' verbs (most of which would be considered highly iregular in any other language), nl. infin., pres. 3rd sing., pret. 1 and 3 sg. and 3 plur., imper. 2 sg., as far as I hav been able to determin them.

ay. kay *cau* 'shut.' kaa-iþ, kəyiþ. kəyoȝ. kay!
ḷnaay *glanhau* 'clean.' -ȝary lnaay. ḷnaa! ḷneux!
bä·rhaay 'shorten.' bä·rhəiþ. bä·rhaoȝ. bä·rhaa!; bä·rheux!

oi. kḷoi 'cloze.' kḷoo-iþ. kḷois, kḷoioȝ; kḷoison. kḷoo!
tṛoi 'turn.' tṛyyȝ, tṛoi, tṛoiþ. tṛois; tṛoioȝ, tṛooȝ; tṛoison. tṛoo! *Pret. pass.* tṛoud.
par·toi *parotoi* 'prepare.' par·tooȝ, par·toison. par·too! par·toux!

a. dal 'cach' dəil, daliþ. daljoȝ, dalson. dal!
ḷaaȝ 'kil.' ḷaaȝ, ḷaȝiþ. ḷaȝoȝ, ḷaȝson. ḷaaȝ!
daaḷt *deall* 'understand.' daḷtiþ. daḷtoȝ, daḷtson. daaḷt.
i. tṛiin, tṛinjo *trin* 'treat.' tṛiniþ. tṛinjoȝ.
e. hel 'gather.' hel(j)oȝ, helson. hel!; heljux!
uy. duuyn 'take, steal.' duuyn, duyniþ. duynoȝ; duynson. duuyn!; duyna!
-a. byta *bwyta* 'eat.' bytoȝ, bytson. byta!
-i. ḷenwi 'fil.' ḷenwoȝ. ḷenwa!; ḷenux!
teui 'be silent.' tau, teuiþ. tauoȝ, tauson. tau! teux!
berwi 'boil.' berwoȝ. berwa! berux!
tori 'cut.' tyr, toriþ. toroȝ, torson. tor!
koḷi 'loze.' koḷ, koḷiþ. koḷoȝ, koḷson. koḷ! koḷa!
rhoi *rhoddi* 'put, giv.' rhyyȝ, rhoȝiþ. *Imperf.* rhoun; rhoot; rhooy; rhoun; rhoux; rhoyþan, rhoon. *Pret.* rhois; rhoist; rhoȝoȝ, rhooþ, rhoos [rhooys ?]; rhoȝson, rhoiþon, rhoison. däro!, doro!; dorux!, rhoux! [the first three aparently only in the sense of 'put!']. *Pret. pass.* rhoud. I am not certain about the forms of this verb, especialy as regards the ocurrence of (oy) and (oi).
kodi 'raiz.' kood, kodiþ. kodoȝ, kodson. kood!
ḷogi 'borrow.' ḷoog!
hoḷti 'split.' hooḷt!
toḷti *tywallt* 'pour.' tooḷt!
pṛovi 'try.' pṛova!
puyri *poeri* 'spit.' puyroȝ, puyrson. puyra!
kṛoysi *croesi* 'cross.' kṛoysoȝ, kṛoyson. kṛoysa!
-o. driqo 'climb.' driqoȝ, driqson. driqa!
kyro 'strike.' kyroȝ, kyrson. kyra!
godro 'milk.' godra!
gor'fuyso 'rest.' gorfus! gor'fuysux!
gnwio *gwnïo* 'sew.' gnwi-iþ. gnwi-is, gnwioȝ.
-jo. karjo 'carry.' kariþ. karis, karjoȝ, karson. karja!
paſjo 'pass.' pasis, paſjoȝ.
särþjo 'fall.' särþis, särþjoȝ.
tṛuſjo 'mend.' tṛusis, tṛuſjoȝ. tṛuſja!
kəiſjo 'try.' kais!; kəiſjux!

pəidjo 'abstain.' paid, pəidiþ. pəidjoð. paid!

-u. buru, 'throw.' buriþ. burjoð. burja!

kadu 'keep.' kadiþ. kadwoð, kadson. kadu!

galu 'call.' gəilu, galiþ. galwoð, galson. galu!

-y. kary 'luv.' karoð, -ðaryn gary [(karson)='they carried']. kaar!

gaḷy 'be able.' *Pres. sg.* 1. gaḷai; 2. geḷi; 3. gəil, gaḷ; *pl.* 2. geḷux, gaḷux. gaḷoð; gaḷson.

taly 'pay.' taal, taliþ. taloð, talson. tala!

maly 'grind.' maloð, malson. maal! mala!

tawly, tavly *taflu* 'throw.' tawloð, tawlson. taul! taula!

kany 'sing.' kanoð, kanson. kana!

gwerþy 'sel.' gwerþoð, gwerþson. gwerþa!

helpy 'help.' helpoð, helpson. helpa!

sgweny *ysgrifenu* 'write.' sgwenoð. sgwena!

medry 'know how.' medar, medriþ. medroð.

däsgy 'lern.' däsgoð, däsgson. däsga!

mäny 'wish.' myn, mäniþ. mänoð; mänson. myn! mäna! *2nd fut.* mänoi, mänai.

tävy 'grow.' tyyv, täviþ. tävoð, tävson. tyyv! täva!

täny 'pull.' tyn, täniþ. tänoð, tänson. tyn! täna!

pṛäny 'buy' [*like* täny.]

səyþy *saethu* 'shoot.' səyþoð, səyþson. səyþa!

-o=*aw*. gaðo *addaw* 'promise.' gaað, gaðiþ. gaðoð, gaðson. gaða!; gaðux!

grwando *gwrandaw* 'hear.' grwandoð, grwandson. grwanda!; grwandux!

taro 'strike.' taar, tariþ. taroð, tarson. tar!, tara!

-a=*eu*. xwara 'play.' xwariþ. xwaroð, xwarson (?). xwara! xwarux!

käna 'kindl.' känoð, känson. käna!, känux!

dexra 'begin.' dexriþ. dexroð. dexra!, dexrux!

-x. edrax *edrych* 'look.' dräxiþ. dräxoð, dräxson. edrax!

-r. agor 'open.' goriþ. goroð, gorson. agor!

-l. meðul 'think.' me·ðäliþ. me·ðäljoð. meðul!, me·ðälja!

madal *ymadael* 'depart, leave.' ma·dauoð. madal!; ma·deux!

gadal *gadael* 'leav.' gaad, gadiþ. gadis, gadoð, gadson. gaad!; gadux!, ga·deux!

gaval *gafaelu* 'grasp.' g(a)·vəyliþ. gvəyloð. gaval! gvəyla!

-ḷ. eniḷ 'gain.' niḷiþ. niḷoð, niḷson. eniḷ!

sevyḷ 'stand.' səy, saviþ, seviþ. savoð; savson. saa!; savux!

-ð. ista *eistedd* 'sit.' steðiþ. steðoð, istoð; steðson. ista!; steðux!, istux!

gorwað, gorvað *gorwedd* 'lie.' gor·weðiþ. gor·weðoð; gor·weðson. gorwað!

gwaað *gwahodd* 'invite.' gwaðiþ. gwaðoð; gwaðson. gwaað!

kärað *cyrhaedd* 'reach.' kṛəyðoð, kṛəyðson. kärað!

-s. aros 'stay.' rhosiþ. rhosoð. aros!

daqos 'show.' deqys, da·qhosiþ. da·qhosoð; da·qhoþson. daqos!

-v. kvaða *cyfaddef* 'confess.' kvaðiþ. kvaðoð; kvaðson. kvaða!

-q. goḷun, guḷun *gollwng* 'let go.' go·ḷäqiþ. go·ḷäqoð, go·ḷäqson. goḷun!

gostun, gustun *gostwng* 'let down' [*like* goḷun].

-n. gorfan *gorphen* 'finish.' gor·feniþ. gor·fenoð; gor·fenson. gorfan!

xwerþin 'laugh.' xwerþiþ. xwerþoð; xwerþson. xwerþa!

estyn, ästyn 'strech.' stäniþ. stänoð, stänson. estyn!

kanlyn 'follow.' kḷäniþ. kḷänoð; kḷänson. kanlyn!

govyn 'ask.' go·väniþ. go·vänoð; go·vänson. govyn! go·väna!

derbyn 'receiv.' der·bäniþ. der·bänjoð. derbyn!

disgin *disgyn* 'descend.' dis·gäniþ. dis·gänoð; dis·gänson. disgin!

arwan *arwain* 'lead.' ar·wəiniþ. ar·wəinjoð. arwan!

käxun *cychwyn* 'start.' kä·xuniþ. kä·xänoð; kä·xänson. käxun! kä·xuna!

-g. rhedag *rhedeg* 'run.' rheed, rhediþ. rhedoð; rhedson. rheed!

hedag *ehedeg* 'fly' [*like* rhedag].

känig, cynnyg 'offer.' knigiþ. knigjoð. känig!

-d. ʃarad 'speak.' ʃradiþ. ʃradoð; ʃradson. ʃarad!

kerðad 'walk.' kerð, kerðiþ. kerðoð; kerson. kerad! ker! kerða!

kl̥äuad *clywed* 'hear.' kl̥äuiþ. kl̥äuoð; kl̥äuson. kl̥yu!, kl̥äua!

gweld, gwelad 'see.' gweel, gweliþ. gweloð; gwelson. gweel! gwela!; gwelux, (g)ulux!

stärjad *ystyried* 'consider.' stärjoð. stärja!

daþod *dattod* 'untie.' dþodoð, dþodson. daþod!; da·þodux!, dotux!

kämyd *cymmeryd* 'take.' kym, kämiþ. kmeroð, kämoð, kämson. kämar!; kmerux!, kämux!

deqid *diengyd, dianc* 'escape.' deq, deqiþ. deqoð; deqson. deqid!

dəyd *dywedyd* 'say.' dweed, dävyd, dəydiþ. dəydoð; dəydson, dwedson. däuad!, dəyd!; dwedux!, dəydux!

samyd 'move.' smydiþ. smydoð; smydson.

äsgud *ysgwyd* 'shake.' sguuyd, sgädiþ. sgädwoð. äsgud!; sgädux!

-b. atab 'answer.' etyb, teeb, tebiþ. teboð; tebson. atab!

The following ar the iregular verbs:

bood 'be.' *Prez.* ädu, dwy, du; uuyt, uut; ädi, di, (y)yu (?), maay, ma, ooys, syyð, sy; ädan; ädax; ädyn. *Imperf.* 1. oyðun, oon; oyðat; ooyð, ooð; oyðan, oyðax, oyðan. *Imperf.* 2. bäðun; bäðat; bäða; bäðan, bäðax, bäðan. *Pret.* byom byym; byost; byo, byy; byom; byox; byon. *Plup.* basun, baun, tasun; basat, baat, tasat; basa, baay, baa, tasa, taay, taa; basan, baan, tasan, taan; basax, baax, tasax, taax; basan, baan, tasan, taan. *Fut.* bäðai; bäði; byyð; bäðan, bäðun; bäðux; bäðan. *2nd Fut.* bäðo, boo; bäðot, boot; bäðo, boo; bäðon, boon; bäðox, boox(?); bäðon, boon. *Imper.* byyð!; bäðad!, booyd!, bid!; bäðux! *Infin.* bood.

The shorter and undiphthongic forms ar, of course, the unstrest ones. The pluperfects in (t-) seem to be generaly uzed hypotheticaly.

mynd *myned* 'go.' *Prez.* aav, ai; əi; əiþ, əif; aun; eux; aan. *Imperf.* aun, eun, əyþun(?) aat; aay; əyþan, aan(?); əyþax, əyþan. *Pret.* əis, ees; əist, eest; aaþ; əyþon, əyson; əyþox; əyþon. *Imper.* doos!; eux!, kerux!

duad, dood *dyfod* 'cum.' *Prez.* doov, doi; doi; dau; doun; doux, doon. *Imperf.* doun, doyþun(?); doot; dooy; doyþan, doon; doyþax, doox; doyþan. *Pret.* dois, doos; doist, dəyþost; dooþ; dəyþon; dəyþox; dəyþon. *Imper.* tyd!; doux!

I am doutful about the (əy)s and (oi)s.

gnəyd *gwneud*, *gwneuthur* 'do.' *Prez.* gnaav, gnai; gnəi; gnəiþ; gnaun; gneux; gnaan. *Imperf.* gnaun, gnəyþun; gnaat, gnəyþat; gnaay, gnaa, gnəyþa; gnəyþan; gnəyþax, gnəyþan. *Pret.* gnəis; gnəist; gnaaþ; gnəyþon, gnəyson, etc.; gnəyþox; gnəyþon. *2nd fut.* gneloi, etc. *Imper.* gnaa!; gneux! *Pass. prez.* gnəir. *Pret.* gnaayd, gnaud.

gubod *gwybod* 'know.' *Prez.* gun; guðost, (g)ust; guuyr; guðon, guðox, guðon. *Imperf.* gwyðun, guðun, etc.; gwyðat; gwyða; gwyðan, gwyðax, gwyðan. *Imper.* gwybyð!; gwy·bäðux!

kaayl, kaal *cael* 'get.' *Prez.* kaav, kaai; kəi; kəiþ; kaun, keux, kaan. *Imperf.* kaun; kəyþat; kaay; kəyþan, kəyþax, kəyþat. *Pret.* kevis, kees; keest; kavoð, kaað, kaaþ; kəyþon, cəyson, etc.; kəyþox; kəyþon. *Pass. prez.* kəir. *Pret.* kaud.

I hav found it quite impossibl to determin the imperfects of theze verbs with certainty.

Pronominal Prepozitions.

ar 'on.' arna(i), nai; arnat(i); arno(vo); arni(hi); arnoni; arnax(i), arnox(i); arnynhu.

So also atai 'to me,' änai 'in me,' urthai 'to me,' trostai 'across me,' truyðai 'thru me.'

gan 'with.' gini; ginti; gänovo, ginovo: gänoni; gänoxi; gänynhu.

i 'to.' -i mii, -i vii; -i tii; iȣovo: -i nii; -i xii; iȣynhu.

rhuq 'between.' rhuqvi; rhäqȣoti; rhäqȣovo: rhäqȣoni; rhäqȣoxi; rhuqxi; rhäqȣynhu.

heb 'without.' hebȣai; hebȣoti; hebȣovo: hebȣoni; hebȣoxi; hebȣynhu, hebnhu.

The fuller forms ar the most frequent.

TEXTS.

The following texts hav been very carefuly chozen from the much larger mass of material I hav colected, so as, within a small compass, to giv a tolerably varied stock of words, frazes, and constructions in the unsofisticated speech of every-day life in an adequate fonetic notation. I need scarcely say that every sentence here givn has been writn down directly from the mouths of the peple, and repeatedly revized.

The transcription into literary Welsh aims merely at giving the written forms of each separate word, the constructions of the spoken language being left unalterd. Words dropt in speech ar added in ( ). Words taken directly from English ar in italics. The mutated letters *g*, *d*, *b* ar markt by italics, to distinguish them from the radical *g*, *d*, *b*; italic *f* denotes the mutation of *m*, the mutation of *b* being left unmarkt; the dropping of *g* in the voice-mutation is markt by (').

In order to máke the translation as useful as possibl, and to giv beginners and outsiders an insight into the mysteries of Welsh syntax and morfology, I hav made it a word-for-word one, as far as possibl. The rezult is, of course, not elegant, but it is, I hope, intelligibl.

Coloquial Sentences.

Theze ar groupt rufly in paragrafs acording to the ideas they express—existence, quality, quantity, etc.

1. :beedir matar·arnoxi? :beesyywedi diguð? dim byyd ·rhäva ð'. :osdi guðiþrubaþ, sgwenux, :gaaylimigaal gubod. :bee syyna?: -ooniin meðul boodiin (*or* moodiin) kläuadryu duru. -dooðna ðim byyd -ond gwyntän xuþyr kooyd.

2. welsoxi ·ðyynän paſjo forma? syt ðyynoyðaxiin veðul? debigiibee maahi? syt ·wynabsy gänihi? -dädio ðimän edrax(än) debigi berson neebre geþur. maa-i waal towedi·mynd rəit wyn; -onddoos dim byyd ·aral -wedi newid änovota. ryyn steſonädi honag·oyðanin kuxuno·honi bora? -fasuni ðimän nəydo, :os·basun iiänx leexi. xwadal dyyn aku -mi·rooðoon gefyl nobl. welisi rotſun beeþri ooyd :velmaa peþawedi newid, xwadal·royðanhu ramsaraayþ həibjo. :dädio ðimän vaxgan kryy, -kä sidro-i vainto.

3. vaintädaxiin godiän rusnosamä ðuuy ruumma? kämux hanar qhakani! doosgini ðim xwanago dee. :maagini ðigoni niioon day. -duywedi byta gormodo ginjo; :duuy·am gäsgy·dipin baax. muyan byyd ·gwela-i-o, lian byydduyn ·likjovo. -maan kiig fresniwedi darvodi giid; doos gänoni ðimond biif haaltän tyy. oyðaxiin ·lyyb ðooy? dim gwerþ.

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1. What thing is the matter on you? What thing is after happening (=has happened)? Nothing in the world strange (=remarkabl). If happens anything, write-you, to get (=in order that) to me getting knowing. What thing is there?: was I thinking being I hearing sum noiz. Not was there anything in the world but wind shaking the trees.

2. Saw you man passing road here (=this r.)? What kind man wer you thinking him? Like to what is she? What face is with her (=has she)? Not is he anything looking like to parson or preacher. Is his hair after going quite white; but not is-there anything other after changing in-him however. The one (=same) (railway-)station is this as wer we starting from-her (this) morning? Not would-be I anything doing it, if wer I in your place of-you. After story man there

1. (pa) *b*eth ydyw y *matter* arnoch chwi? *b*eth sydd wedi dygwydd? dim (yn y) byd rhyfedd. os dygwydd rywbeth, ysgrifenwch, (i) *g*ael i mi *g*ael gwybod. *b*eth sydd yna?: oeddwn i yn meddwl bod i yn clywed ryw *d*wrw. nid oedd yna ddim byd ond gwynt yn chwythu yr coed.

2. (a) welasoch chwi ddyn yn *pasio* fford yma? (pa) sut ddyn oeddech chwi yn ei *f*eddwl? *d*ebyg i *b*eth mae hi? sut wyneb sydd ganddi hi? nid ydyw ef ddim yn edrych (yn) *d*ebyg i b*erson* neu *b*regethwr. (y) mae ei wallt ef wedi myned yn *right* wyn; ond nid oes dim byd arall wedi newid ynddo ef ynte. yr un *station* ydyw hon ag oeddym ni yn cychwyn o honddi boreu? (ni) fuaswn i ddim yn (ei) wneyd ef, os buaswn i yn eich lle chwi. (yn ol) chwedl dyn acw mi yr oedd ef yn *g*effyl *noble*. (ni) welais i erioed *fashion* *b*eth erioed fel mae pethau wedi newid, chwedl yr oeddynt hwy yr amser aeth heibio. nid ydyw ef ddim yn fachgen cryf, *cysidro* ei *f*aint ef.

3. (pa) *f*aint ydych chwi yn codi yn yr wythnos am y ddwy *room* yma? cymerwch haner (fy) *nghacen* i! nid oes genyf ddim ychwaneg o d*e*. (y) mae genyf ddigon i ni o ein dau. yr ydwyf wedi bwyta gormod o *g*iniaw; (yr) ydwyf am *g*ysgu *d*ipyn bach. mwyaf yn (y) byd gwelaf fi ef, lleiaf yn byd ydwyf yn ei *licio* ef. mae ein cig *ffres* wedi darfod i gyd; nid oes genym ni ddim ond *beef* hallt yn (y) ty. oeddych chwi yn wlyb ddoe? dim gwerth.

(=according to that m.) was he horse fine. Not saw I ever fashion thing ever (=saw the like) as ar things after changing, story (=compared with) wer they the time went past (=formerly). Not is he boy strong, considering his size of-him.

3. What quantity ar you raizing (=what do you charge) in the week for the two room here? Take-you half my cake of-me! Not is-there with-me anything mor of tea. Is with-me enuf for us of our two (=for us two). I am after eating too-much of dinner; am-I for sleeping piece litl. Most in (the) world (=the more) see I him, least in (the) world am I liking him. Is our meat fresh after finishing together (=all); not is-there with us anything but beef salt in (the) house. Wer you wet yesterday (=did you get w.)? Nothing worth (mentioning).

4. -maan bravjaxi·vyndi sgotaänä noos·hevokum pəininag -ar beni hyyn. -may ḷauarobä sgotursän (*or* sgotwyrän) likjo bood urthyni hynan. :rhyu huuyli nigol jaunädir sgotama. waayþ·gini·hevo häny; :rəit hauðginigaayl ru-yni ðuadhevomi, os·bäðaiän dewis'.

5. -bṵyðoänpre geþy boobän aildyy(ð) syyl. tṛoo puuy :ädihi ruan? -ä känta·iir felin gəiþ faly. -ar xoolxi, sgweluxän ða!

6. pṛyydneuxi sgweny? -kyn gäntadak medrai. :väðai noolgidar noos. -bäðunwedi gorfan bytan kinjo :erbyn :bäðuxwedi·duad nool. vainto amsar gämiþi mii ðäsgykäm raayg? -ruuyn disgulä·bäðaiän ḷyndan ramsarma dränyð. xeesi ðim kiminto wookers deeq mläna'ð. -ädi sgidja-iwedi truʃjo? :väðanhu ðimän barodam usnos·äto. gläu-isiir babiän krio. pṛyyd? dʒest ruan. -mayo·wedi stopjo·ruan. gwaiþ saul d(j)urnodsy gänoxi äto? tṛidja. rhaidi·nii fynd äno rhag blaayn. -ä kubulvyomiän arosä qhämryooð pedwar miis. beedir amsar? -maayn ðəyðagoor gloox. -duuy ðimän meðulibood ätoän hanar aurwedi xweex. -maayn xwartari uuyþ. -dooni ðimän meðulibood moor gänar. -rädaxi ðuuy aur rhyy huuyr. -kämai deemeun tṛii

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4. Is better to go to fish in the night with company than on his hed of himself (=by oneself). Is many of fishers liking being with themselvs (=alone). Sum amuzement solitary very is the fishing here (=this fishing). Not wurse with-me with that (=I do not mind that); very eazy with-me getting sumone to cum with me, if shal-be I choozing.

5. Is he preaching every second Sunday. Turn who (=of whom) is she (=it) now? The first to the mil gets grinding. On your track of-you, if see-you wel (=after you pleaz)!

6. What time make-you writing (wil you write)? As soon as can I. Shal-be I back with the night. We-shal-be after finishing eating our dinner against you-shal-be after cuming back. What quantity of time will-take to me lerning

4. mae yn *brafiach* i fyned i *b*ysgota yn y nos hefo *cwmpeini* nag ar (ei) *b*en ei hun. mae llawer o *b*ysgotwyr yn *licio* bod wrthynt eu hunain. rhyw hwyl unigol iawn ydyw yr pysgota yma. (ni) waeth genyf hefo hyny; *right* hawdd genyf *g*ael rywun i ddyfod hefo mi, os byddaf fi yn dewis.

5. bydd ef yn pregethu bob yn ail dydd sul. tro pwy ydyw hi ynawr? y cyntaf i'r *f*elin *g*aiff *f*alu. ar eich ol chwi, os gwelwch yn dda!

6. pa *b*ryd wnewch chwi ysgrifenu? cyn *g*ynted ag medraf fi. fyddaf fi yn ol gyda 'r nos. byddwn wedi gorphen bwyta ein ciniaw erbyn byddwch wedi dyfod yn ol. (pa) *f*aint o amser *g*ymer i mi ddysgu cymraeg? yr wyf yn dysgwyl y byddaf fi yn llundain yr amser yma *d*renydd. (ni) chefais i ddim gymaint o *walk* er ys deng mlynedd. ydyw esgidiau i wedi trwsio? (ni) fyddant hwy ddim yn *b*arod am wythnos eto. *g*lywais i yr *baby* yn *crio*. pa *b*ryd? *just* ynawr. mae ef wedi *stopio* ynawr. gwaith sawl diwrnod sydd genych chwi eto? tridiau. rhaid i ni *f*yned yno rhag blaen. y cwbl fum i yn aros yn Nghymry oedd pedwar mis. *b*eth ydyw yr amser? mae yn ddeuddeg o'r *g*loch. nid ydwyf ddim yn meddwl ei bod eto yn haner awr wedi chwech. mae yn chwarter i wyth. nid oeddwn i ddim yn meddwl ei bod mor *g*ynar. yr ydych chwi ddwy awr rhy hwyr. cymeraf fi d*e* mewn tri chwarter awr. mae fy *watch*

Welsh? I am expecting shal-be I in London the time here the-day-after-tomorrow. Not got I anything so-much of walk sinse ten year (=I hav not had such a long walk for ten years). Is shoes mine after mending? Not wil-be they at-all redy for week yet. Herd I the baby crying. What time? Just now. Is he after stopping now. Work how many day is with you yet? Three-days. Need to us going there at onse. The hole was I staying in Wales was four month. What thing is the time? Is twelve of the clock. Not am-I anything thinking her being yet half hour after six. Is quarter to eight. Not was I anything thinking her being so erly. Ar you two hour too late. Take-wil I tea in three quarter hour. Is my wach of-me after stopping: finisht I forgetting (=I forgot) winding her. Is the clock

xwartar aur. -maa watsi·wedi stopjo; :ðaryfi aq hovjo windjohi. -maar kḷok dipinän sloo. paa ðyyð·oor miisädihi? rail:aar bämþag·ädihi. pṛyydrädaxiin disgulnhu? :meun usnos neebä þevnos van beḷa. keruxi·nara deeg; -väðaiän ʃuurox dalxiän vyan.

7. -ädiowedi setlio boodnii-i·vynd äno? ädi, -kyn beḷa-dagma·nelo ·viiaar peeþ. -väðai byþän bryʃjo·ryu lauar, os gaḷai ·helpy häny.

8. ḷee maay-o? rulatyasiir ðinbax, -duuyn meðul; -i vano raaþobeeþ bänag, :arool gadal·beeð gelart. puu barto gämryrädaxiin duad? -oo·siir gnarvon. blee äno? -o beeð gelart. äno gəyþoxiix geni? ia. neuxi adal dɔon ðuad hevoni? naanai. pam? -nai əiʃjovo vyndi negasi·miigidar noos. for auni gänta-i port madog? aunihydä for. gerðis boob kamilan beris, -ond gees qharjo hanar forurþ ðuad(ä) nool'. pəidjuxa xer(ð)ad moor ʃarp; vedrai moox ·kanlynxi. pḷee beḷavyoxiini ðanvono? dat räsgol. euxaar ḷestri teeoð ar bur; -maanhuaar fori. -maana·vrus diḷadän ḷoft; douxag·oo-i laur. koḷisä tṛeen nau. rhouxä kävruyarä kefyl! -au ena krävjonädi rhəin. rhouxä kefylänä drol! -maar kuuxän goḷun duur; weḷini spädyo. -maar rhuyvaän drämjon jaun.

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piece (rather) slow. What day of the month is she? The second on fifteen (=17th) is she. What time ar you expecting them? In week or fortnight place furthest. Walk-you slow fine (=slowly); shal-be I sure of your caching of-you soon.

7. Is after settling being us to go there? Is, as far as do I with the thing. Am I never hurrying sum much, if can I help that.

8. In what place is he? Sum-place towards Shire Denbigh, am I thinking; to place there went he anyhow, after leaving Beddgelert. What part of Wales ar you cuming? From Shire Carnarvon. From what place there? From Bedd-gelert. There got you your being-born? Yes. Make

i wedi *stopio*; ddarfu fi anghofio *windio* hi. mae yr *clock* *d*ipin yn *slow*. pa ddydd o'r mis ydyw hi? yr ail-ar-*b*ymtheg ydi hi. pa *b*ryd yr ydych chwi yn eu dysgwyl hwy? mewn wythnos neu *b*ythefnos *f*an *b*ellaf. cerddwch chwi yn araf *d*eg; fyddaf fi yn *sure* o eich dal chwi yn fuan.

7. ydyw ef wedi *setlo* bod ni i *f*yned yno? ydyw, cyn *b*elled ag mae (a) wnelwyf fi a'r peth. fyddaf fi byth yn brysio ryw lawer, os gallaf fi *helpu* hyny.

8. yn mha le mae ef? rywle tua *sir* Ddinbych, ydwyf yn meddwl; i *f*an yno yr aeth ef *b*ethbynag, ar ol gadael Beddgelert. pwy b*art* o *G*ymry yr ydych chwi yn dyfod? o *sir* *G*aernarfon. (o)*b*a le yno? o Beddgelert. (ai) yno *g*awsoch chwi eich geni? ië. wnewch chwi 'adael (i) *John* ddyfod hefo mi? na wnaf fi. paham? arnaf fi eisieu efe *f*yned i neges i mi gyda'r nos. (pa) ffordd awn ni *g*yntaf i *Port* Madoc? awn ni hyd y ffordd. *g*erddais *b*ob cam i Lanberis, ond *g*efais (fy) *nghario* haner ffordd with ddyfod yn ol. peidiwch a cherdded mor *sharp*; *f*edraf fi mo eich canlyn chwi. pa le *b*ellaf fuoch chwi yn ei ddanfon ef? hyd at yr ysgol. ewch a'r llestri *te* oddiar y bwrdd; maent hwy ar (fy) ffordd i. mae yna *frws* dillad yn (y) *lloft*; dowch ag ef ilawr. collais y *train* naw. rhoddwch y cyfrwy ar y ceffyl! awenau cryfion ydyw (y) rhai hyn. rhoddwch y ceffyl yn y *d*rol! mae yr cwch yn gollwng dwfr; (y mae yn) well i ni yspydu ef. mae yr rhwyfau yn *d*rymion iawn.

(=wil) you let to John cum with me? Not make I. What cauz? On me want him going to errand for me with the night (=ton.). What road go we first (=which is the direct way) to Port Madoc? Go-we along the road. I-walkt every step to Llanberis, but got my carrying half road at cuming back. Abstain with walking so vigorously; can I not you follow you. What place furthest wer you conveying (=acompanying) him? Until the scool. Go with (=take) the vessels tea from on the table: ar they on my road. Is there brush clothes in the loft (=up stairs): cum with him to-floor (bring it down). I-lost the train nine. Put the saddl on the horse! Reins strong ar the sum theze. Put the horse in the cart! Is the boat letting water: is better to us baling him. Is the oars hevy very.

9. -wedi blinoar qlinja·vel hyn; weḷ·gini·gaayl sevyḷ·dipin baax. istuxi laur nagosiir taan! -neuxi gäraðä murþulna -syyarä silf urþäx penxi?

10. kḷoiuxä druus -a rhouxä gorjadänx pokad! lapjuxä ðay bapyr newyð ma-äni gilyð, -a dorux stamp dima arnovo. -maa yynomä täma-iwedi koḷi; -nai əiʃjo kaayli nwiovo. weḷixi roix top koot am danox. -mior veðai aar sofa heb däny niḷad.

11. -väðai byþän molxi·meun duur pooyþ. -miðary miia ritʃard läxy datn kṛuuyn. :doro pṛenaar taan, os əiþän isal. -maar taan desta difod; raidimi roi peþa arnovo, kyn iðovo nəyd. -väðuxin smokjo? ooys gänoxi vatʃys? doos gini ðimond yyn matʃan. nəiþhi ðim gola; -maayhiwedi tampio.

12. rhävað jaunädihi -bood glasän kodi, -aar täuyð heb weḷa dim. -nai ovnä buriþhi. -maayn braav. -maar haylän duad aḷan. doux aku vory-i gaaylku panad; douxsyt bänag byyðhi, glwau nee himða. -mivasunän likjo-i xiivood ämaänä gəya, :gaalixigaal golugaar rheenvä näðoðämuän wynjongan əira, -a rheeu kalad drosä ḷäna.

13. -rädu iiwedi kaayl ranud. beedir·peeþ gora at vanoð? rinig beeþnəiþ mendjo-i -ädi newid raayr. -maax taadän

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9. I am after tiring on my knees like this; better with me (=I would rather) getting standing piece littl. Sit down near to the fire! Make (wil) you reach the hammer there is on the shelf at your hed?

10. Lock the door, and put the key in your pocket! Wrap the two paper news here in themselvs, and put stamp halfpenny on him. Is one of my buttons after lozing (=has been lost); on-me want getting his sewing. Better to you put your topcoat around you. Will-lie I on the sofa without pulling (=taking off) my clothes.

11. Am I never washing in water hot. Finisht to me and Richard getting-wet (=we got wet) until our skins. Put wood on the fire, if goes low. Is the fire just with going-out; need to me putting things on him, befor to him doing.

9. (yr ydwyf) wedi blino ar (fy) ngliniau fel hyn; well genyf *g*ael sefyll *d*ipin bach. eisteddwch ilawr yn agos i'r tan! wnewch chwi *g*yrhaedd y morthwyl yna sydd ar y *silff* wrth eich pen chwi?

10. cloiwch y drws, a rhoddwch yr agoriad yn eich *pocket*! lapiwch y ddau b*apur* newydd yma yn eu gilydd, a dorwch *ystamp* dimai arno ef. y mae un o m*y*tymau i wedi colli; arnaf fi eisieu cael ei wnio ef. well i chwi roddi eich *topcoat* am danoch. mi 'orweddaf fi ar y *sofa* heb *d*ynu *n*illad.

11. fyddaf fi byth yn ymolchi mewn dwfr poeth. mi ddarfu (i) mi a *Richard* wlychu hyd at ein crwyn. dyro *b*ren ar y tan, os eiff yn isel. mae yr tan *just* a diffodd; raid i mi roddi pethau arno ef, cyn iddo ef wneyd. fyddwch chwi yn *smocio*? oes genych chwi *fatches*? nid oes genyf ddim ond un *matchen*. (ni) wnaiff hi ddim goleuo; mae hi wedi *tampio*.

12. rhyfedd iawn ydyw hi, bod (y) *glass* yn codi, a'r tywydd heb wella dim. arnaf fi ofn y bwrw hi. mae yn *braf*. mae yr haul yn dyfod allan. dowch acw yfory i *g*ael *cw*panaid; dowch sut *b*ynag bydd hi, gwlaw neu hindda. mi fuaswn *licio* i chwi fod yma yn y gauaf, (i) *g*ael i chwi *g*ael golwg ar yr hen *f*ynyddoedd yma yn wynion gan eira, a rhew caled dros y llynau.

13. yr ydwyf wedi cael yr anwyd. *b*eth ydyw yr peth goreu at ddannodd? yr unig *b*eth wna *mendio* i ydyw newid

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Ar you smoking (=do you s.)? Ar-there with you maches? Not is-there with-me anything but one mach. Not makes she anything lighting (=it will not light); is she after damping.

12. Strange very is she (=it), being the glass rizing, and the wether without improving anything. On me fear wil-rain she. It-is fine. Is the sun cuming out. Cum here tomorrow to get cupful (=cup of tea); cum what quality ever is she, rain or wether-fine. I-would-be liking to you being here in the winter, to get to you get looking on the old mountains here white with snow, and frost hard over the lakes.

13. I am after getting the cold (=I have caught c.). What thing is thing best to toothake? The only thing

edraxän ðaa jaun. -maayoän myndän waayþ waayþ. ooys arnoxi əiʃjo käsgy? dooysarnai ðim əiʃjo buuyd. bee gauni-i ginjo həiðju? neuxi dori dipino vara menyni mii, sgweluxän ðaa. neuxi ðim arosigaaylku panado dee·hevomi? -mi gläuis ogla gwair tṛuur fenast. welisi monoxiänä kapal həiðju. -mi ðarymi viʃjo fendjoxi nynḷa. xläuisi monihiän duadi meun.

14. vel daryxi näxryni! -maayoän rhävað jaun əiʃjo gweld bee·syyn parsal. gweḷgänovo xiina neeb araḷ. pṛyyn -ädaxiin likjo ora, viiänta mraud? -ädioän fondo vägyn? ädi; maayoän goblin am smokjo. -maayn edraxvel tasa-i am vuru. ðruug jaungini gläuad. -dädynhu byþän kwarvod heb fryo. byti garuooði ouan goḷir samon, -panooðowedi-i vaxyo.

15. os·basuniin gubod pṛyyd·royðaxiin duad, -basunän edrax-am danoxi panooð gooytsän paʃjo. duni ðim pṛyynädi watsiän jaunai pəidjo. vedridi ·novjo? ðimän ðaajaun. vedri ·dii novjo? :oo medra. ruanduyän kovjo moodi·wedi weldo.

16. pamna tebux :panvyyð ru-ynän ʃaraḍurþaxi? -mi gläuisäx mamän dəydi·voodoän saal. welisi rotʃun beeþri

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wil-make mending me is changing the air. Is your father looking wel very. Is he going wurse wurse (=getting w. and w.). Is-there on you want sleeping? Not is-there on me anything want food. What thing shal-get we to dinner today? Make (=wil) you cut piece of bred butter to me, if see-you wel (=if you pleaz). Make you not stay to get cupful of tea with me? Herd-I (=perceivd) smel hay thru the window. Saw I nothing of you in the chapel today. Finisht to me missing finding you in one place (=I coud not find you anywhere). Herd I nothing of her cuming within.

14. How finisht you frightening me (=h. y. did startl me)! Is he wundrously very want seeing what is in the parcel. Better with him (=he likes better) you than anyone other. Which the one ar you liking best, me or my brother? Is

yr *air*. mae eich tad yn edrych yn dda iawn. mae ef yn myned yn waeth waeth. oes arnoch chwi eisieu cysgu? nid oes arnaf fi ddim eisieu bwyd. *b*eth *g*awn ni i *g*iniaw heddyw? wnewch chwi *d*ori *d*ipyn o fara ymenyn i mi, os gwelwch yn dda. wnewch chwi ddim aros i *g*ael *cr*panaid o d*e* hefo mi? mi *g*lywais arogl gwair trwy'r ffenestr. (ni) welais i mo honoch chwi yn y capel heddyw. mi ddarfu(i) mi *fisio ffendio* chwi yn unlle. (ni) chlywais i mo honi hi yn dyfod imewn.

14. fel darfu chwi *n*ychryn i! mae ef yn rhyfedd iawn eisieu gweled *b*eth sydd yn (y) *parcel*. gwell ganddo ef chwi na neb arall. pa yr un ydych chwi yn *licio* 'oreu, myfi ynte *m*rawd? ydyw ef yn *fond* o *f*ygyn? ydyw; mae ef yn *goblin* am *smocio*. mae yn edrych fel pe buasai hi am fwrw. (y mae yn) ddrwg iawn genyf *g*lywed. nid ydynt hwy byth yn cyfarfod heb *ffraco*. b*ity* garw oedd i Owain *g*olli yr *salmon*, pan oedd ef wedi ei fachu ef.

15. os buaswn i yn gwybod pa *b*ryd yr oeddych chwi yn dyfod, buaswn yn edrych am danoch chwi pan oedd (y) *goach* yn *pasio*. nid wn i ddim pa yr un ydyw fy *watch* yn iawn ai peidio. *f*edri di nofio? ddim yn dda iawn. *f*edri di nofio? o, medraf. ynawr ydwyf yn cofio *m*od i wedi ei weled ef.

16. paham na atebwch pan fydd rywun yn siarad wrthych chwi? mi *g*lywais eich mam yn dyweyd ei fod ef yn sal

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he fond of smoke? He-is; is he goblin about smoking. Is looking as if wer she about raining. Is bad very with me hearing (=I am sorry to hear it). Not ar they ever meeting without quarreling. Pity ruf was to Owen lozing the salmon, when was he after his hooking of-him!

15. If wer I knowing what time wer you cuming, I-had-been looking about you when was the coach passing. Not know I anything what the one is my wach right or abstaining (=whether my w. is r. or not). Canst thou swim? Not wel very. Canst thou swim? O, I-can. Now I-am remembering my being after his seeing (=that I hav seen him).

16. Why not you-answer when is sumone speaking to you? I herd your mother saying his being il. Not saw I

ooyd, -velmaay paubwedimyndi bilsjo-igilyð. dänaädi gwaiþ rhəi, -ädi taulyryu snəipsat hunar ḷaḷ, -a xarjo strəyono naiḷ dyy iir ḷaḷ. -maay hynaän ðigono vrekwast·gänynhu. -mi gläu-isdä hanasdiänä fair, -velä meðwisti, -a ḷauaro beþa druug. -neuxi ðəydurþa-i, -osbäðaiän meþy·urþ ʃarad! pəidjuxa ʃarad moor vyan : daḷai moox daaḷtxi. :oos gänoxilä þära-i vyndiir poost? ooys; :däma nhu.

17. :raidini wəiþjoän galad, :tṛaa byyðhiän däuyð braav. kḷetan byyd wəiþjuni ruan, käntan byydvyyðhi drosoð. -vasan·beeþ daa, -peebasa paubän edrax arooli vysnasi hynau, -a fəidjo medljo·hevo bysnas pobol eriḷ. ulux vel·maa naku myndiir avon drosi sgidja! yyn ·keþinädio. waayþ deydurþ garaga þuḷänihi muuyna deydurþovo am bəidjo. -maar hogynnaän gändyn jauno neyd beemaa-i vamoän gəiʃjogänovo. nəiþ rubaþii bobol eriḷmeu mynyd. rhesum ·daa pam. xəiþo ðim kəinjoggini vam; -ak vaḷa kəiþo gəinjoggin rhəiny -nee glapo ʃugur gwyn; -ak velmaay paubän gubod, -maay pḷantän fond jawno ʃugur.

18. bränis baaro sgidja-iir enaþ aku. :beeooði briiso? dveiʃjux. xwee suḷt. am xwee xəinjogän yux keesi·o; -royðanhuän govyn saiþ suḷt am danovo. vaintädir menig(ä)-

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ever fashion what ever, how is everyone after going to-giv-pils-to (=chaf) each other. There is occupation sum (=of sum peple), is throwing sum cuts at this-one and the other, and carrying stories from one house to the other. Is that enuf of brekfast with (=for) them. I herd thy history in the fair, how gottest-drunk thou, and many of things bad. Make you tel to me, if shall-be I failing (make mistakes) at speaking! Abstain with speaking so quick: not can I anything you understand. Is-there with you letters to go to the post? There is; here they.

17. Need to us working hard, whilst wil-be she wether fine. Hardest in world (=the harder) work we now, soonest in world wil-be she over. Would-be thing good, if would-be everyone looking after his buziness of-himself, and abstain meddl-

(ni) welais i erioed *fashion* *b*eth erioed, fel mae pawb wedi myned i b*ilsio* eu gilydd. dyna ydyw gwaith rhai, ydyw taflu ryw *snipes* at hwn a'r llall, a *chario streuon* o naill *d*y i'r llall. mae hyny yn ddigon o *freakfast* ganddynt hwy. mi *g*lywais dy hanes di yn y *ffair*, fel y meddwaist ti, a llawer o *b*ethau drwg. wnewch chwi ddyweyd wrthyf fi, os byddaf fi yn methu with siarad! peidiwch a siarad mor fuan: nid allaf fi mo eich deall chwi. oes genych chwi lythyrau i fyned i'r *post*? oes; dyma hwy.

17. raid i ni weithio yn *g*aled, tra bydd hi yn *d*ywydd *braf*. caletaf yn byd weithiwn ni ynawr, cyntaf yn byd fydd hi *d*rosodd. fuasai yn *b*eth da, pe buasai pawb yn edrych ar ol i *fusiness* ei hun, a pheidio *medlio* hefo *business* pobol ereill. welwch fel mae hwn acw myned i'r afon *d*ros ei esgidiau! un cethin ydyw o. (ni) waeth dyweyd wrth *g*areg a thwll ynddi hi mwy na dyweyd wrtho ef am *b*eidio. mae yr hogyn yna yn *g*yndyn iawn o wneyd *b*eth mae ei *f*am ef yn (ei) *g*eisio ganddo ef. wna rywbeth i *b*obl ereill mewn *minute*. *rheswm* da paham. chaiff ef ddim ceiniog gan ei *f*am: ac fe allai caiff ef *g*einiog gan (y) rhai hyny neu g*lap* o *sugar* gwyn; ac fel mae pawb yn gwybod, mae plant yn *fond* iawn o *sugar*.

18. *b*rynais b*ar* o esgidiau i'r 'eneth acw. beth oedd ei b*ris* ef? *dyfeisiwch*. chwe swllt. am chwe cheiniog yn uwch cefais i ef; yr oeddynt hwy yn gofyn saith swllt am

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ing with buziness peple other. See how is this-one there going into the river over his boots! One ugly (=a bad un) is he. Not wurse saying to stone and (=with) hole in her mor than saying to him about abstaining. Is the boy there obstinate very of doing what is his mother requesting with him. Wil-do sumthing to (=for) peple other within minute. Reazon good what-cauz (=why). Gets he not penny with (=from) his mother; but it can (=perhaps) gets he penny with the sum thoze (=them) or lump sugar white; and as is everyone knowing, is children fond very of sugar.

18. I-boght pair of boots to the girl there (=for my daughter at home). What was his price? Gess. Six shilling. For six penny higher got I him; wer they asking seven shilling for him. What quantity ar the gloves theze costing? Three

maän kostjo? tṛii suḷta duya dima. os kämuxi ðay ðusin, keuxnhuän ḷaio root. dämar arjan; -ädynhuän jaun? ool rəit. vedruxi newid hanar sovran hevomi?; doosgini ðim arjan gwynjon hevomi ruan. naa·vedrav.

19. -os ooysarnoxi əiʃjorubaþ, dimond deyd. -ädi ruumiän barod?; -nai əiʃjo myndi qwely. -nai ovnbood qwely heb neydäto.

20. :bora daa! :pnaun daa! syt rädaxi həiðju? rəit ·ðaa þaqkju; -äda ·xiinoo leeu həiðju? byyr ·ðaa, þankju. douxi edrax am danoni ynryu adag likjuxi. -mi ðoov. -nos daux!

Dialogs and Descriptions.

21. :rädaniin·kaayl täu-yð ·braav ruan. ädan: täu-yð daa jaun, ondboodhiwedimyndä mheḷaar vluyðyn kyṇi gaaylo: -dädir hänasyyn vyu ðimwedi gweld täuyð debig. -byyð kooydma-än buru-i dail ninjon deeg: -maa·ryu xädigo ðailä kooyd bedu·wedi särþjo-än barod.

22. pṛyydädaxi am ðexrahevor gwair leni? wel ðexrun mhenryu usnos äto. -maar knəyaän gorvodboodän ·beḷ leni, axosdooð gwair ðimän tävy tanänði weðar. -maahiin tävyän ·jaun ruan. -maanhuwedi dexra arnovo ers ty-apä þevnosi laurna, -ond xädig jaunmaanhuwedigaayli meun

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shilling and two (*fem.*) and halfpenny. If take you two duzn, you-wil-get them less of fourpense. Here the silver (=muney); ar they right? All right. Can you change half sovrein with me?; not is there with me anything muney white (=silver) with me now. Not I-can.

19. If there-is on you want anything, nothing but saying (=only say so). Is my room of-me redy?; on me want going to my bed. On me fear being my bed without making yet.

20. Morning good! Evening good! What quality ar you today? Right wel, thank you; ar you rather lively today? Tolerably wel, thank you. Cum to see about us any time like you. I-wil-cum. Night good to you!

dano ef. *f*aint ydyw yr menyg yma yn *costio?* tri swllt a dwy a dimai. os cymerwch chwi ddau *ddozen*, cewch hwy yn llai o *'rot.* dyma' r arian; ydynt hwy yn iawn? *all right.* *f*edrwch chwi newid haner *sovereign* hefo mi?; nid oes genyf ddim arian gwynion hefo mi ynawr. na *f*edraf.

19. os oes arnoch chwi eisieu rywbeth, dim ond dyweyd. ydyw *room* i yn *b*arod?; arnaf fi eisieu myned i (fy) ngwely. arnaf fi ofn bod ngwely heb wneyd eto.

20. boreu da! prydnawn da! (pa) sut yr ydych chwi heddyw? *right* dda, *thank you;* ydych chwi yn 'o 'lew heddyw? *b*ur dda, *thank you.* dowch i edrych am danom ni unryw adeg *licicwch* chwi. mi ddof. nos da i chwi!

21. yr ydym ni yn cael tywydd *braf* ynawr. ydym: tywydd da iawn, ond bod hi wedi myned yn mhell ar y flwyddyn cyn ei *g*ael ef: nid ydyw yr hynaf sydd yn fyw ddim wedi gweled tywydd *d*ebig. bydd (y) coed yma yn bwrw eu dail yn union *d*eg: (y) mae ryw ychydig o ddail y coed bedw wedi syrthio yn *b*arod.

22. pa *b*ryd ydych chwi am ddechreu hefo 'r gwair eleni? *well,* ddechreuwn yn mhen ryw wythnos eto. (y) mae y cynauaf yn gorfod bod yn *b*ell eleni, achos nid oedd y gwair ddim yn tyfu tan yn ddiweddar. mae hi yn tyfu yn iawn ynawr. (y) maent hwy wedi dechreu arno ef er ys tua

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21. Ar we getting wether fine now. We-ar: wether fine very, except being her after going far on the year before his getting (=except that we ar late in getting it): not is the oldest is alive anything after seeing wether similar. Wil-be the trees here casting their leavs at onse: is sum few of leavs the trees birch after falling alredy.

22. What time ar you about beginning with the hay this-year? Wel, we-shal-begin in hed sum week yet (=in about a w.). Is the harvest being-obliged to-be far (=late) this-year, cauz not was the hay anything growing wel until lately. Is she growing wel now. Ar they after beginning on him sinse towards (=about) fortnight down there, but litl

äto. -duyän meðulma huna hunädir muya ar oolhevor gwairi vänyma. sänuni ronyn :-ma farmoän vaur iaun. dämar farmwyr muy-awedi dexra aar yydän barod, -akwedi kaayl ḷau-aro hunui meun. -ak os dəil xädig äto, -byyð knəya-i giid drosoð am leni. ran häny doos dim rhäva'ð -bood tempar moor ðaa arnynhu.

23. syt fair naaþhi həiðju? fair ðaa jaun; mynd jaunar warþag. beeðaryxi bräny həiðju? bränis uuyþorai hespjon, -a duuy vyux. -ädu inaän meðul amä fair nesa, -akän meðul gwerþyryu lotsyyginii, os kaa-i briisgo ðaa am danynhu. -ma honoän byr vyan äto. paa ðyyðoor miis maahi, dəydux? railar bämþag. koḷsoxi naruna vasaxiwedi duadanhu həiðju. -dooð dim posib: -ooniin rhyy bräsyrhevor gwair, -a hiþawedi gnəyd durnod moor braav, -axin ina dipino waiþ. sytooð ·mooxän gwerþy həiðju? xädig jauno ovynooð arnynhu. vaintä puuysädynhu ruan ari tṛaayd? -ryu roota färliqnee roota dima, wəiþja boob syt. welis yynän kaayl groota ·þair färliq həiðju.

24. -maar dyyðänbä rhay naru ruan. ädi; maay-o: -maa -hiän dexra nosi tya saiþ; tok iaun beḷaxmivyyð noos kyydaar dyyð. -byyðän amsar ðigon an ivir; -ond weḷgin lauariði voodveḷy. -maan amsar beḷax tṛoir byxod iir

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very ar they after his getting in yet. Am I thinking that this and this (=so and so) is the most behind with hay up here. Not would-be-surprized I grain (=at all): is his farm big very. Here farmers biggest after beginning on the corn alredy, and after getting much of him in. And if [the wether] holds litl stil, wil-be harvest together (=all) over for this-year. Share of-that (=so) not is-there any wunder being temper so good on them.

23. What-quality fair made she to day? Fair good very; going much on catl. What finisht to you buying today? I-boght eight of sum dry, and two cow. Am I thinking about the fair next, and thinking selling sum lot is with-me, if get I price rather good for them. Is she rather soon yet

pythefnos ilawr yna, ond ychydig iawn maent hwy wedi (ei) *g*ael imewn eto. (yr) ydwyf fi yn meddwl mai hwn a hwn ydyw y mwyaf ar ol hefo 'r gwair ifyny yma. (ni) synwn i 'ronyn: (y) mae *fferm* ef yn *f*awr iawn. dyma *ffermwyr* mwyaf wedi dechreu ar yr yd yn *b*arod, ac wedi cael llawer o hwnw imewn. ac os deil ychydig eto, bydd cynauaf igyd drosodd am eleni. ran hyny nid oes dim rhyfedd bod *temper* mor dda arnynt hwy.

23. sut *ffair* wnaeth hi heddyw? *ffair* dda iawn; myned iawn ar wartheg. (pa) *b*eth ddarfu i chwi *b*rynu heddyw? *b*rynais wyth o rai hespion, a dwy fuwch. (yr) ydwyf ina yn meddwl am y *ffair* nesaf, ac yn meddwl gwerthu ryw *lot* sydd genyf, os caf fi b*ris* go dda am danynt hwy. (y) mae hono yn *b*ur fuan eto. pa ddydd o'r mis mae hi, dywedwch? yr ail-ar-*b*ymtheg. collasoch chwi yn 'arw na fuasech wedi dyfod a hwy heddyw. nid oedd ddim b*ossible*: oeddwn i yn rhy *b*rysur hefo 'r gwair, a hithau wedi gwneyd diwrnod mor *braf*, a chan innau *d*ipin o waith. sut oedd moch yn gwerthu heddyw? ychydig iawn o 'ofyn oedd arnynt hwy. (pa) *f*aint y pwys ydynt hwy ynawr ar eu traed? ryw *'roat* a *ffyrling* neu *'roat* a dimai, weithiau *b*ob sut. welais un yn cael *groat* a thair *ffyrling* heddyw.

24. mae y dydd yn byrhau yn 'arw ynawr. ydyw; (y) mae ef: (y) mae hi yn dechreu nosi tua saith; toc iawn *b*ellach mi fydd nos cyd a'r dydd. bydd yn amser ddigon annifyr; ond well gan lawer iddi fod felly. (y) mae yn

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(=now). What day of the month is she (=the fair), say-you! The second on fifteen. Lost you rufly (=greatly) that-not wer-you after cuming with (=bring) them today. Not was anything possibl: was I too buzy with the hay, and she after making day so fine, and with me (=I had) piece of work. What quality was pigs selling today? Litl very of asking was on them. What the pound ar they now on their feet? Sum fourpense (=about f.) and farthing or fourpense and halfpenny, times each how (sumtimes the one, s. the other). I-saw one getting fourpense and three farthing today.

24. Is the day shortning rufly now. He-is; is he: is she beginning being-night towards seven; soon very further (=now) wil-be night equal with the day. Wil-be time enuf

adloð ; -maar borvawediḷä mhay, -akmaanhuän myndar xädigo laayþ.

25. ooysarnoxi ðim əiʃjo kii devaid? -maayma ormodo honynhu. -mi vyyð tṛial kuunä qhapal kerig usnosi ðooy. -maa day-o guun oor nantmaän mynd äno. -mi gəiþä gora lauaro wobr.

26. -maa beeð gelartän ḷee da jauni sgota, ond kaayl taklapur pasol at häny. -byyð sesnbri þiljadän dexra-o vlaayn sesn samon. panbyyð ·samonsän dexra duadiir avon, -byyð muuy-o sgota-äni hiinagänä ḷäna, -abyyð sport jauni gaayl ambaḷi ðurnod. yyn dyynän sgota yyn bora ar lan·llyn dinas arooliði livo noson gynt, -ag änta äno ar dorjadä dyyð erbyn ty-a deegoor gloox bora ; -rooð gänovo ·bedwaro samons, boob yyn ty-a þrii fuuysar ðeeg. dänar sport ora gavud leni äto ati gilyð. -maan govyn kaayl takla kṛävjon jauni drio dalnhu-än yynoor ḷäna. -dädi ðimän· dräst sgota hebän gänta gaayl genwar samon, -a xan ḷaaþo ləin urþä riil, -ganpan vyyð yyngo vaurwedi baxy, -maan ʃuuro vyndago ðəygjani bedwar ygjano ləinaḷanar ynwaþ heb stopjo.

27. -rädu iiwedi tori blaayn qenwar, -ond urþ luk -maa gini yyn araḷi roiäni leevo. weḷinii gämyd kjafän ḷee rhuyd. goḷis samon urþnag ooðna neeb nagos atai-i

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unplezant; but better with many to her being so Is time now to turn the cows to the aftergrass ; is the pasture after getting-sharp, and ar they going on litl of milk.

25. Is-there on you nothing want dog sheep (*plur.*)? Is here too many of them. Wil-be trial dogs in Capel Cerig week to yesterday. Is two of dogs of the valley here going there. Wil-get the best much of reward.

26. Is Beddgelert place good very to fishing, but getting (=if only you get) tackls suitabl to that. Is seazon trouts beginning befor seazon salmon. When is salmons beginning cuming to the river, is mor of fishing in her than in the lakes, and is sport good to get sum to day. One man fishing one morning on shore lake Dinas after to her flooding night befor, and he there on break the day towards ten (=til about)

amser *b*ellach troi y buchod i'r adladd; (y) mae y *b*orfa wedi llymhau, ac (y) maent hwy yn myned ar ychydig o laeth.

25. (a) oes arnoch chwi ddim eisieu ci defaid? (y) mae yma 'ormod o honynt hwy. -mi fydd *trial* cwn yn *Nghapel* Cerig wythnos i ddoe. (y) mae dau o *g*wn o'r nant yma yn myned yno. mi *g*aiff y goreu lawer o wobr.

26. (y) mae Beddgelert yn lle da iawn i *b*ysgota, ond cael *taclau pwrpasol* at hyny. (y) bydd *season* brithylliaid yn dechreu oflaen *season samon*. pan bydd *samons* yn dechreu dyfod i'r afon, bydd mwy o *b*ysgota ynddi hi nag yn y llynau, a bydd *sport* iawn i *g*ael ambell i ddiwrnod. un dyn yn pysgota un boreu ar 'lan llyn Dinas ar ol iddi lifo noson *g*ynt, ac yntau yno ar *d*oriad y dydd erbyn tua deg o'r *g*loch boreu; yr oedd ganddo ef *b*edwar o *samons*, *b*ob un tua thrii phwys ar ddeg. dyna *sport* 'ora *g*afwyd eleni eto at ei gilydd. (y) mae yn gofyn cael *taclau* cryfion iawn i d*rio* dal hwy yn un o'r llynau. nid ydyw ddim yn d*rus*t pysgota heb yn *g*yntaf *g*ael genwair *samon*, a chan llath o *line* wrth y *reel*, gan pan fydd un go *f*awr wedi bachu, (y) mae yn *sure* o *f*yned ag o ddeugain i *b*edwar ugain o *line* allan ar unwaith heb *stopio*.

27. yr ydwyf wedi tori blaen (fy) ngenwair, ond wrth *luc* (y) mae genyf un arall i roddi yn ei le ef. well i ni *g*ymeryd *caff* yn lle rhwyd. *g*ollais *samon* wrth nag oedd yna neb yn

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of the clock morning; was with him four of salmons, each one towards three pounds on ten (=thirteen pounds). There sport best was-got this-year yet to one-another (=at onse). Is asking (=it is required) getting tackls strong very to try caching them in one of the lakes. .Not is anything reliabl fishing without first getting rod salmon, and hundred yard of line at the winch, with (=becauz) when is one rather big after hooking, is sure of going with from forty to four twenty (=eighty) [yards] of line out on one-time without stopping.

27. I am after breaking point my rod, but thru luck is with-me one other to put in his place. Better to us taking gaff in place [landing-]net. I-lost salmon thru that-not was there anyone near to me to gaff him to me. On me need get

·gjafjovo-i mii. -nai əiʃjo kaayl ·kjastin: yynga ṅolig, heb vood rhyy deeunee ryy vain. -maar blyan rəit ðaa, ond -maar gätan·byyr wanäni bon: -maawedi sigoän barod. syt blyyädir gora? -rhai ḷuydjontarhai koxjonsyðän taro ora. -maa ḷauarwedi deydurþa-i -voodä blyan -maanhuäni aluän -gooxä vonðyän yyn ðaa jaun: syt yynädi hono? -maanhuän debigvelmaanhuänkaali galu—bləinanhuän goxjon, -ai bonanhuän ðyon.

28. pəidjuxa foəþidim, -neemi drauxän rhyy sädyn, nes tyr raval. -mivyyð ambaḷ yynän ṅəidjoatä blyan, -ond ðimäni xämydhi, -ak veḷybäðan namal jaun -kaayli baxyoði aḷan rula. -ond panbäðanhuwedi baxyoði aḷan, -maanhuän stouto vlau-an: -bäðanän huuyoor hanarbeeþ bänag kyni kaaylnhuiir lan, -naafee·basanhuwedi baxyäni kega. pam? os byðanhuwedi baxyäni kega, -byyð raidiðynhu gadu-i kegaän gorad, -ak wedynbyyð duuränmyndi meun, -akäni boðinhuän vy-an.

29. ḷeemaar enwar gänoxi?: welishi moni gänoxiers ·tṛoo ruan. wel, naavyomi ðim ar ḷynän sgota-ars talum jaun: -dädir kuux, -väðuniän arvar gämyd, ðimyu gaayl ruan, -adädi ðim gwerþ heb guux ar ḷyn, -os naavyyðhiän wynt kṛyyjaun. sgotaän ravon dipyn wəiþja, tṛaa by-ohinoo launo ðuur; -ond ruandoos dim duurän hono; -a duniän byyd bee naa-i, -os naa sgota-i ·noos wəiþja hevo ·pṛyy.

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cast: one medium, without being too thick nor too slender. Is the fether [=fly] right good, but is the gut rather weak in her stump: she-is after bruizing alredy. What quality fethers ar the best? Sum brown or sum red ar striking (=take) best. Is many after saying to me being the fether ar they calling 'cochybondu' one good very: what quality one is she? Ar they like as ar they getting their calling—their points red, and their stumps black.

28. Abstain with getting-hot anything (=getting excited), or you-wil-strike too sudden, until (=so that) breaks the hold. Is sum one jumping at the fether, but not taking her, and so ar often very getting their hooking outside sumwhere. But when ar they after hooking outside, ar

agos ataf fi i *gaffio* ef i mi. arnaf fi eisieu cael *casting*: un *g*anolig, heb fod rhy *d*ew neu ry *f*ain. (y) mae y *b*luen *right* dda, ond (y) mae y *gyten* *b*ur wan yn ei bon: (y) mae wedi sigo yn *b*arod. (pa) sut *b*lu ydyw y goreu? rhai llwydion ynte rhai cochion sydd yn taro 'oreu. (y) mae llawer wedi dyweyd wrthyf fi fod y *b*luen maent hwy yn ei 'alw yn *g*och-y-fon-ddu yn un dda iawn: (pa) sut un ydyw hono? (y) maent hwy yn *d*ebig fel (y) maent hwy yn cael eu galw—(eu) blaenau hwy yn *g*ochion, a'u bonau hwy yn dduon.

28. peidiwch a phoethi dim, neu mi darawch yn rhy *sudden*, nes tyr yr 'afael. mi fydd ambell un yn neidio at y *b*luen, ond ddim yn ei chymeryd hi, ac felly byddan yn aml iawn yn cael eu bachu oddiallan rywle. ond pan byddant hwy wedi bachu oddiallan, (y) maent hwy yn *stout* oflawan: (y) byddant yn hwy o'r haner *b*eth*b*ynag cyn eu cael hwy i'r 'lan, na phe buasent hwy wedi bachu yn eu cegau. paham? os byddant hwy wedi bachu yn eu cegau, bydd (yn) raid iddynt hwy *g*adw eu cegau yn agored, ac wedi hyny (y) bydd dwfr yn myned imewn, ac yn eu boddi hwy yn fuan.

29. (yn) mha le (y) mae yr 'enwair genych chwi?: (ni) welais hi mo honi genych chwi er ys tro ynawr. *well*, na fum i ddim ar y llyn yn pysgota er ys talm iawn: nid ydyw y cwch, fyddwn i yn arfer (ei) gymeryd, ddim i'w *g*ael ynawr, a nid ydyw ddim gwerth heb *g*wch ar y llyn, os na fydd hi yn wynt cryf iawn. pysgota yn yr afon *d*ipyn weithiau, tra bu hi yn 'o lawn o ddwfr; ond ynawr nid oes

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they brave exceedingly: ar longer of the half anyhow (=at least) befor their getting (=they ar got) to the shore, than if wer they after hooking in their mouths. What-cauz? If ar they after hooking in their mouths, is want to them keeping their mouths open, and after that is water going inside, and drowning them soon.

29. In what place is the rod with you (=your rod)?: not I-saw her anything of-her with you since turn (=for sum time) now. Wel, not was I anything on the lake fishing sinse while very (=for a long time): not is the boat, was I being-in-the-habit his taking anything to his getting (=to be got) now, and not is anything worth without boat on the lake, if not is she wind strong very. Fishing in the river

:sgota noosmaar sgotwyr äma-i giid ruan. paubänmyndi lauramä känta-i färstjo-i buḷ. wedynän vano am ðuuynee dair aur heb sävlyd ryyn ber. -än sgota-ari hista wəiþja, -nes·bäðanhuwedi stifjo. usnos ·ðruugädir usnosma hevyd: -maahi moor olahevor ḷəyad. goran byydpo duḷaboohi, osbyyð duurän isaljaun. -byyð moor däu-yḷ ambaḷi droo, -nes·bäðanhuän gləyo knuḷa urþ ðuad adra, :neemi·väðanari tṛuyna namal jaun, -ari penameun tumpaþo ðrain droo araḷ, -nee drosryu glogun nee gilyð, -nee-i tṛaaydmeunrhyu duḷ. särþjoð yyn ynwaþo benryu gloguni lauri ganol puḷ drosi benai glystja, -a dänaḷeerooðoän ·xwerþin wedyn.

Stories.

-ä goog.

30. -rooð poboldol ðelanän valx jaunoor ·goog, -pan gläusonhuhi tṛoo käntari ooyd, -ak ðimän likjo-iði vyndoði äno-i stinjog. -akmi nəyþon glauð grœyysg aar draus bulxgär ðinanyu xaduno, -akəyþoni watʃ·ohi. -ond hedoðä googdros dopä kḷauð. -akrooð paubän gwəyði: "dasa ·yyn rœäsganän rhagor, -vasahi ðimän mynd." -maanhuän galu pobol·dol ðelanän ·gogjad arool häny.

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piece times (=a litl sumtimes), whilst was she rather ful of water; but now not is-there any water in her; and not know I in the world what thing shal-do I, if not fish I night times (=sumtimes) with worm. Fishing night ar the fishermen here together (=all) now. All going down for the first to take-first the pool. After that in the place there for two or three hours without moving the one leg. Fishing on their seat times, til ar they after stiffening. Week bad is the week here also: is she so light with moon. Best in (the) world the darkest is she, if is the water low very. Is so dark sum to turn (=sumtimes), until (=that) ar they lighting candls at cuming home, or ar on their nozes often very, on their heds within bush of thorns turn other

dim dwfr yn hono; a nid wn i yn (y) byd (pa) *b*eth wnaf fi, os na pysgotaf fi nos weithiau hefo pryf. pysgota nos (y) mae y pysgotwyr yma igyd ynawr. pawb yn myned ilawr am y cyntaf i *ffirstio* ei b*wll*. wedi hyny yn (y) *f*an yno am ddwy neu *d*air awr heb syflyd yr un fer. yn pysgota ar eu heistedd weithiau, nes byddant hwy wedi *stifflo*. wythnos ddrwg ydyw yr wythnos yma hefyd: (y) mae hi mor 'oleu hefo lleuad. goreu yn (y) byd po *d*ywyllaf byddo hi, os bydd (y) dwfr yn isel iawn. (y) bydd mor *d*ywyll ambell i *d*ro, nes byddant hwy yn goleuo canwyllau wrth ddyfod adref, neu mi fyddant ar eu trwynau yn aml iawn, ar eu penau mewn twmpath o ddrain *d*ro arall, neu *d*ros ryw *g*logwyn neu gilydd, neu eu traed mewn rhyw *d*wll. syrthiodd un unwaith o *b*en ryw *g*logwyn ilawr i *g*anol *pwll* *d*ros ei *b*en a'i *g*lustiau, a dyna lle yr oedd ef yn chwerthin wedi hyn.

y *g*og.

30. yr oedd pobl Dolwyddelan yn falch iawn o'r *g*og, pan *g*lywsant hwy hi tro cyntaf erioed, ac ddim yn *licio* iddi *f*yned oddiyno i Ffestiniog. ac mi wnaethant *g*lawdd gwrysg ar *d*raws bwlch (y) *G*erddinen iw chadw yno, ac aethant i *watcho* hi. ond ehedodd y *g*og *d*ros d*op* y clawdd. ac yr oedd pawb yn gwaeddi: "pe buasai un wrysgen yn rhagor, fuasai hi ddim yn myned." maent hwy yn galw pobl Dolwyddelan yn *g*ogiaid ar ol hyny.

(=another time), or across sum steep-rock or other, or their feet within sum hole. Fel one onse from hed sum steep-rock down to midl pool over his hed and his ears, and there place was he laughing after this.

The cuckoo.

30. Was peple Dolyddelan glad very of the cuckoo, when herd they her turn first ever, but not liking to-her going from-there to Festiniog. And made fence branches across gap the Gerddinen to her keeping there, and went to wach her. But flew the cuckoo across top the fence. And was everyone exclaiming: "if had-been one branch mor, had-been she not going." Ar they calling peple Dolwyddelan cuckoo-men after this.

-ä ðay heen laqk.

31. -rooð day heen laqkän byuän koytmor·dol ðelan, -a dəyþonii gooyd·havod rhiisgi dori polyn pṛesab. -ak erbyniðynhu vyndagoo adra, -rooðän rhyy hiir, -a dəyþonagooäni ooli gooyd·havod rhiisgi·dori darnohono. -akmaa heen ðjarab ar ool häny: "-vyyri ooydrhyy hiiro gooydond ynwaþän·dol ðelan."

kadu kävriändol ðelan.

32. ḷauaro amsarä nool, -rooð ʃopurän·dol ðelan naḷa sgweny. veḷy', pan·väða axos kadu kävri am beþa gä·merid oor ʃop heb daly am danynhu', -rooð gänovo for hoḷol rwəiðjoli nəydhäny`, seev, :rhoi ḷyynä nuyða werþid meun ḷyfr. ynwaþrooð farmur, -a·xänovo gävri·hevovo. -ak urþ setlio -rooðä ʃopurän enwir peþaooðä farmurwedi kaayl. "kəyþox buuyso ʃugur," meðavo, gan buyntjoati lyyn (-vel hyn ▷). "doo," meðar farmur. "kəyþox xwartaro dee," gan bwyntjoatä ḷyyndra xevn (-vel hyn □). "doo," meðar farmur. "kəyþox ·gosyn hevyd," meðar ʃopur, gan buyntjoatä ḷyyn (-vel hyn ○). "naaðo," meðar farmur, "-rädu iin gnəyd kausvä hyyn, -ak ii bee pṛänun ii gausgäno xii?" "wel, -rädaxwedi gaaylo," meðar ʃopur, "däma-i lyyno ar

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The two old youth (=bachelors).

31. There was two old youth living in Coetmor Dolwyddelan, and came to wood Hafod Rhisgl to cut pole cow-stall. And towards to them going with him (=taking it) home, was too long, and came with him in his track (=back) to wood Hafod Rhisgl to cut piece from him. And is old saying after that: "not was ever too long of wood but onse in Dolwyddelan."

Keeping acount in Dolwyddelan.

32. Much of time back was shopman (=shopkeeper) in Dolwyddelan not coud write. So, when was cauz keeping acount about things wer-taken from the shop without paying

y ddau hen lanc.

31. yr oedd dau hen lanc yn byw yn Coetmor Dolwyddelan, a daethant i *g*oed Hafod Rhisgl i *d*ori polyn preseb. ac erbyn iddynt hwy fyned ag ef adref, yr oedd yn rhy hir, a daethant ag ef yn ei ol i goed Hafod Rhisgl i *d*ori darn o hono. ac mae hen ddiareb ar ol hyny: "(ni) fu erioed rhy hir o *g*oed ond unwaith yn Dolwyddelan."

cadw cyfrif yn Dolwyddelan.

32. llawer o amser ynol yr oedd *shop*wr yn Dolwyddelan na 'allai ysgrifenu. felly, pan fyddai achos cadw cyfrif am *b*ethau a *g*ymerid o'r *shop* heb *d*alu am danynt hwy, yr oedd ganddo ef ffordd hollol wreiddiol i wneud hyny, sef, rhoddi llun y nwyddau a werthid mewn llyfr. unwaith yr oedd *ffermwr*, a chanddo ef *g*yfrif hefo ef. ac wrth *setlo* yr oedd y *shop*wr yn enwi y pethau oedd y *ffermwr* wedi cael. "cawsoch *b*wys o *siwgr*," meddai ef, gan *b*wyntio at ei lun (fel hyn ▷). "do," meddai y *ffermwr*. "cawsoch *chwarter* o *de*," gan *b*wyntio at y llun *d*rachefn (fel hyn □). "do," meddai y *ffermwr*. "cawsoch *g*osyn hefyd," meddai y *shop*wr, gan *b*wyntio at y llun (fel hyn ○). "na ddo," meddai y *ffermwr*, "yr ydwyf yn gwneyd caws fy hun, ac i *b*eth prynwn i *g*aws genych chwi?" "wel, yr ydych wedi gael ef," meddai y *shop*wr, "dyma ei lun ef ar lawr." "*well*,

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for them, was with him way holely original to do that, that-is, putting picture the goods wer-sold in book. One-time was farmman (=farmer), and with him acount with him. And at setling was the shopman naming the things was the farmman after getting. "You-got pound of sugar," said he, with pointing at his picture (as this ▷). "Yes," said the farmman. "You-got quarter [of a pound] of tea," with pointing at the picture again (as this □). "Yes," said the farmman. "You-got cheez also," said the shopman, with pointing at the picture (as this ○). "No," said the farmman, "I-am making cheez myself, and to what-thing wer-buying I cheez with you?" "Wel, you ar after getting him," said the shopman, "here his picture of-him on floor (=down [in

laur." "wel, -pryyn bänagädio ar laurai pəidjo," meðar farmur, "xeesi monovo, ond kees vaayn ḷivo'." "oo," meðar ʃopur, "maayn ḷivo ädi-o', ond moodiwedi aq hovjo rhoiä tuḷäni ganolo" (-vel hyn ⊙).

-ä farmur an voðlon.

33. ar oxor mänyðhi rəyþog -rooð ·farmurän byu meun täðyn bäxan; -ak er vood popeþoi gumpas nəiþakä syrys, ätobäða boob amsarän an voðlon, -nen wedighevoi ·rwaig: -väða dima naa-äni bleʃjo. veḷy, yyn durnod, :panooðän :kadu suun am rubaþooðan·myndä mlaaynän tyy, meða-i rwaig urþo: "huna hun, rhosu ·xiiän tyy, -mi ai ina aḷan·hevor gwəiʃjon, -i nii·gaayl gwelda vedruxi bleʃjo xynan." veḷykä tynudiir rwaig·vynd aḷanä durnod wedyn, -akiir guur arosän tyy. -ä durnod hunu -ooð əiʃjo ·korði. veḷy, rhooþä ḷaayþänä vyða, -a dexroð arni. pan ar ganol korði, təimla säxad, -ame ðäljabasa draxtoor kuruooð gänovoän selarän gästal dioda dim aḷa gaayl. veḷy, -i laura goo, -a dʒugäni lau. panooðä kuru ar ganol rhedag, kḷäua -ryu suunän gegin, -ak ar ynwaþme ðäljoðbood rubaþ aḷano lee hevor vyða. rhedoði väny, -a dänaḷeerooð rhuux wedi tṛoir vyða, -akän ävadä ḷaayþ oðyd laur. -äuiwyḷ tinab

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the book]).'' "Wel, what the one ever is he on floor or abstaining (=whether it is down or not)," said the farmman, "not got I anything of him, but I-got stone grinding." "Oh!" said the shopman, "stone grinding is he, but my being of-me after forgetting putting the hole in his midl of-him" (as this ⊙).

The farmman discontented.

33. On side mountain Hiraethog was farmman living in farm litl; and altho being everything of his compass (=around him) exceedingly comfortabl, stil he-was all time discontented, especialy with his wife: was nothing she-did pleazing

pa yr un bynag ydyw ef ar lawr ai peidio," meddai y *ffermwr*, "(ni) chefais i mo hono ef, ond cefais *f*aen llifo." "o," meddai y *shop*wr, "maen llifo ydyw ef, ond (fy) mod i wedi anghofio rhoddi y twll yn ei *g*anol ef" (fel hyn ⊙).

y *ffermwr* anfoddlawn.

33. ar ochr mynydd Hiraethog yr oedd *ffermwr* yn byw mewn tyddyn bychan; ac er for pob peth o'i *g*wmpas yn eithaf cysurus, eto byddai bob amser yn anfoddlawn, yn enwedig hefo'i wraig: fyddai dim a wnai yn ei b*lesio*. felly, un diwrnod, pan oedd yn cadw swn am rywbeth oedd yn mynd yn mlaen yn y ty, meddai ei wraig wrtho: "hwn a hwn, aroswch chwi yn (y) ty, mi af fi innau allan hefo y gweision, i ni *g*ael gweled a *f*edrwch chwi b*lesio* eich hunan." felly, cytunwyd i'r wraig fyned allan y diwrnod wedi hyny, ac i'r gwr aros yn (y) ty. y diwrnod hwnw oedd eisieu corddi. felly, rhoddodd y llaeth yn y fuddai, a dechreuodd arni. pan ar *g*anol corddi, teimlai syched, a meddyliai (y) buasai *dracht* o'r cwrw oedd ganddo ef yn y *cellar* yn *g*ystal diod a dim 'allai *g*ael. felly, i lawr ag ef, a *jug* yn ei law. pan oedd y cwrw ar *g*anol rhedeg, clywodd ryw swn yn y *g*egin, ac ar unwaith meddyliodd bod rywbeth allan o le hefo y fuddai. rhedodd i fyny, a dyna lle yr oedd yr hwch wedi troi y fuddai, ac yn yfed y llaeth oddihyd lawr. yn ei

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him. So, one day, when he-was holding noiz about sumthing was going ahed (=on) in the house, said his wife to-him: "This and this (=so and so), stay you in the house, I-wil-go I out with the servants, to us getting seeing can you pleas yourself." So, was-agreed to the wife going out the day after that, and to the husband staying in the house. The day that (=that day) was want churning. So, he-put the milk in the churn, and began on-her. When on midl churning, he-felt dryness, and thoght would-be draft of the beer was with him in the cellar as-good drink as anything he-could get. So, to floor (=down) with him, and jug in his hand. When was the beer on midl running, he-herd sum noiz in the kichen, and on one-time (=at onse)

kipjoðä vuyaḷa þrauoð rhuuxäni fen nesooðän varu. :ar hyn', kovjoðvoodä kuruän rhedagi lauränä selar. -i laura goo, -ak erbyn häny -rooðä kuruwedi rhedag boob tṛopyn hyd laurä selar.

34. arool häny -aaþi väny iir gegin, -a gwela-ibood destän amsariir gwəiʃjon·ðuadi ginjo, - akänta heb ðexrapar toi kinjo. veḷy-me ðäljoðmaakrä xanado yyudvasa muya huylysi nəyd. arool rhoir yyud ar taan, kovjoðvoodä vyux vliiþ hebi guḷun aḷan, -a rhedoðyu guḷun, -ame ðäljoðä :basan·kaal boljad meun rhyu arð vexanty kevniir tyy. veḷy aaþahii äno. -än yyn pen iir arðrooð dibin·lleed vaur, -ak ovna-iir vyux särþjo drosto. -ak er muuyniðo aḷyi watʃo. : rhooþ raafami xyrn, -a rhooþä pen araḷiir rhaafi laur tṛuur simða iir gegin. -ak·urþi voodwedikaal kiminto goḷadoði urþä ḷaayþä kuru aarhuux, -me ðäljoð ruan am neyd popeþän hoḷol sikir. -a rhag ovniir rhaaf slipjo-i fur hebiðo-i gweld, rhuymoðhiami glyyn. gida häny, dänar vyuxän särþjo drosä dibin, -aki vänyag änta-i draayd -än gänta-iir simða, -a þrooydo boob tyy-i ·veemooð änihi (-vel syymeun heensim ðəy-a mantaḷ vaur); -a dänaḷee·rooðo-än dalä vyuxän haqjodrosä dibin gervyði xyrn. erbyn hyn -rooðä gwəiʃjonän duad atä tyy ati kinjo. -a gwela yyno

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thoght being sumthing out of place with the churn. Ran up, and there place was the sow after turning the churn, and drinking the milk from along floor. In his wildness he-snacht the hachet, and struck the sow in her hed until she-was ded. On this he rememberd being the beer running to floor in the cellar. To floor with him, and against that was the beer after running every drop along floor the cellar.

34. After that he-went up to the kichen, and saw her being just time to the servants cuming to dinner, and he without beginning preparing the dinner. So he-thoght that potful of porridg would-be most eazy to make. After putting the porridg on the fire, he rememberd being the cow milch without her letting out, and ran to her letting-out, and thoght she-would-be getting bellyful in sum garden litl side back to

wylltineb cipiodd y fwyell, a tharawodd yr hwch yn ei phen nes oedd yn *farw*. ar hyn, cofiodd fod y cwrw yn rhedeg i lawr yn y *cellar*. i lawr ag ef, ac erbyn hyny yr oedd y cwrw wedi rhedeg bob *trop*yn hyd lawr y *cellar*.

34. ar ol hyny aeth i fyny i'r *g*egin, a gwelai hi bod *just* yn amser i'r gweision ddyfod i *g*iniaw, ac yntau heb ddechreu parotoi y ciniaw. felly meddyliodd mai crochanaid o uwd fuasai mwyaf hwylus i wneyd. ar ol rhoddi yr uwd ar y tan, cofiodd fod y fuwch flith heb ei gollwng allan, a rhedodd i'w gollwng, a meddyliodd y buasai yn cael boliad mewn rhyw 'ardd fechan tu cefn i'r ty. felly aeth a hi yno. yn un pen i'r 'ardd yr oedd dibyn lled *f*awr, ac ofnai i'r fuwch syrthio *d*rosto. ac er mwyn iddo 'allu ei *watchio*, rhoddodd raff am ei chyrn, a rhoddodd y pen arall i'r rhaff ilawr trwy'r *simdde* i'r *g*egin. ac wrth ei fod wedi cael cymmaint o *g*olled oddiwrth y llaeth, y cwrw, a'r hwch, meddyliodd ynawr am wneyd pobpeth yn hollol sicr. a rhag ofn i'r rhaff *slipio* iffwrdd heb iddo ei gweled, rhwymodd hi am ei *g*lun. gyda hyny dyma y fuwch yn syrthio *d*ros y dibyn, ac ifyny ag yntau ei *d*raed yn *g*yntaf i'r *simdde*, a throed o *b*ob tu i *feam* oedd ynddi hi (fel y sydd mewn hen simddeau *mantell f*awr); a dyna lle yr oedd ef yn dal y fuwch yn *hangio d*ros y dibyn gerfydd ei chyrn. erbyn hyn yr oedd y gweision yn dyfod at y ty at eu ciniaw. a gwelai un o honynt hwy y

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the house. So he-went with her there. In one hed (=end) to the garden was a steep-place rather big, and he-feard to the cow falling over-him. And in order to-him being-able to wach her, he-put rope about her horns, and put the hed other to the rope to floor thru the chimney to the kichen. And thru his being after getting so-much of loss from the milk, the beer, and the sow, he-thoght now about making everything holely safe. And from fear to the rope slipping away without to him seeing her (=the rope), he-tied her about his thigh. With that here the cow falling over the steep-place, and up with him his feet first to the chimney, and foot of every side to beam was in her (as is in old chimnies opening big); and there place was he holding the cow hanging over the steep-place by her horns. Towards this

honynhu-ä vyuxän windjo drosä dibin ; -a rhag ovniði dagy, rhedoð ati, kipjoði gäḷaḷ, -a þoroðä rhaaf. -i lauraar vyuxo yyn oxor, -aki laur aar guur oor simða, -gan ðisgin ninjonari beniir kṛoxon yyud. -ni raid xwanegy -voodä rwaigwedi -kaal heðux byþ aroolä durnod hunu.

-ä təiljurar torur beði.

35. än·ḷan vroþan·beeþ amsar nool' -rooð təiljurän byu ; ak nool arvar ramsar hunu -di läna-i·alwa digaþ tṛuu vyndoor naiḷ dyyiir ḷaḷi nəyd diḷadiirkäm dogjon. tṛuu vänwantä pḷuuymaa ḷuybyrkä hoyðysän paſjo. yyn bora -rooðganä təiljur axosi vynd hydä ḷuybyri vyndati waiþ. -rooðän diguðhevyd -voodkä nhebruqi·gämyd ḷeeä durnod hunu, -aar torur beðiwedi sglyso torir beeð. veḷy, aaþatiän vora jaunurþ ləyni kanuḷ, -ak erbynvoodä təiljurän paſjo, -rooð drosi benänä beeð. kḷäuoð ru-ynän paſjo hydä ḷuybyr, -a gwəyðoðarno : " vaintädioor gloox ? " meðar təiljur : "-vaint bänagädihioor gloox, -maayhiän rhyy vora-ixi godi äto."

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was the servants cuming to the house to their dinner. And saw one of them the cow strugling over the precipice; and from fear to-her choking, ran to her, snatcht his knife, and cut the rope. To floor with the cow of one side, and to floor with the man from the chimney, with alighting directly on his hed to the pot porridg. Not need adding being the wife after getting peace always after the day that.

The tailor and the cutter graves.

35. In Llanfrothen thing (=sum) time back was tailor living; and acording-to custom the time that he-followd his

fuwch yn *windio* *d*ros y dibyn; a rhag ofn iddi *d*agu, rhedodd ati, cipiodd ei *g*yllell, a thorodd y rhaff. i lawr a'r fuwch o un ochr, ac i lawr a'r gwr o'r simdde, gan ddisgyn yn union ar ei *b*en i'r crochan uwd. ni raid ychwanegu fod y wraig wedi cael heddwch byth ar ol y diwrnod hwnw.

y *teiliwr* a'r torwr beddi.

35. yn Llanfrothen *b*eth amser yn ol yr oedd *teiliwr* yn byw; ac yn ol arfer yr amser hwnw dylynai ei 'alwedigaeth trwy *f*yned o'r naill *d*y i'r llall i wneyd dillad i'r cymmydogion. trwy *f*ynwent y plwyf y mae llwybr cyhoeddus yn *pasio*. un boreu yr oedd gan y *teiliwr* achos i *f*yned ar hyd y llwybyr i *f*yned at ei waith. yr oedd yn dygwydd hefyd fod cynhebrwng i *g*ymeryd lle y diwrnod hwnw, a'r torwr beddi wedi esgeuluso tori y bedd. felly, aeth ati yn foreu iawn wrth 'oleuni canwyll, ac erbyn fod y teiliwr yn pasio, yr oedd ef dros ei *b*en yn y bedd. clywodd rywun yn *pasio* ar hyd y llwybyr, a gwaeddodd arno: "(pa) *f*aint ydyw hi o'r *g*loch?" meddai y *teiliwr*: "(pa) *f*aint *b*ynag ydyw hi o'r *g*loch, mae hi yn rhy foreu i chwi *g*odi eto."

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calling thru going from the one house to the other to make clothes to the neighbors. Thru churchyard the parish is path public passing. One morning was with the tailor cauz to go along the path to go to his work. Was happening also being funeral to take place the day that, and the cutter graves after neglecting cutting the grave. So he went to-her (=at it) erly very by light candl, and towards being the tailor passing, was-he over his hed in the grave. He-herd sumone passing along the path, and calld on him: "What quantity is she of the clock?" Said the tailor: "What quantity ever is she of the clock, is she too erly for you rizing yet."

I ad sum mor stories in the Vizibl Speech alfabet for the benefit of thoze who prefer it to the Romic notation employd abuv.

ꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ.

36. :ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏꝏ.ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ, ꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ, -ꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ, -ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ ꝏꝏꝏ

[illegible] "sIɔ ɔ[ωI ?", ɔ[ɐ]ω ɔωIɔω.
[illegible] ɔ[ωI ɔ]+s." (I+ɐω+ωI ɔ]+ωɔωIs).

[illegible] -I ɔ]ωFɪω·]+ω ɔ[ν]ωɐω]s.
[illegible] ɔ[ν]+ω ɔ]ωFɪω IɔɛI ɔ[ν]ωɐω]s, -]ɑ·ω]+ωIɔ
[illegible] -] ɔ[ν]Iɔ ɐɪωIɔɐ] ν]ɔIs. -]ɑ·]+ω ωIɪ]ν -FI
ν°[ν]ɔ ɔ]ωFɪω, -] ω[cω]+ω ω[ɐIω ɐω]sI>]+> ɔ]ωII
[illegible]]ωɔI+ω ɐωω]+, -] ɐ]+>IɔI]ωI ɐ[ν ν]+ω·Iν]+>],
[illegible] ɐ]+ωω]+·ɐ]+ωɐIɔ ɐIωI, -ɔ[ωI·Iν]+>]+ɐ]+ωω ɐ:[ωωI
[illegible] ?

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It is with sum hezitation that I bring out this contribution to the fonology and dialectology of one of the most difficult of European languages. I hav kept it back as long as I can, and hav devoted three long summers to studying the language on the spot, and am simply unable to giv any mor time to a subject which lies outside my regular scheme of work; so that if I keep it back stil longer, I shal only run the risk of forgetting what I hav lernt: even alredy, after the interval of a summer spent in Norway, my impressions ar not so fresh as they wer when I first wrote out the ruf draft of this paper.

If my skech wer even mor imperfect than it is, I should stil feel myself partly justified in bringing it out, as a contribution to a hitherto totally neglected subject. If its errors lead any foneticaly traind Welshman to supersede it by such a ful and reliabl work as can only be done by a traind nativ, its most ambitious aims wil be fully acumplisht. Meanwhile it wil, I hope, be of sum use to general foneticians, as wel as Celtic specialists, and also to those who wish to lern to speak the language, which, on acount of the wide divergence between the writn and spoken language, has hitherto been a practical impossibility for most foreiners.

In order to make the paper mor generaly accessibl, I hav adopted a modification of my Broad Romic notation insted of Vizibl Speech, which I much prefer myself; I hav, however, givn a few texts in

the latter notation. In my Romic notation I regret now that I did not uze (ŋ) insted of (q).

I hope that as a specimen of the method of dealing with living languages, this wil be found to be an advance on my previous atempts. I think myself I hav made an advance in one respect, nl. in that of giving ful texts. This is no dout the most laborious and responsibl part of such an undertaking, and that which offers most pitfalls to any one dealing with a forein language, but, if done with reazonabl care, is of mor real value than any number of word-lists and paradigms, for it alone givs—or atempts to giv—the unsofisticated facts of the language.

I hav, of course, treated the language thruout as a living one, and hav givn the same prominence to the borrowd English as to the nativ element. The italicized words in the texts wil giv a good idea of the proportion of English words, which, after all, is surprizingly small, considering the long and intimate intercourse between the speakers of the two languages. Most of them, too, ar very thuroly naturalized, in meaning as wel as form, so that a patriotic Welshman has no mor reazon to be ashamed of them than an Englishman has of his French words. It is greatly to be wisht that educated Welshmen would cultivate the genuin spoken language insted of the artificial jargon of the newspapers, and reflect that the superiority of such a work as the *Bardd Cwsg* consists precisely in its style being founded (as shown by the numerous English words) on the every-day speech of the period. Welsh can no mor be made an exception to the inexorabl law of change than English or any other language: it is its change, its development, that proves it to be realy a living language; and a language that is prezervd only by writing is litl better than a ded language.

In concluzion, I hav to express my best thanks to all my helpers in Wales. To Mr. John Owens, of Hafod Lwyfog, and his amiabl family (especialy his sun David); to Mr. Richard Davies, of Port Madoc; and, abuv all, to my teacher, Mr. J. E. Williams, of Beddgelert, who entered so thuroly into the spirit of my work as to write out fonetic texts himself under my guidance. It would hav been almost impossibl for me to master the details of the language, or giv the texts heded 'Dialogs and Descriptions,' without his help. The stories I owe mainly to the Owens family, and to Mr. Davies.

XV.—ITALIAN AND URALIC POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES COMPARED. By H.I.H. PRINCE L.-L. BONAPARTE.

OF the three great classes into which all human languages are divided—1°. Isolating; 2°. Agglutinative; 3°. Inflectional—only the last two, which have grammatical forms, are capable of furnishing possessive suffixes. Nevertheless it is not every language that belongs to these two classes which possesses such pronominal forms. Although there are not only agglutinative, but also inflectional extra-European languages (for instance, the Semitic and modern Persian) which have these suffixes, Europe itself, with a single very curious exception, shews them only in the Uralic languages, which form the fifth family of the Altaic stem, one of the independent members of the agglutinative class.

It is to the above-named very curious exception that I intend to direct the attention of my hearers, without even attempting to explain its cause. An interesting and positive fact will always have more intrinsic value in philology than a doubtful explanation; precisely as the well-ascertained existence of some rare chemical compound will excite more interest than an analysis of it to which exception might be taken.

The dialects of Europe (without reckoning the Caucasus) belong: 1°. To the Basque language, subdivided, as I think, into eight dialects (perhaps nine if Roncalese be more than a simple subdialect), constituting by itself alone a whole family (the Iberian) and the whole Iberic stem, which is one of the agglutinative class; 2°. To the Uralic family, which, as I have already stated, belongs to another independent stem (the Altaic) of the same class; 3°. To the Aryan stem, one of the inflectional class. No possessive suffixes are to be found in Basque. The Uralic languages, *viz.* Finnish, Esthonian, Krevingian (extinct), Livonian (not yet extinct), Lapponese, Mordvinian, Tsheremissian, Permian with Sirianian its co-dialect, Votiak, Hungarian, Vogulic, and

Ostiak, are generally richly provided with them, the only exceptions being Esthonian, Krevingian, and Livonian, in which they are ignored. The languages of the Aryan stem, represented in Europe by the Celtic or Gaelo-Cambrian, the Greco-Albano-Latin, the Germano-Scandinavian, and the Slavo-Lettic families, are all, with the single exception to which I now come, without possessive suffixes. I should state that I do not consider the Greek enclitics to be such; for example, *μου* in *πατὴρ μοῦ* 'my father,' pronounced *πατήρμου* as a single word, although, owing to the general rules of accentuation affecting enclitics, *μοῦ* loses its accent. In fact, *μοῦ* and *ἐμοῦ* are perfect synonyms meaning 'of me.'

Certain Italian words, and other words belonging to the Neapolitan, Abruzzese, Northern Calabrian, Northern Corsican, and perhaps some other Italian dialects or varieties, present the curious exceptional cases referred to. These words always relate to a single possessor belonging to the first or the second person, and may be used both in the singular and plural. With the exception of the dialectal *patrone, patrona* 'master, mistress (of servants)' and the Italian *casa* 'house,' *vita* 'life,' *cara* 'dear (applied to a female),' these words are all names of kinsfolk. They are still used with the possessive suffixes both in the above-named Italian dialects and in the Uralic languages, but in the latter the use of such suffixes (all derived, more or less evidently, as in Italian, from the personal pronouns) is extended to every class of words, to one, two, or more possessors, to all three persons, and to all three numbers when the dual exists, as it does in Lapponese, in Vogulic, and in Ostiak. In standard modern Italian, however, this use has died away and their former existence can only be proved by citations from existing works, as follows (*See* Table I., Old Classical Italian column):

1. *Pátremo*, for *patre mio*. Patremo e matrema, in luogo di patre mio e matre mia: *Patremo and matrema, instead of patre mio and matre mia.* (Prose del Cardinal Pietro Bembo. Firenze, 1549, libro 2, p. 97.)

Pátreto, for *patre tuo*. Non mi toccherà patreto per quanto avere ha in Bari: *Thy father will not touch me for as*

much property he has at Bari. (Amante e Madonna, verso 23.) *See* note 2.

2. *Mátrema*, for *matre mia.* See 1. *Pátremo.*

Mámmata, for *mamma tua.* Meglio la conobbe mammata: *Thy mamma knew her better.* (Novelle di Franco Sacchetti. Firenze, 1724, nov. 165.)

3. *Figliuòlmo*, for *figliuol mio.* Ora farebbe bisogno a me d'aver moglie più che a figliuolmo, che m' atasse: *Now it would be more necessary for me than for my son to have a wife that would help me.* (Cronaca di Firenze di Donato Velluti. Firenze, 1731.)

Figliòlmo, for *figliòl mio.* Figliolmo: *My son.* (Vocabolario della Crusca. Firenze, 1731, vol. 2.)

Figliuòlto, for *figliuol tuo.* Va', racconsola figliuolto: che morir postù di stento!: *Go, comfort thy son: mayst thou die of anguish!* (Canzoni a ballo del Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici. Firenze, 1562, canz. 23.)

Figliòlto, for *figliol tuo*: Figliolto: *Thy son.* (Vocabolario della Crusca. Firenze, 1731, vol. 2.)

4. *Figliuòlata*, for *figliuola tua.* Marita figliuolata, e farai grand' opera; e dàlla ad uom savio: *Marry thy daughter, and thou wilt do a great work; and give her to a wise man.* (Volgarizzamento de' tre Trattati d'Albertano Giudice da Brescia. Firenze, 1610, tratt. 1, p. 22.)

Figliòlata, for *figliola tua.* Io voglio che tu mi dea figliolata per moglie: *I wish that thou mayst give me thy daughter to wife.* (Volgarizzamento della Storia di Barlaam e Giosafat. Roma, 1714, p. 23.)

5. *Fratèlmo*, for *fratel mio.* Disse fratelmo, e poi non me l' attese: *Said my brother, and then he did not keep his promise to me.* (Pataffio di ser Brunetto Latini. Napoli, 1788, cap. 6.)

Fratèlto, for *fratel tuo.* Quando da fratelto ti dividesti: *When thou separatedst thyself from thy brother.* (Volgarizzamento della Rettorica di Marco Tullio Cicerone, di Ser Brunetto Latini. Firenze, 1734.)

Fráteto, for *frate tuo.* Senze mille rimbrotti de' frateti e de' fanti tuoi: *Without a thousand reproaches of thy brothers and men-servants.* (Laberinto d'amore, o sia il Corbaccio, di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio. Firenze, 1594, num. 125.)

6. *Sirócchiama*, for *sirocchia mia*. E sirocchiama pare sbalordita: *And my sister seems to be stunned.* (Pataffio. Napoli, 1788, cap. 5.)

15. *Maritoto*, for *marito tuo*. Sospirerà il maritoto, che non sii di lui piena: *Thy husband will sigh, that thou art not with child by him.* (Poesie di fra Iacopone da Todi. Venezia, 1617, t. 1, cant. 6, str. 17.) *N.B.*—Il maritoto (with the article), contrary to what Bembo says. *See* 16.

16. *Mógliama*, for *moglie mia*. Mogliama nol mi crederà: *My wife will not believe it if I said it.* (Decamerone di Boccaccio. Firenze, 1587, nov. 76, num. 8.)

Mógliema, for *moglie mia*. See 16. *Móglieta*.

Mógliata, for *moglie tua*. Godiamci i denari, e a mogliata di' ch' e' ti sia stato imbolato: *Let us enjoy the money, and tell thy wife that he* (the male pig, *ital.* 'porco') *has been stolen from thee.* (Decamerone. Firenze, 1587, nov. 76, num. 3.)

Móglieta, for *moglie tua*. Mogliema e moglieta, alle quali voci non si dà l'articolo, ma si leva; che non diciamo 'della moglieta,' ma 'di moglieta': *Mogliema and moglieta, words which do not admit the article, but from which it is removed; because we do not say 'della moglieta,' but 'di moglieta.'* (Prose del Cardinal Bembo. Firenze, 1549, libro 2, p. 97.) *See* 15.

21. *Cásata*, for *casa tua*. Molti son li garofani che a casata mandai: *Many are the pinks that I sent to thy house.* (Amante e Madonna, verso 91.) *See* note 2.

22. *Vítama*, for *vita mia*. Deo lo volesse, vitama, ca te fos' morto in casa!: *Would to God I had died in thy house, my life!* (*id.*, verso 101.)

23. *Cárama*, for *cara mia*. Bene lo saccio, carama; altro non posso fare: *I know it well, my dear; I can do nothing else.* (*id.*, verso 131.)

These quotations, as far as I have been able to render my researches exhaustive, contain all the old Italian words capable of receiving a possessive suffix. The Neapolitan dialect, however, as Table I. shows, is much richer in this respect than the old standard language. In fact, the words meaning 'grand-father, grand-mother, grand-son, grand-

daughter, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, master or mistress (of servants)' appear in this dialect accompanied by the suffix, which is not the case in old Italian.

With regard to the Uralic languages, it is noteworthy that while, on the one hand, they are exceedingly rich in words of every kind that are capable of receiving the possessive suffix, on the other hand, they seem to be often without words corresponding exactly in meaning to the Italian and Neapolitan names of relationship, which form the principal subject of this paper. This relative property, however, is only apparent and I have prepared Table II. to prevent any one from falling into the gross error of thinking them deficient in names for family relationships. This table will show that the Uralic languages are, on the contrary, much richer in names of such relationship than any other European language. It will be seen that while the Italian or Neapolitan names express a relationship generally, the Uralic languages often substitute particular words indicating the numerous ways in which the relationship could occur in individual cases, without having, in most cases, any word for expressing it generally, so that they are unsuited for admission into Table I. To take two examples, the Italian word *cognato* means 'brother-in-law,' and *nipote* 'grand-child,' either 'grand-son' or 'grand-daughter.' Although there is (in this particular case) a Vogulic word, *njuobinš* (*see* Table I., Vogulic column), for the general meaning of the Italian and English terms, there are five more different ones in Vogulic for five different cases (*See* Tables I. and II., Vogulic column): 1°. *äk* 'husband's' or 'wife's elder brother'; 2°. *liegu* 'husband's younger brother'; 3°. *juriš* 'wife's younger brother'; 4°. *pánt* 'elder sister's husband'; 5°. *vuäps* 'younger sister's husband.' (*See* Hunfalvy, 'Reguly Antal Hagyományai.' Pesten, 1864, pp. 111, 112: "*Anthony Reguly's last Dispositions.*") The second word is rendered in Lapponese either by *agjob* or by *akkob* (*see* Table II., Lapponese column), but *agjob* is only 'man's grand-child,' either 'grand-son' or 'grand-daughter,' while *akkob* means 'woman's grand-

child,' either 'grand-son' or 'grand-daughter.' (*See* Leem, 'Lexicon Lapponico-Danico-Latinum.' Nidrosiæ, 1768, pp. 28, 33.)

But now, is it not delightfully satisfactory to find in Basque, particularly in the Biscayan dialect, the same distinction in certain names of kinsfolk determined not only by their own sex, as generally happens very often in all languages, but also by the sex of the persons to whom they are related? In fact, what happens in Lapponese with *agjob* and *akkob* takes place in Biscayan with *anaija* 'man's brother,' *neba* 'woman's brother'; *arreba* 'man's sister,' *aizta* 'woman's sister,' in such a way that Peter can only have *agjob*'s and either *anaija*'s or *arreba*'s, while Mary is only able to have *akkob*'s and either *neba*'s or *aizta*'s.

NOTES TO THE TWO TABLES.

(1). Words preceded by * belong to modern Italian.

(2). This word, not found in the Italian dictionaries, occurs in Ciullo da Camo (more generally d'Alcamo's), "Amante e Madonna." (*See* "Poemi del Primo Secolo della lingua italiana." Firenze, 1816, vol. i.)

(3). In Northern Calabrian I have found *pátrimma, pátrima* or *pátremma, pátretta; frátitta; nannu, nánnuma* 'grand-father, my grand-father'; *nanna, nánnama* 'grand-mother, my grand-mother'; *nepute, neputita* 'grand-child, nephew, niece; thy grand-child,' etc.; *ziuma, ziuta*, etc., with final *-ma* and *-ta* or *-mma* and *-tta*, both masculine and feminine, instead of *-mo* and *-to* or *-me* and *-te*.

(4). *Nepótemo, nepóteto; nepótama, nepótata; cainátemo* or *cajenátemo, cainátеto* or *cajenáteto; cajenátama, cajenátata*, I have not yet met with in Neapolitan, but *nepóteme, nepótete*, from *nepote*, meaning both 'grand-son' or 'grand-daughter' and 'nephew' or 'niece,' as well as *cunáteme, cunátete*, from *cunate*, meaning both 'brother-in-law' and 'sister-in-law,' are found at any rate, in an analogous way, in Abruzzese, where besides *sciore* or *sire, sciórеme* or *sireme, sciórete* or *sirete* 'grand-father' or 'grand-sire, my grand-father, thy grand-father,' and *sciore, sciórеme, sciórete*, meaning also

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TABLE II.

	English Definitions.	Finnish.	Lapponese.	Mordvinian.	Tsheremiss.
1	*elder brother*	—	—	ljaläi[8]	zä
2	*younger brother*	—	—	baċka	šolja
3	*elder sister*	—	—	patäi	äkä
4	*younger sister*	—	—	sazor	šožar
5	*father's father*	—	—	—	tjotja
6	*mother's father*	—	—	—	ċüċi[6]
7	*son's son*	pojannin	agjob	—	—
8	*daughter's son*	—	akkob	—	—
9	*son's daughter*	—	agyob	—	—
10	*daughter's daughter*	—	akkob	—	—
11	*father's elder brother*	setä	ække	poksäi	kuguza
12	*father's younger brother*	setä	ċæcce	ljaläi[8]	kuguza
13	*mother's elder brother*	eno	æno	testj	—
14	*mother's younger brother*	eno	æno	testj	—
15	*father's elder sister*	—	siessa	—	jiengä
16	*father's younger sister*	—	siessa	—	jiengä
17	*mother's elder sister*	—	goasske	tjo[8]ċa	—
18	*mother's younger sister*	—	muotha	tjošċa	—
19	*elder brother's son*	nepas	sessal	—	—
20	*younger brother's son*	nepas	ækkeb	—	—
21	*sister's son*	—	nappad	—	—
22	*elder brother's daughter*	—	sessal	—	—
23	*younger brother's daughter*	—	ækkeb	—	—
24	*sister's daughter*	—	ibme	—	—
25	*husband's elder brother*	kyty	—	aläi	—
26	*husband's younger brother*	kyty	—	avne	—
27	*wife's elder brother*	näälä	—	ljaläi[8]	oneškä
28	*wife's younger brother*	näälä	—	baċka	põreš
29	*husband's elder sister*	nato	mannje	avne	onjaka
30	*husband's younger sister*	nato	mannje	avne	—
31	*wife's elder sister*	—	sivjug	baljduz	onjaka
32	*wife's younger sister*	—	sivjug	sazor	—
33	*husband's niece*	—	ibme	—	—
34	*elder sister's husband*	nuode	—	ljaläi[8]	—
35	*younger sister's husband*	nuode	—	baċka	—
36	*elder brother's wife*	—	mannje	uräš	—
37	*younger brother's wife*	—	mannje	uräš	—
38	*uncle's wife*	—	ibme	—	—
39	*husband's sister's husband*	—	spiliš	—	—
40	*wife's sister's husband*	—	spiliš	baljza	—
41	*husband's brother's wife*	—	spiliš	—	—
42	*wife's brother's wife*	—	spiliš	uräš	—

Permian.	Votiak.	Hungarian.	Vogulic.	Ostiak.
—	njunj	bátya	känk	jai
—	vyn	öcse	käš	apsi
—	aky	néne[9]	opu	ōpi
—	suzer	húg	ježi	apsi
—	—	—	—	jiri
—	—	—	—	asir-asi
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	api	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	api	—
—	njunj	—	äki	jai
—	njunj	—	känk	jai
—	poles apai	—	äki	ōrti
—	poles apai	—	säsgi	ōrti
—	varmaka	—	agu	ōpi
—	varmaka	—	óbe	ōpi
—	—	—	nin	nī
—	—	—	anji	nī
—	—	—	—	apsi
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	apsi
—	—	—	—	—
—	vyny	—	—	ār-pōsyx
čipijan	šidnar	—	äk	lego
čipijan	šidnar	—	liegu	lego
—	varmyška	—	äk	—
—	varmyška	—	juriš	—
—	vyn suzer	—	âg	ort-nē
—	uzi	—	ing	ort-nē
—	bultyr	—	pánt	kili
—	bultyr	—	pals	kili
—	—	—	—	—
:etj	emespi	—	pánt	—
:etj	emespi	—	vuäps	—
—	kenak	ángy	unj	angige
—	kenak	ángy	mänj	angi
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	busjono	—	—	kili
—	vyn murt	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—

'grand-mother, my grand-mother, thy grand-mother,' are still in use. In Southern Corsican I have met with a kind of possessive interfix, as in *babuziu* 'father's brother,' *babituziu* 'thy (father's brother)' or 'patruus tuus,' from *babu* 'father' and *ziu* 'uncle.' I do not speak of possessive prefixes, as *mazia* or *mazì* 'my aunt,' etc.

(5). Compare with the Albanian *vəlá* 'brother.'

(6). Compare with the Tosk Albanian *təse* 'mother's sister.'

(7). This word belongs to the Irtysch Southern Ostiak, while all the other words of this column belong to the Northern Ostiak dialect.

(8). Compare with the Gheg Albanian *ljaljə* 'young father' and also 'grown-up eldest brother.'

(9). Compare with the Gheg Albanian *nannə* 'old mother.'

Additions.

Tab. I., after number 16, add the two following numbers:

16″. Father-in-law, my father-in-law. *Italian* *Suòcero. *Northern Calabrian* Suòcru, suòcruma. *Finnish* Appi, appini. *Lapponese* Vuop, vuoppam. *Mordvinian* Tätäi (*husband's father*), tätäm; Testj (*wife's father*), testem. *Tsheremissian* Oba, obam. *Permian* Jöz ai (*husband's father*), jöz aie; Tesj (*wife's father*), tesjö. *Votiak* Varmai, varmaiä. *Hungarian* Ipa, ipám. *Vogulic* Up, upom. *Ostiak* Iki (*husband's father*), ikem; Up (*wife's father*), upem.

16‴. Mother-in-law, my mother-in-law. *Italian* *Suòcera. *Northern Calabrian* Sòcra, sòcrama. *Finnish* Anoppi, anoppimi. *Lapponese* Vuone, vuodnam. *Mordvinian* Avai (*husband's mother*), avam; Tjoščа (*wife's mother*), tjoščam. *Tsheremissian* Kugu, kugum. *Permian* Anj (*husband's mother*), anjö; Töššа (*wife's mother*) töššaö. *Votiak* Kuba, kubaä. *Hungarian* Napa, napám. *Vogulic* Anip, anipom. *Ostiak* Un-imi (*husband's mother*), un-imem; Upimi (*wife's mother*), up-imem.

Errata.

Tab. I. and II., Lapponese Column, instead of Agya, agyam, agyad, *and* agyob, *read* Agja, agjam, agjad, *and* agjob.

XVI.—ALBANIAN IN TERRA D'OTRANTO. By H.I.H. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte.

In the following southern provinces of Italy sub-dialects or varieties of the Tosk dialect of the Albanian language are still more or less spoken: 1°. Abruzzo Ulteriore I. (one village); 2°. Molise (about five villages); 3°. Capitanata (about four villages); 4°. Principato Ulteriore (one village); 5°. Basilicata (about five villages); 6°. Terra d'Otranto (two villages); 7°. Calabria Citeriore (about twenty-seven villages); 8°. Calabria Ulteriore II. (about five villages); 9°. Palermo (five villages), that is, approximatively, fifty-five in all. I say "approximatively," because, up to this time, I have not been able to ascertain with certainty the exact number of the localities of six of these ten provinces, as I have in the case of Abruzzo Ulteriore I., Principato Ulteriore, Terra d'Otranto (the special subject of this paper), and Palermo. For this last, see my "Osservazioni sulla pronunzia del dialetto pianiota," preceding the translation, edited by me in London in 1868, of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew from the original Greek into this Palermo variety, by the late Don Demetrio Camarda, the lamented author of the "Grammatologia Albanese." My phonetic orthography, adopted in this translation, as well as in the Calabro-Albanian, London, 1869, although differing from that generally followed by the translators, has not been disapproved by them.

Having had occasion, three or four years ago, to make inquiries as to the number of the localities in which Albanian is still more or less spoken in Terra d'Otranto, I received the following very valuable, because very reliable information, from Taranto, through the kindness of the Rev. *P.* D. L. De Vincentiis, O.P., the well-known author of the "Storia di Taranto." Taranto, 1878–9, 5 vol. 8vo., as well as of the "Vocabolario del dialetto tarantino." Taranto, 1872, 8vo.

According to this distinguished writer, out of the seven

villages of the diocese of Taranto, the only places in which the Albanian language has been still more or less spoken within the memory of man, *viz.* San Marzano, Roccaforzata, Monteparano (anciently Parello), San Giorgio, San Martino, Faggiano, and Carosino, there is only one, San Marzano, where Albanian is at present more used than Italian, while at Faggiano, Albanian is to be heard only from a few old persons. In the remaining villages Albanian is quite extinct. Thus, at Roccaforzata, it has ceased to be spoken for more than fifty years, and of San Martino nothing remains but the parish church. (*See* the small map at the end.)

The same thing happens in other provinces. Thus, at Cervicato, in the diocese of San Marco, and at Rota, in the diocese of Bisignano, both in Calabria Citeriore, Albanian has but lately become extinct.[1]

In the following thirteen villages of the province of Terra d'Otranto, all belonging to the diocese of the same name, *viz.* Martano, Calimera, Sternatia, Martignano, Melpignano, Castrigliano, Coregliano, Soleto, Zollino, Cutrofiano, Curse, Caprarica, and Cannole, no Albanian is heard, as has been erroneously stated, but only modern Greek, in a corrupted dialect, which, as well as the Greek of Calabria Ulteriore I., has been scientifically treated by Comparetti, by Pellegrini, and especially by Morosi. (*See* map.)

With reference to the Albanian of Terra d'Otranto, which is still in use at San Marzano, in the diocese of Taranto,

[1] This gradual extinction of a language has a mournful interest. Had I been born twenty years earlier, I could have heard Albanian still spoken at Pianiano, near Canino, formerly in the Duchy of Castro, and now in the province of Rome. This small hamlet of about twenty families was given by the Pope, at the end of the last century, to these poor Christians who were seeking refuge from Mahometan persecution under the guidance of their very courageous and soldierly rector Don Simone, a man whom some of them still recollected about half a century ago, when I used to pay them frequent visits. Don Simone was a very intelligent man, and quite fit to be the guide and administrator of a much larger community. As he was a man of some means and very charitable, his name was still held in great veneration by the Italianized Albanians, who called a detached portion of the principality of Canino "Piane di Don Simone." Legendary stories made him sometimes appear in these plains by moonlight, spreading out his cloak, as if to protect his cherished Albanians.

Such words as *buk* 'bread,' *miš* 'meat,' *rruš* 'grapes,' *jo* 'no,' and some others, very few in number, were still in their memory, but it is impossible to judge from them of the nature of their dialectal variety.

As these facts are almost unknown, I have thought them worthy, notwithstanding their comparatively small philological importance, to be preserved from oblivion.

P. De Vincentiis has not limited his kindness to the preceding information, but has also succeeded in procuring me, from a native of that village: 1°. A list of about forty words; 2°. Three phrases; 3°. A very short song, improperly called in Italian "Novella degli sposi," *viz.* "Romance of the Betrothed." The song and the phrases appear in a more corrupted form than the isolated words of the list. They are accompanied by an Italian translation; and, as I know enough of Albanian to perceive that this translation is not always literal, while my knowledge of that language is not sufficient to allow me to undertake the responsibility of the task of properly correcting or modifying it, I shall limit myself to giving the English of the Italian translation, to transcribing the unsettled Italian orthography[1] of these

[1] According to my ear, the Gheg and Tosk Albanians, including those of Scutari, Prizren, Janina, and Sicily, possess the following sounds, which, when they occur in this paper, are represented by the annexed symbols. I have heard all of them from the mouths of native Albanians, particularly from the pupils of the College of Propaganda in Rome. These sounds are not all to be found in the same dialect, but each of them exists at least in one dialect. No really complete list of the Albanian sounds has been given before this, although Hahn's seems to be the nearest of all. See the Tone below.

1. a = *a* in *ma*.
2. e = 1° French *e* in *mere* 'success.'
3. e = 2° French *e* in *le* 'thimble.'
4. i = *i* in *ti*.
5. o = 1° French *o* in *or* 'gold.'
6. o = 2° French *o* in *mot* 'word.'
7. u = *ou* in *tout*.
8. y = French *u* in *une* 'moon.'
9. u = 1° French *u* in *mur* 'wall.'
10. u = 2° French *u* in *du* 'fire.'
11. ã = nasal *a*, approximatively.
12. ẽ = nasal *e*, *a*.
13. ẽ = nasal *e*, *i*.
14. ẽ = nasal *e*, *i*.
15. ũ = nasal *u*, *i*.
16. ỹ = nasal *u*, *i*.
17. ũ = nasal *u*, *i*.
18. k = *c* in *ce*.
19. ç = Italian *ci* in *la chiave* 'the key.'
20. g = *g* in *go*.
21. ǧ = Italian *gi* in *la giunta* 'the acorn.'
22. ng = *n* in *finger*.
23. ñ = *n* in *non*.
24. h = *s* in *case*.
25. χ = German *ch* in *nacht* 'night.'
26. χ = German *ch* in *ich* 'I.'
27. v = Modern Greek β in βασιλεύς 'wedding.'
28. γ = Modern Greek γ in γέρος 'race.'
29. γh = Dutch *g* in *gaan* 'to go.'
30. f = French *f* in *cœur* 'cough.'
31. l = French *l* in *lieu* 'two.'
32. n = French *n* in *nom* 'name.'
33. nj = French *gn* in *digne* 'worthy.'
34. rh = *r* in *rien*.
35. lh = *l* in *lire*.
36. s = *s* in *so*.
37. z = Modern Greek ζ in ζῶον 'animal.'
38. sh = *sh* in *shoe*.
39. zh = *s* in *measure*.
40. rs = Italian *r* in *la zia* 'the aunt.'
41. lz = Italian *l* in *la zona* 'the zone.'
42. ts = Italian *z* in *la cera* 'the wax.'
43. tz = Italian *g* in *la gente* 'the people.'
44. p = *p* in *par*.
45. b = *b* in *bar*.
46. m = *m* in *me*.
47. t = *t* in *to*.
48. v = *v* in *vine*.
49. th = Polish *ł* in *łono* 'bosom,' approximatively.
50. ' = French *e* in *ème* 'plate.'
51. j = Italian *j* in *mai* 'sons.'
52. rr = Spanish *r* in *rey* 'king.'
53. r = Spanish *r* in *oro* 'gold.'

(') accent. (¯) = long quantity; (^) *a*, with accent.

three documents into one more phonetic, and to making some observations on the isolated words of the list, comparing them with those of the other Albanian dialects of Albania, Greece, Calabria (Frascineto variety), and Sicily (Piana de' Greci variety).[3]

I°. Isolated Albanian Words.

1. Baf 'bean'; báthə *t. gr. c.*; bath, bákel *sc.*; frašúlə *g.*

2. Bekkúmia 'Virgin Mary,' *viz.* 'the blessed'; bēkúem *sc.* 'blessed,' and also 'Virgin Mary'; Perndiljémə *sc.* 'Virgin Mary,' *viz.* 'God's Mother,' from *Perndi* 'God' and *émə* 'mother,' corresponding to the Greek θεοτόκος. For 'blessed,' I find in *g.* bekúmə; *t.* bekúarə; *c. s.* bekúar. (*See* 12.)

3. Brek 'breeches'; brékə *t. gr. g.*; tîrk *c.*; tirk, šandervâr, šarvâr, brendevék *sc.* In *t.* and *gr.* 'tirk' is 'gaiter.'

4. Brem 'evening'; mbrə́mə *t. c. s.*; prə́mə *gr.*; mbréme, prémə *c.*; mrámə *g.*; mbrámie, mrámie, mrame, prámie *sc.*

5. Búkka 'the bread'; búkə 'bread' *t. gr. c. s. g.*; buk *sc.*

6. Drit 'day,' as in *mir drit* 'good day,' but *dritə* in *t. c. s. g.* and *drit* in *sc.* mean 'light.' Dítə 'day' in *t. c. s. g.* and in *sc.* dit.

7. Duf 'gun (portable)'; duféк *t. gr. s.*; duffék *c.*; dyfék *t.*; púškə *g.*; pušk, pušk e gjat *sc.*

8. Énja 'yes'; po *t. gr. g. sc.*; possí *sc.*; e, ai *gr.*; ə̆χ *c.*; ə̆χj *s.*

9. Érbi 'the barley'; eljp 'barley' *t. gr. c. g.*; elp *s.*; elb *sc.*

10. Flî 'sleep (thou)'; fljî *t.*; fiə *c.*; flə *s.*; fljị *g.*; fleị *sc.*

11. Greg 'raise (thou)'; ngre *t. c. s. g.*; ngri *t.*; ngreh *sc.*

12. Ibekkúmia 'God,' *viz.* i Bekkumia 'the Blessed,' corruptly for *i Bekkumi*, as *Bekkumia* (*see* 2) is properly the definite feminine without the prepositive feminine article *e* when it means 'Virgin Mary,' while the prepositive mas-

[3] Gheg Albanian is indicated by *g.*; Tosk Albanian, by *t.*: Albanian of Greece, by *gr.*; Albanian of Frascineto (Calabria), by *c.*; Albanian of Piana de' Greci (Sicily), by *s.*; Albanian of Scutari, by *sc.*

culine article *i* makes all the difference, which seems very strange, between 'God' and 'Virgin Mary.' *Bekkumi*, I repeat, ought to be the masculine and *bekkumia* the feminine, as is shown by all the other Albanian dialects, in which 'the blessed' or 'benedictus' is: 'i bēkúemi' in *sc.*; 'i bekúmi' *g.*; 'i bekúari' *t.* These are the Albanian names of 'God': Perəndí *g.*; Perendí, Perenní *sc.*; Perndí *t. sc.*; Hýi *sc.*; Ágo (*archaic*) *g.*; Inzót *gr. c. s. sc.*; Tinzót *c. s. sc.*; Tenzót *sc.*; Zot *g. sc.* (*Zot*, in the other dialects, means 'lord, master, God,' but not 'God' exclusively); Dzot, Zotýn *sc.*; Dhéy *gr.*; Alhá (*Turkish*) *t.*; Ālhhâ (*Turkish*) *sc.*

13. Játta 'the father'; tátə 'father' *t. gr.*; babá, ljáljə *t.* (This last word, in *g.*, according to Hahn, either means 'young father,' or 'grown-up eldest brother.') Tat *c. s. sc.*; at *gr. c. s. g. sc.*; jat (corruptly, which properly means 'his' or 'her father') *gr. c. s.*, as is the case with 'játta'; bab *sc.*

14. Jo 'no,' in all dialects.

15. Káli 'the horse'; kalj 'horse' *t. gr.*; káljə *t.*; kâlj *c. g.*; kal *s.*; kâl *sc.*

16. Kampára 'the bell'; kambánə 'bell' *t.*; kumbórə *gr.*; kumbôr, kampán *c.*; kumbónə *g.*; kumón *sc.*

17. Kavaljería 'the staircase'; škálə 'staircase' *t. g.*; škálhə *gr.*; škal *c.*; škalh, skalh *sc.*

18. Klíša 'the church'; kjíšə 'church' *t. c.*; kljíšə *gr. c.*; klíšə *c. s.*; kíšə *g.*; kiš *sc.*

19. Krisí 'winę' (*modern Greek κρασί*); vérə *t. gr. c. s.*; vérrə *t.*; vę́nə *g.*; vę̨n *sc.*

20. Krúra 'the corn'; grur 'corn' *t. gr. c.*; grų̄n *g. sc.*; dríthə *t. gr. g.*; drith *s. sc.*; bardh *sc.*; krapúa *c.*

21. Kumáre 'ass'; gomár *t. gr. g.*; gomâr *t. sc.*; magjár *g.*; magâr, margatš *sc.*; gaidhûr *c.*; γhaidhúr *s.* (*modern Greek γάϊδαρος*).

22. Kupúts 'shoe'; kəpútsə *t. c. s. g.*; keputs, kputs *sc.*

23. Léšidi 'the hairs'; lješ 'hair' *t. c. g.*; lheš *gr.*; leš *sc.*; flok *c. sc.*; kjíme *t. c. s. g.*; tšýme, tšym, kjym, kym, kim *sc.*; krip *s.*

24. Mir 'good'; mírə *t. gr. c. s. g.*; mir *sc.*

25. Missi 'the flesh'; miš 'flesh' *t. gr. c. s. g. sc.*

26. Mma 'mother'; mə́mmə, ə́mmə, émə, nə́nnə, nə́nə, nəne *t.*; mə́mə, ə́mə *t. c. s.*; jə́mə *c.* (this word properly means 'his' or 'her mother'); múmə *s.*; ámmə *g.*; am, nạn, non *sc.*; and in *g.*, according to Hahn, 'old mother' nánnə, 'young mother' and also 'grown-up eldest sister' mə́mmə.

27. Múskia 'the mule'; múškə 'mule' *t. gr. c. g.*; musk, mušk *sc.*

28. Nússi 'the twine'; spa*n*go 'twine' *t.*; spágo *gr.*; spá*n*gə *g.*; špag, spag, sidzím *sc.*

29. Pélja 'the mare'; pélljə 'mare' *t.*; péljə *t. c. g.*; pélə *s.*; pel *sc.*

30. Potsára 'the fair'; pazár 'fair' *t. gr. g.*; pazâr, bazâr, patsâr *sc.*; markát *c.*

31. Rruša 'the grapes'; rruš 'grapes' *t. c. s. g. sc.*; ruš *gr.*

32. Rússia 'the bride'; núse 'bride' *t. gr. c. s.*; nus *sc.*; nýse *gr.*

33. Zímbra 'the heart'; zə́mərə 'heart' *t. c. s.*; zə́mbərə *t.*; zémərə, zémbərə *g.*; zémer, zémber *sc.*

34. Stipía 'the house'; štəpí 'house' *t. gr.*; štəpî *t. g.*; špî *c. sc.*; špi *s.*; štpî, štpíe *sc.*

35. Šéndra 'saints'; šə́int, sənt 'saint' *t.*; šə́it *c.*; šéit *gr. s.*; šę́it, šę́nt *sc.*

36. Skiókkje (? šókkje) 'wife'; šókje *t. c. s. g.*; šotš, fat *sc.*; ljakurík *t.*

37. Trešíra 'the oats'; təršə́rə 'oats' *t. g.*; drəšə́rə *gr.*; trišán, teršán *sc.*

38. U 'I'; u *t. gr. c. s. g.*; únə *t. g.*; une *c. sc.*; un *g. sc.*

II°. Phrases.

1. Lenji sadrat dritne. *Ital.* "Lascio a voi il buon dì."
   I wish you good day. Liter. *I leave you the good day.*
2. Pentsò pe gyam ime se iete mettí.
   Think of my relative who is with you.
3. Ets, ka ta funja.
   Go, lest I beat thee.

III°. Romance of the Betrothed.

1. Finja ke u ge te denja, ma isì pansan,
   I feigned not to love thee, but it was false,
2. Ma ti e denji pinsieri imi.
   But thou didst penetrate my thoughts.
3. Perpona ti skoda me bus.
   I passed proudly before thee.
4. Klevui pe de kristéra sengetava mir drit.
   It was because of the people (liter. *Christians*) *that I did not say good day.*
5. Kom leu kuší denja miru u,
   I have maintained (liter. *left*) *in me the good love,*
6. De tua mire ti, zimbra imme.
   To love well thee, my heart.
7. Naní, pierrimi didukami mira;
   Now, let the sincere love return to us;
8. Se skiokkje (?šokkje) mi kadiessiei, gedó Ibekkumia.
   For thou shalt be my wife, please God.

N.B.—The language of this song and that of the preceding phrases is very corrupt.

The following notes are referred to on the next page.

[4] The Roman numerals in the first column refer to the sounds of Note 2. The Arabic figures in the other columns give the current numbers of the sounds of each dialect.

[5] The Albanian of Calabria is here meant that of Frascineto in Calabria Citeriore.

[6] The Albanian of Sicily is here meant that of Piana de' Greci in the Province of Palermo.

[7] A preceding dot means that the sound represented by the number is only partially used.

TABLE ENUMERATING THE SIMPLE ALBANIAN SOUNDS ACCORDING TO DIALECTS.[4]

SYMBOLS.	SCUTARI.	GHEG.	TOSK.	GREECE.	CALABRIA[5]	SICILY.[6]
I. a	1	1	1	1	1	1
II. e 1)	2	2	2	2	2	2
III. e 2)	3	3	3	—	3	3
IV. i	4	4	4	3	4	4
V. o 1)	5	5	5	4	5	5
VI. o 2)	6	6	6	—	6	6
VII. u	7	7	7	5	7	7
VIII. y	8	8	8	6	—	—
IX. ə 1)	9	9	9	7	8	8
X. ə 2)	—	—	·10	—	—	—
XI. ą	10	10	—	—	—	—
XII. ę	11	11	—	—	—	—
XIII. ị	12	12	—	—	9	—
XIV. ǫ	13	13	—	—	—	—
XV. ụ	14	14	—	—	—	—
XVI. y̨	15	15	—	—	—	—
XVII. ə̨	—	—	—	—	10	—
XVIII. k	16	16	11	8	11	9
XIX. kj	17	17	12	9	12	10
XX. g	18	18	13	10	13	11
XXI. gj	19	19	14	11	14	12
XXII. ṅ	20	20	15	12	15	13
XXIII. j	21	21	16	13	16	14
XXIV. h	22	22	17	14	—	—
XXV. χ	—	·23[7]	·18	15	17	15
XXVI. χj	—	·24	·19	16	18	16
XXVII. γ	—	—	·20	—	—	—
XXVIII. γj	—	·25	·21	—	—	17
XXIX. γh	—	—	—	—	—	18
XXX. t	23	26	22	17	19	19
XXXI. d	24	27	23	18	20	20
XXXII. n	25	28	24	19	21	21
XXXIII. nj	26	29	25	20	22	22
XXXIV. th	27	30	26	21	23	23
XXXV. dh	28	31	27	22	24	24
XXXVI. s	29	32	28	23	25	25
XXXVII. z	30	33	29	24	26	26
XXXVIII. š	31	34	30	25	27	27
XXXIX. ž	32	35	31	26	28	28
XL. ts	33	36	32	27	29	29
XLI. dz	34	37	33	28	30	30
XLII. tš	35	38	34	29	31	31
XLIII. dž	36	39	35	30	32	32
XLIV. p	37	40	36	31	33	33
XLV. b	38	41	37	32	34	34
XLVI. m	39	42	38	33	35	35
XLVII. f	40	43	39	34	36	36
XLVIII. v	41	44	40	35	37	37
XLIX. lh	42	·45	·41	36	—	—
L. l	43	46	42	—	38	38
LI. lj	44	47	43	37	39	39
LII. rr	45	48	44	38	40	40
LIII. r	46	49	45	39	41	41
S. 53	46	49	45	39	41	41

Concluding Remark.

Although in appreciating the Albanian sounds I have principally depended on my own ear, I have not neglected to consult the following works: 1°. The Grammar, the Italian Albanian, and the Albanian Italian Dictionaries by *P.* F. Rossi. Rome, 1866–75. The works of this author, in spite of his great practical knowledge of the Gheg dialect of Scutari, being wholly unscientific, I have been obliged to submit several of his statements to one of the most competent judges of this dialect, Monsignor G. Crasnich, Mitred Abbot of Mirditta, and a native Albanian. A long-continued discussion with this Prelate and *P.* Rossi has almost always confirmed my appreciations of the Albanian sounds of Scutari. 2°. The Gospel according to Saint Matthew, translated by *P.* Rossi into this dialect, but at the same time carefully revised and corrected by Monsignor Crasnich. 3°. My own "Osservazioni sulla pronunzia del dialetto scutarino, etc.," preceding that translation, edited by me in London in 1870, and one copy of which I have had the honour to present to our Society. 4°. "Elementi grammaticali della lingua albanese," by G. Jungg, S.J. Scutari, 1881. For the Gheg central or general dialect, Hahn's great work has been one of my guides, but above all Kristoforidhis's works. For the Tosk dialect of Albania, I have not failed to consult Hahn's, Dozon's and Kristoforidhis's works on or in Tosk. For the Tosk of Greece, my only printed guide has been "*Ἀλβανικὸν ἀλφαβηταριον κατὰ τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι ὁμιλούμενον ἀλβανικὸν ἰδίωμα,*" by Kolorioti. Athens, 1882; but several Albanians of Greece have also enabled me to appreciate the sounds as uttered by themselves. For the Tosk dialects of Frascineto in Calabria Citeriore and for the Tosk of Piana de' Greci in the Province of Palermo, I have followed my own "Osservazioni" preceding the translation of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew into these two dialects; the first by Sig. V. Dorsa (London, 1869), and the second by Don Demetrio Camarda, the well-known author of the "Grammatologia albanese" (London, 1868). These two translations I have already presented to our Society.

Adriatic Sea
Gulf of Taranto
OSTUNI
BRINDISI
MARTINA
CEGLIE
Mesagne
FRANCAVILLA
MOTULA
CASTELLANETA
Grottaglie
ORIA
Massafra
Ginosa
Campi
LECCE
Vernole
Salice
Novoli
Carosino
S.Marzano
Monteparano
Manduria
TARANTO
S.Giorgio
Roccaforzata
Sava
Faggiano
S.Martino
Monteroni
Caprarica
Calimera
S.Cesareo
Martignano
Carpignano
Copertino
Sternatia
Martano
Cannole
Zollino
Castrignano
Corse
Soleto
Melpignano
Coregliano
OTRANTO
S.PIETRO
Maglie
Nardo
Cutrofiano
Galatone
Poggiardo
GALLIPOLI
Parabita
CASTRO
Casarano
Ruffano
Tricase
UGENTO
ALESSANO
Prosicce
Gagliano
Explanation
Albanian Villages
id now almost Italian
Greek Villages
id now almost Italian

Albanians of Scutari, Middle Albania, Southern Albania, Greece, Calabria, and Sicily, I have had frequent occasions to hear at Rome, Venice, Leghorn, Ancona, Sinigaglia (before the suppression of the celebrated fair of this pretty little town), and even here in London, where Don Demetrio Camarda of Piana de' Greci was my guest for some months; but, in spite of all my researches and so many oral contributions, it is not to be expected that all the sounds occurring in the innumerable varieties of the Albanian language are to be found registered in the preceding Table, which has no other pretension than that of presenting the richest list of these sounds hitherto compiled.

XVII.—THIRTEENTH ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, 16TH MAY, 1884. By J. A. H. MURRAY, B.A., LL.D.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—

WHEN you did me the honour of re-electing me to the office of President two years ago, it was with an understanding that, in consideration of the claims of the Dictionary upon my time and energies, I should be spared the labour of preparing an annual Presidential Address. Last year, accordingly, our annual meeting took place without any such accompaniment, and I believe I might have claimed a similar

dispensation again this evening. May I still crave the same indulgence, to excuse, not my silence, but the ill-digested and inadequate apology for an address which I venture to offer. Since undertaking the Dictionary, I have felt constrained to say, under the attractions of many things which I should like to do, "Hoc unum facio;" and this restriction of my attention to a single object and to matters directly bearing upon it, which prevents me from expatiating in the fields of General Philology, and presenting you to-night with a broad tableau of the present state of Philological science, and of its progres during the last two years, has also rendered it impracticable for me to spend time in petitioning foreign philologists for reports on the various departments which they severally cultivate; so that I have also but small wealth of this borrowed sort, wherewith to eke out my own deficiencies. No one can feel more painfully than I do the contrast between the rich and overflowing address of Mr. Ellis two years ago and my own this evening; may other services to the Society and to English philology be accepted in compensation!

Obituary.

These anniversary meetings seldom return without bringing some vacant places to remind us that one or more of our fellow-workers have during the year gone over to the great majority. On the present occasion we miss the face of a member of the Society, and a member of the Council, who was seldom absent from our meetings, Mr. Charles Bagot Cayley. So regular indeed was Mr. Cayley in his attendance, that it was with no little surprise, that on assembling on the 7th of December last to hear a paper read by him upon one of the branches of Greek philology, to which he devoted his attention, we found ourselves waiting for his appearance. He never came: unknown to any of us then, he had expired on the morning of the preceding day, apparently of heart disease, and during sleep. Mr. Cayley, who was the son of Henry Cayley, a Russia merchant, and a younger brother of the well-known Sadlerian Professor at Cambridge, was

born near St. Petersburg in 1823; educated at Mr. Pollecary's school, Blackheath, King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a second class in the Classical Tripos in 1845. Several of his earlier years had been spent in Russia, and he would seem to have there acquired something of the facility as a linguist which the Russians are commonly supposed to possess. At King's College, London, he became the most proficient pupil of the Italian Professor, Gabriele Rosetti, and to Mr. W. M. Rosetti we are indebted for a genial notice of his linguistic and literary work which with the author's permission I transfer to these pages.

"His principal success as a poetic translator is the 'Divine Comedy' of Dante, in the original *terza rima*, published towards 1853–55, in three volumes, with a fourth volume of very serviceable notes. So large and arduous an attempt as the 'Divine Comedy,' anglicized in its own trying metre, must necessarily be subject to certain drawbacks; some concession must be made, now of sense to verse, and now of verse to sense, or again of archaic to modern, or of modern to archaic, diction. When all imperfections have been allowed for, Mr. Cayley's version must be pronounced to be very considerably the best and most thorough rendering into English of the 'Commedia,' the one which, attempting most and aiming highest, reaches also furthest. This monument of well-directed energy, insight, and scholarship was succeeded by other translations—the Psalms in metre, the 'Prometheus' of Æschylus, Homer's 'Iliad,' and Petrarca's 'Canzoniere.' In these works, again, Mr. Cayley never spared himself; his 'Iliad,' for instance, being not only in hexameters, but in quantitative hexameters. His success has been differently estimated; but, at any rate, a large measure of praise, however qualified by dissent, whether from theory or from practice, must be conceded to him. He published also, many years ago, a volume of original poems, named 'Psyche's Interludes'; some of the same compositions, with others added, reappeared lately in a privately printed volume.

"Mr. Cayley . . . . knew various languages besides the Hebrew, Greek, and Italian, from which his principal translations were executed. In illustration of his faculty for acquiring foreign tongues there is a story, possibly apocryphal, that he was once asked to see through the press a version of the New Testament in the Iroquois language. Among the languages which Cayley did *not* know, Iroquois not unnaturally figured; but he buckled to at once, learned in a month or so enough Iroquois for present needs, and accomplished his task satisfactorily.

"A more complete specimen than Mr. Charles Cayley of the abstracted scholar in appearance and manner—the scholar who constantly lives an inward and unmaterial life, faintly perceptive of external facts and appearances—could hardly be conceived. He united great sweetness to great simplicity of character, and was not less polite than unworldly. In a small circle of intimates his death leaves a mournful blank; they 'will not look upon his like again.' It may be that Mr. Cayley never sat for his portrait; but a very strong and excellent likeness of him is preserved among the frescoes which Mr. Madox Brown is painting in the Town Hall of Manchester. The last subject completed there by the painter is Crabtree, the astronomical draper of Broughton of the seventeenth century, eagerly and breathlessly watching the transit of Venus; Mr. Cayley sat for the head and action of Crabtree, and in Crabtree our progeny will know what the best translator of Dante was like."

Mr. Cayley was elected a member of our Society in 1870. He had already in Nov. 1869 read us a paper upon the *Modern Names of the Letters of the Alphabet*, printed in our Transactions for 1870; and he has since, from time to time, read papers *On certain discrepancies in the Early Alphabets*, 17th Nov. 1871 (Trans. 1873), *On certain Italian Diminutives* (Trans. 1875), *On the Aspects of the Verbs in Russian Grammar* (Trans. 1880), *On Greek Pronunciation and the Distribution of the Greek Accents* (read 17th Feb. 1882), *On the English name of the Letter Y*, 4th May, 1883. I do not know whether the two papers which he was to read

this session were written at the time of his death; if they were prepared, we may perhaps still have them.

Other losses which the Society has sustained during the past year are those of Mr. Nicholas Trübner, well known to all English purchasers of Continental and American books, and the publisher of our Transactions as well as those of the Early English Text, and kindred societies, who has been a member since 1859; Lieut. E. B. Eastwick, the translator of the English edition of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* (1845), who became a member in 1854; F. S. Reilly, a member since 1859; Ralph Carr Ellison, since 1861; G. T. Davy, since 1862; and I am sure that painful regret will be felt by all present, when I state that on my way to this meeting, I have been told that another esteemed member of our Council, Mr. E. R. Horton, Vice-Master of University College School, died only this afternoon.

The Work of the Philological Society.

The *Monthly Proceedings*, edited by our Vice-President, Mr. Henry Sweet, have furnished an account of the papers and communications brought before the Society during the past two years; several of the papers have also been already printed, so that I need only, according to precedent, classify them, by way of showing the branches of philology which have chiefly occupied our attention.

In *English Philology* Mr. H. Sweet has read papers upon 'Intonation in spoken English,' 'the history of G in English,' with a special investigation of its power in Old English, 'the phonetic history of *it*, with reference to the gradual loss of the initial *h*,' 'Notes on the history of the words *hive* and *wicing*'; also during the present year, 'Notes on the hard words of the Epinal MS.,' upon his publication of the facsimile of which, with his valuable transcripts, Mr. Sweet deserves our hearty congratulations. Mr. James Platt read us a somewhat scathing criticism of the new edition of Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* continued by Prof. Toller; Prof. Skeat sent an interesting paper on the etymology of the word *surround*; and I discoursed upon the

phonetic history of O.E. verbs in *-egan*, and their double stem forms in M.E., as in *sedging*, *say*, of which the latter now survives. From time to time I also called your attention to various points of word-history which had arisen in connexion with the Dictionary, including the words *agnail*, *anan*, *anbury*, which have since appeared in Part I., and more recently *antennae*, *anther*, *antic*, *appal*, *arbour*, *archipelago*, *argoil*, *argosy*, *aroint*, *arrant*, which will appear in Part II. It has been suggested that, as the concise form in which the etymology must be given in the Dictionary does not always admit of a full exhibition of the evidence on which conclusions are reached, a more detailed exhibition of the facts as to special words might be given in our Transactions.

Etymology was touched upon also by Mr. Walter R. Browne's two papers upon the difficult subject of the origin of certain Technical Terms, especially in Engineering, and his paper 'On Celtic Place-names,' supplementary to those on English and Scottish place-names, formerly read. These papers by Mr. Browne are distinguished above all by their important array of *facts*, as to the actual distribution of all the chief formatives of local names. A somewhat kindred subject was treated etymologically and historically by the Rev. E. Maclure in his paper on 'Personal and Place Names.' Mr. Ellis brought before us on three separate evenings some of the results of his researches into the geographical distribution and classification of the Northern English, Lowland Scottish, and Insular Scottish dialects, of which the full treatment will appear in the next part of his work upon Early English Pronunciation. The paper on Insular Scottish, dealing with the Orkney and Zetland Islands, was of special interest, exhibiting facts of the greatest importance never before collected. Besides these papers Mr. Ellis opportunely occupied an evening on which the paper announced failed us, by giving an account of his researches into the present delimitation of Welsh and English in Wales and along the Welsh Marches. Of investigations into the actual state of English Dialects, we had a paper by Mr. Elworthy supple-

mentary to his already-published papers on the Pronunciation and Grammar of the West Somerset dialect, and anticipatory of the Glossary with which he will crown the edifice of his dialect labours. Mr. W. Jones's paper upon English words in the Anglesey dialect, showing the phonetic changes which these words have undergone, since their adoption from Old, Middle, or Modern English, was of equal interest in its bearing upon English and upon Welsh philology.

In *Teutonic Philology* outside of English, our only paper was Mr. Sweet's account of the important personal researches made by him in company with Prof. Storm, of Christiania, into the dialects of Norway.

The old *Classical* languages were represented by Mr. Sweet's paper upon 'the phonetic treatment of final *-m* in Latin,' Prof. Postgate upon some 'Latin Etymologies,' and 'the study of Latin authors as bearing upon Romance;' by Mr. Cayley 'on Greek pronunciation and accent;' and by Dr. Weymouth on the Homeric πέλωρ, πέλωρος, and πελώριος. Here must also be mentioned a careful monograph by Mr. G. A. Schrumpf giving an account of the Oscan inscription discovered in 1876 at Capua, with its text, and critical treatment by scholars.

In *Neo-Latin* or *Romance philology* Mr. Sweet gave a minute account of 'the phonology of spoken Portuguese,' the result of his personal observation of the pronunciation of a cultivated native of Lisbon. Mr. Sweet's results were subsequently criticised by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who compared them with his own, and those of Mr. R. S. Vianna. The Prince also read papers on 'The Names of Reptiles in the Neo-Latin languages and dialects,' in which (a point of the greatest value) his own classification of these languages and dialects is incidentally exhibited; on 'Initial Mutation in the Celtic and Romance Languages'; on 'Italian and Uralic possessive suffixes compared'; and on 'Albanian in Terra d'Otranto.'

Papers of a more general character were those of Rev. W. E. Lach Szyrma, on 'the Decay of Languages,' illustrated by the history of the dying out of Cornish; the late Mr.

Cayley's on 'the English name of the letter Y,' a subject to which he had first called attention many years ago, and to which a pertinent note was now also communicated by Mr. Danby P. Fry. Only remotely connected with Philology was Mr. Hodgett's paper on 'the Myth of the Week.'

Such are the subjects which have occupied our attention at the monthly meetings: it is noticeable, that no paper on any branch of Semitic or Oriental Philology, and indeed none upon any extra-European language is to be found amongst the number.

In addition to these, we have had two, or including the anniversary meeting a year ago, three so-called 'Dictionary evenings,' at which I have furnished a report of the progress made with the Dictionary, and discussed the problems either of method or of fact, which had at the time presented themselves. Judging from the attendance at these meetings, their subject seemed to come into contact with the general apprehension at more points than some of the erudite papers presented at the meetings. The mention of these naturally introduces the next head of my address.

The Society's Dictionary.

Three years ago my predecessor in office, Mr. Ellis, referring in his Address to the Dictionary, expressed the hope that I 'might be able from the chair to exhibit the first printed facsimile of the work to the longing eyes of our members.' This hope was realized at the Dictionary Evening on the 18th January last, when by the kind permission of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, I had the pleasure of laying upon the table three advance copies of Part I., which was actually published on the 1st February following. I need hardly remind you that five years have passed since the completion of our contract with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press on 1st March, 1879, and that nearly two years elapsed between the despatch of the first copy to the printers in May, 1882, at the close of the preparatory reading, and the publication of the first part, an extension of the time considered beforehand necessary for the preparation

of the work, which must fill the Society as it has filled myself and the Delegates of the Clarendon Press with the gravest concern, and which at the present moment engages our most anxious consideration. Every one feels that, on every ground, it is desirable that the Dictionary should be produced much more rapidly, at the rate, if possible, of two parts in the year; but we, who have to do the actual work, know the long hours occupied in the attempt to complete information and settle fundamental points in word-history, and the slowness with which one builds up a fabric of fact, when in many cases nearly all the material has still to be collected. Notwithstanding all the dictionaries already made (the number, if not the family likeness of which, might certainly excuse a well-known public man to whom I was recently introduced in Edinburgh as "Dr. Murray, of the Dictionary," for exclaiming with somewhat bewildered air, "but which Dictionary? for you see, there are so many of them!")—notwithstanding their number, the general excellence of their definitions, and the important guidance which they give in many ways,—notwithstanding also the expressly etymological work of Mahn in the last edition of Webster, of Mr. Wedgwood, of Eduard Müller, and above all of Professor Skeat,—I feel that in many respects I and my assistants are simply pioneers, pushing our way experimentally through an untrodden forest, where no white man's axe has been before us. This is confessedly the case with the Middle English words, which modern dictionaries, explanatory or etymological, do not profess to touch—and obviously also with the Middle English senses and uses of words, the exhibition of which is necessary to complete the history of the words themselves and often even to account for their modern meaning; but it is equally true of all modern words of any age, so far as regards the history and development of their senses, a department of lexicography, in which simply nothing whatever has been done in English, and which we feel to be by far the heaviest and hardest part of the work. Only those who have made the experiment, know the bewilderment with which editor or

subeditor, after he has apportioned the quotations for such a word as *above*, *against*, *account*, *allow*, *and*, *art*, *as*, *assize*, or *at* among 20, 30 or 40 groups, and furnished each of these with a provisional definition, spreads them out on a table or on the floor, where he can obtain a general survey of the whole, and spends hour after hour in shifting them about like the pieces on a chess-board, striving to find in the fragmentary evidence of an incomplete historical record, such a sequence of meanings as may form a logical chain of development. Sometimes the quest seems hopeless; recently, for example, the word *art* utterly baffled me for several days; something *had* to be done with it; something was done and put in type; but the renewed consideration of it in print, with the greater facility of reading and comparison which this afforded, led to the entire pulling to pieces and reconstruction of the edifice, extending over several columns of type. Such is the nature of the task; those who think that such work can be hurried, or that anything can accelerate it, except more brain power brought to bear on it, had better try. There are plenty of words ahead of me like those just mentioned, the quotations for which, already classified in senses, and arranged by dates, I shall be glad to hand over to any one who will try to bring them into passable order before I reach them. There is no part of the work in which more efficient help might now be rendered to us.[1]

Much time is necessarily consumed in working out the historical etymology. Professor Skeat will, I am certain, be the first to admit that, notwithstanding his own labours, coming after those of several able predecessors, an enormous amount of work still remains to be done, and that many thousands of difficulties still remain unsolved. A good many of these are doubtless insoluble; there are words in

[1] I have to acknowledge the valued help of Mr. G. A. Schrumpf of Tettenhall College, in thus undertaking a preliminary struggle with the difficulties of the preposition *At*; of the Rev. C. B. Mount of Norham Road, Oxford, of doing the same with considerable sections of *At-*, and *Ba-*, and of Mr. E. Gunthorpe, of 4, Ranmoor Terrace, Sheffield, in undertaking other parts of the same letters; by these coadjutors, our progress with the words and parts in question has been sensibly accelerated.

daily use, e.g. *askance, askew, asquint,* of which we cannot even say with any certainty whether they are of Teutonic or Romance origin; we do not even see whence any evidence is to come to enable us to determine so much as this preliminary question; but there are many others as to which our slips furnish new light, or more frequently by their combined evidence suggest doubt as to accepted views, and the necessity for further inquiry, which occupies further time and labour. In one sense an investigation of the etymology is a preliminary to the historical treatment of a word within the language; we must know its previous history in order to have a known point from which to start in the development of the forms and senses; in another sense the complete exhibition of the etymology is only possible after we know the history within the language, the decision between two or more *à priori* possible etymologies depending upon the historical forms and senses of the word itself. In other words the writing of the Morphology, and of the Sematology, must go hand in hand; no satisfactory Etymological Dictionary can be produced without full knowledge of the later phonology and sematology; no history of the forms and senses within the language can be exhibited which does not start from an accurate account of the form, sense, and conditions under which the word entered the language.

These considerations answer the question which has sometimes been asked, why, with the object of saving time, we cannot let etymology alone, and exhibit the historical forms and uses of the words without entering into questions of their origin, which might well be left for professed etymologists to discover and exhibit? Such might certainly be done with a dictionary devoted solely to the exhibition of contemporary usage, without regard to the origin of that usage, but in a Dictionary on Historical Principles it would be impossible. The very assignment of a word to its grammatical class, may depend upon a knowledge of its derivation. Take as an example the question whether ASLOPE, which I have recently had to deal with, is to be considered primarily as an adjective, or as an adverb. In modern

usage it is both, the adverbial use being the more usual. The answer to the question depends upon the origin of *aslope:* if it is a compound like *a-sleep* or *a-shore* meaning primarily *on the slope*, it ought to be considered primarily as an adverb, occasionally used adjectively; but if it is a word analogous to *awake*, that is to say a past participle which has dropped its final *n*, we must consider it primarily as an adjective, often used adverbially.[1] The solution of the question is by no means easy; so far as evidence goes *aslope* is really found much earlier than *slope*, and cannot naturally be considered a compound of it; rather does it seem that the two are contracted from the O.E. pa. pples. *aslopen* and *slopen*, meaning 'slipped away,' and 'slipped' respectively; *slope* may however be an aphetic form of *aslope* like *'live* of *alive*, *'stray* of *astray*; in any case *slope* was at first an adjective, and gave origin at a much later time to the verb *to slope* and still later to the substantive *slope*, which may be compared to *steep*. The converse of this is shown in the case of the difficult word *squint:* whatever the origin, the earliest form in English by several centuries was *asquint*, certainly an adverb, in the Ancren Riwle, in the phrase 'biholdeth o luft and a squint' (looks to the left and off to one side). Subsequently *to look asquint* was shortened into *to look squint*, whence followed an adjective use, *to have the eye squint*, and *to have a squint eye*, still later the verb *to squint* first known to us in Shakspere's Macbeth, and the substantive *squint*, which is quite modern. There is a prevalent idea, that a *squint* in a cathedral is of ancient date: the *thing* may be old, but the *name* seems to belong only to the present day. Here the etymologist who should assume *to squint* to be the primitive form, and search for the origin of such a verb, would be altogether on a wrong

[1] *Asleep* and *awake*, so naturally associated, and on a superficial glance so similar in formation and function in the sentence, furnish a curious illustration of the levelling of forms totally distinct in origin; *asleep* is O.E. *on slépe* prep. and sb.; *awake* is O.E. *awacen* pa. pple. Both are used in the predicate 'Are you asleep?' 'No, I am awake.' *Awake* might also, consistently with its original character, be used attributively, though I know of no instance of it (except in combination, as in 'a wide-awake fellow'); but *asleep* could not be so used except by false analogy, which has actually led to such a use of *aloof*, and other similar formations.

tack; there is no evidence even that *squint* had originally anything more to do with the eyes, than *right* or *left* has: its meaning seems to be simply 'off at an angle' instead of 'straight forward,' and to have been as applicable to *throwing*, of which it is used by Milton, as to looking. These examples show how intimately the etymology and the grammatical character and use of words are connected with each other.

In adopted words, especially those adopted from or through French or other Romance languages, it is always doubtful to what extent etymological investigation should be pushed back. In *arsenal, artichoke, article, artillery*, for instance, would it be satisfactory simply to refer the word to the Italian or French antecedent, without any account of how the latter came into being, or acquired its special sense? I venture to think that it would not be satisfactory; that the English scholar is entitled to find in the Dictionary the fact of the Arabic origin of the two former words, with the general changes, whether of form or sense, to which they have been subjected in the Romance, before reaching English, as well as those to which they may have undergone in English itself. The various Romance forms are required even to account for and explain the multiplicity of early spellings in English itself, many of which were not home-born, but simply transferred from these other languages. And would it be satisfactory to find the grammatical use of ARTICLE simply given as one among many senses of the word, as an adoption of the French *article* or of Latin *articulus*, without any attempt to explain this curious application of the term, or as if the appellation 'little joint' were quite obviously descriptive of the words *the, an, a*? But this explanation does not lie in English, nor even in French, which simply received *articulus* in this sense from the ancient grammarians. No English Dictionary, etymological or other, so far as I have seen—no Latin Dictionary even—makes any attempt to tell *why* these words were called *article*; for the succinct sketch of what is ascertainable on this point, given in the Dictionary, I am indebted to Ingram Bywater, M.A., of Exeter College,

Oxford. ARTILLERY and ASHLAR also, if we are to do more than identify them with the French *artillerie*, *aisselier*, raise points of Old French etymology which can hardly be passed over in silence, even if they cannot definitely be settled.

But difficulties present themselves also with native words, which can hardly be passed over in such a work as our Dictionary: thus, in the case of the common word Ass, we might of course stop short at O.E. *assa*, without any attempt to face the problem of the origin of this word, or its relations (for obviously it has relations) to L. *asinus*, or the common Germanic *asil-os*, *esel*; but this would hardly be deemed a satisfactory treatment, at least if anything else is possible. The word is, indeed, one of considerable difficulty: beside the O.E. *assa*, the dictionaries give an erroneous feminine *asse*, without any authority. But there is a genuine O.E. feminine *assen*, analogous to *gyden*, *fyxen*, *wylfen*, *wylen*, which apparently did not survive into Middle English. *Assa* was not the Common Teutonic form; this is seen in Goth. *asilus*, O.H.G. *esil*, Mod. Germ. *esel*, Du. *ezel*, and prob. the O.E. *esol*, *esul*.[1] The Common Teutonic form is evidently an adaptation of L. *asinus*, and it was probably through Germanic that the Lithuanian *asilus*, and Old Slavonic *osilŭ*, were introduced. The relation between the Old Teutonic and Celtic names (Old Irish *asal*) is not certain; they can hardly have been independent adoptions of L. *asinus*, both with *l* for *n*; I think it probable that one was borrowed from the other. The Irish *asal* seems to have been the *immediate* source of the Old Northumbrian *asal*, *assal*, *assald*, the only name for the ass in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The origin of the specially English *assa* is obscure; it can hardly represent an earlier **asna*, since, as Prof. Sievers has pointed out to me, the change of **asna* to *assa* could only have taken place in Old Teutonic, and in that case, *assa* would really be an older word than *asilus*, *esil*, and we should expect to find parallel forms of it

[1] Probably; but the *o*, *u* of the second syllable is not accounted for, and 'yet must be old, as it causes *u*- mutation of the root-vowel in the (Anglian) form *cosul*.'—Prof. Sievers.

in other Germanic languages, which we do not. Moreover, if *assa* represented an earlier *asna*, it could point only to an Old Teutonic **asnôn* for **asinôn*, a masc. *-n* stem, and it would be impossible to account for such a form, as an adoption of L. *asinus*, which would give simply a strong masculine *asinoz*. In these difficulties, I suggest that *assa* was really an Anglo-Saxon diminutive or pet-name, of the sort that Mr. Platt and Mr. Maclure have both recognized in such proper names as *Eada*, *Bæda*, *Ecga*, and especially those with doubled consonants, as *Ceadda*, *Ælla*, *Offa*. I take it as a diminutive either of the Northumbrian form *assal*, *assald*, or of the Latin, which would solve many difficulties, explaining the retention of the *a*, instead of its change to *æ* before two consonants, *assa* rather than *æssa*. The ass is an animal specially liable to diminutive or pet-names, as shown by the modern *donkey*, which has in familiar use almost superseded *ass*, as *assa* itself superseded the earlier Old English *esel*.

I may here mention two etymological works of great excellence, which will yield no small assistance to us in dealing with the etymology of the Common Teutonic part of our vocabulary, since in both of them the latest results as to the Old Teutonic forms are carefully exhibited. These are F. Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, published last year, and the *Etymolgisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, by Dr. Franck, with the supervision of Prof. Cosijn, of which the first *heft* has just appeared. But these also show how much more difficult is English etymology than either Dutch or German, and they tempt the English etymologist, as he drives his double team of Teutonic and Romanic, with the hybrid progeny produced between them, to envy the easier task which falls to the lot of the continental philologist.

Reading and Subediting.

Much of the slowness of our progress is due to incompleteness of materials; for more than five-sixths of the words we have to search out and find additional quotations in order to complete their history, and illustrate the senses;

for *every* word we have to make a general search to discover whether any earlier or later quotations, or quotations in other senses, exist. And of course we cannot exhaust the ground, or attain to absolute certainty, except in very exceptional cases. Nearly the whole quotations for *about*, *after*, *all*, *also*, *and*, in Part I., and for *any*, *as*, in Part II., have had to be found by myself and my assistants; and Mr. G. A. Schrumpf, who has put AT in preliminary form for me, complained that he had to spend most of his time in reading far and wide, to find quotations for that word.

I have often thought that if I could find time to direct it, or if the Society could find some one else to direct it, the reading of all books over again, with the instructions, "Take out quotations for all words that do *not* strike you as rare, peculiar, or peculiarly used," would be of enormous service to us. Clearly, the only way by which we could catch all words in all senses would be that of forming complete verbal indexes to all books, and still more clearly this is not only impossible, but the results would themselves be unmanageable; what time would the word *account*, for example, have taken, if even 10,000 verbal indexes had to be consulted for each of its senses to find its earliest occurrence therein? Evidently, therefore, our actual method of collecting quotations was the only practicable one, but, evidently also, it could not be exhaustive; it could only attain to approximative results. A little calm consideration of the possibilities of the case would perhaps prevent the undue elation of friends, who, on discovering an instance of a word ten, twenty, or fifty years earlier, send it with a flourish of trumpets to *Notes and Queries*, as if it were something marvellous that the Dictionary had missed it. Earlier instances will, I doubt not, yet be found of three-fourths of all the words recorded, above all, of the words introduced from Latin since the Renascence, of which we can claim to have done no more than indicate the general age, since they are possibilities which might appear at any one time as well as at another. We may be happy if, in such cases, we get within half a century of the actual first use of the word. It must

be remembered also that with the majority of words the earliest attainable written instance is after all not the beginning of the history, but only evidence of an indefinitely earlier beginning; the word was *spoken* before it was *written*, the written instance is, in most cases, evidence, not that the word was then coming into use, but that it was already established and known to readers generally. The example of modern words shows us that a word may be in conversational or even epistolary use for ten or twenty years before it attains to the dignity of literature.

I am glad to say that a perception of these wants has induced many of our readers to continue their work of reading and extracting quotations. Mr. Charles Gray, who already ranked high among our helpers, has worked carefully at the ordinary language of Addison and his colleagues, and has sent us many thousand quotations, from the *Spectator* and *Tatler*, for ordinary words, the constructions of verbs and prepositions, use of adverbs and conjunctions, which prove of the greatest value for giving us the literary usage of the eighteenth century. If the same could be done for some of the chief writers of the seventeenth century, of the sixteenth century, for some of the chief of Caxton's works, and for Chaucer and Gower, the Dictionary would be vastly enriched. Apparently, also, we might with advantage have a fuller representation of the ordinary language of the great masters of modern prose, so as always to be able to quote them for current literary usage.

For filling up gaps in our quotations, and completing the literary history of words, I have been most of all indebted to the following: Mr. Fitzedward Hall; Mr. T. Henderson, M.A., Bedford County School; Mr. Furnivall; Mr. Thomas Austin; Mr. E. S. Jackson, M.A., Plymouth; Mr. C. Gray, Wimbledon; Dr. Brushfield, Budleigh-Salterton; Mr. C. E. Doble, M.A., Oxford; Miss Edith Thompson, Wavertree; Mr. J. Randall, *Athenæum* Printing Office; Mr. C. Stoffel, Amsterdam; Prof. R. Helwich, Oberdöbling, Vienna; Mr. A. Lyall, Manchester; Mr. R. J. Whitwell, Kendal; Mr. W. Boyd, Cambridge, Mass. Among other readers, who

have either still continued their help, or have recently given important assistance by reading special books, are the Rev. Dr. Pierson, Ionia, Michigan; Rev. W. M. Kingsmill, Tibberton, Droitwich; Rev. B. Talbot, Columbus, Ohio; Mr. S. D. Major, Bath; Dr. W. C. Minor, Crowthorne; Mr. Geo. H. White, Torquay; Mr. G. M. Philips, West Chester, Pa.; Miss E. F. Burton, Carlisle; Mr. A. Beazeley, of the R.I.B.A.; Mr. E. Scott, British Museum; Rev. J. F. Fowler, Durham; Mr. A. K. Buehrle, Lancaster, Pa.; Mr. D. Ancona, Reading, Pa.; Miss E. H. Madan, Dursley Rectory, Gloucestershire.

In my Report on the progress of the Dictionary contributed to Mr. Ellis's Presidential Address in 1882, I spoke of finding "a fitting opportunity for acknowledging the help of the many hundred Readers who have worked so generously and ungrudgingly to furnish both general and special quotations to illustrate the history of words." In the *Reference List* of Books quoted in the Dictionary, the names of the Readers will also be commemorated; but that is still some years a-head, and, in the meantime, I propose with the permission of the Society to append to this, my retiring Address, a list of the Readers themselves, with the books read by each. This list will, I think, besides being of the nature of a just recognition of individual work, be interesting as a memorial of what may be done by co-operation, and as a sample of the vastness of the preliminary work done for the Dictionary since 1879—work itself only supplementary to the still more extensive collection of quotations made between 1857 and 1870.

The work of sub-editing still goes on prosperously, and the number of voluntary sub-editors has received accessions since the appearance of Part I. Considerable sections of the whole material have now been returned to me in a state which will, so far as the discrimination and arrangement of the senses are concerned, want little essential modification to fit it for the pages of the Dictionary; and still more extensive sections in which the sub-editing will at least prove very helpful in facilitating the final moulding of the

articles. The following are the sub-editors now at work whose names have already been recorded in the Preface to Part I.:—

	HAS FINISHED.	HAS IN HAND.
W. J. Anderson, Markinch	*Per-* to *Pleasantry*	*Pleasantry* to *Poz*
Rev. W. H. Beckett, Chelmsford	....	*Wa-*
Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield, B.A.	*Ga-* to *Griz-*	*Griz* to *Groundsel*; and will begin *F*
J. Brown, Kendal	*Ma-* to *Manu-*	*Manu-* to *Maz*
Miss J. E. A. Brown, Cirencester	*P-* to *Particle*; *Del- Derf*	*Derg* to *Dh-*
J. Britten, F.L.S., Isleworth	....	*Peasant* to *Polys*
E. L. Brandreth	....	*Ho-* to *Holy*
Rev. C G. Duffield, M.A., Cranleigh	....	*Tron* to *Truage*
F. T. Elworthy Wellington, Somset.	*De-* to *Deca-*	*Dece-* to *Delite*
H. Fitzgibbon, M.A., Dublin	....	*Head* to *Heresy*, of which half is ready to be returned
Rev. A. P. Fayers, Yeadon	*Bath-* to *Bea-*	*Na-*
Rev. W. Gregor, M.A., Pitsligo	*J-* to *Jaz-*	*Je-* to *Jyz-*
E. C. Hulme, Kensington	*Chub-* to *Cz*; *La-* to *Lete*	*Lete* to *Lik-*, is in box ready to be sent to him
T. Henderson, M.A., Bedford	*Bus-* to *Busy*	*Busy* to *By*
Miss M. Haig, Blairhill	....	*O* to *Oky*
P. Jacob, Guildford	*E*; *Q*; *S*; *Dis-* to *Dz*	Now revising *E*
A. Lyall, Manchester	....	*Tua-* to *Tz*
Rev. W. J. Löwenberg, M.A., Bury	....	*Oo-* to *Ou*
R. J. Lloyd, B.A., Liverpool	....	*Hi-*, only needs a few finishing touches
Rev. T. D. Morris, M.A., Tottington	....	*Group* to *Gy*
Rev. C. B. Mount, M.A.	*Che-* to *Chiz-*	Now revising *B*
Mrs. Pope, Clifton	*Chl-* to *Chry-*	*No-*
G. A. Schrumpf, Tettenhall	*Ha-* to *Harboury*	*Harboury* to *Haz*
Rev. T. Sheppard, B.D., Oxford	*U*; *V-*	*Me-*
Rev. J. Smallpeice, M.A., St. Bees	*Y* to *Yo-*; *Z* to *Zo-*	*Yo- Yz*; *Zo* to *Zz*
A. Sweeting, Birkenhead	....	*Tra-*
J. W. W. Tyndale, Evercreech	....	*Dif-* to *Dirv-*
T. Wilson, M.A., Harpenden	....	*Till-* to *Tmesis*
Rev. W. R. B. Wilson, M.A., Dollar	*Tal-* to *Tiling*	*To-* to *Toz*
E. Warner, Eltham	....	*Lu-* to *Lyz*

In addition to these, new helpers have volunteered their assistance:

R. F. Green, Liverpool, has undertaken *Nu-*
A. Hailstone, Bradford ,, ,, *Ne-*[1]

Messrs. A. W. Longden of Stockport, and H. S. Tabor of London, and Miss Westmacott of London, are working at the chronological arrangement of quotations.

And the large amount of new quotations received since

[1] Since this was written, Mr J. Trustram, Brunswick Square, W.C., has undertaken *Imp- Imy*; and the Rev. F. W. Haines, Putney, and the Hon. and Rev. S. W. Lawley, Exminster, have commenced *Hu-* and *Mo-* respectively.

some of the sub-editors completed their earlier work has led me to ask some of our friends to become *re-sub-editors*, to undertake the incorporation of these new slips with the earlier sub-edited work, and the modification of definitions or addition of new ones, whenever necessary in consequence. In this important work,

The Rev. C. B. Mount, M.A., Oxford (who has already finished *Che-* to *Chiz*), has been engaged upon ... ... *As-* and *At-*[1]
Mr. E. Gunthorpe, Sheffield, has been engaged upon *At-*
Dr. Brackebusch, Finchley Road, is engaged upon... *Ba-*
Mr. W. M. Rossetti (who did a large part of *L* in former times) is engaged upon ... ... *Be-*

The great value of this help has been manifest already in the portions which have since been finished for press, and its result will, I hope, be to accelerate the appearance of Part II.

In the Preface to Part I. the names have been recorded of the many eminent men to whom the thanks of the Philological Society, as well as my own, are due for assistance on special points in the dictionary articles. No expression of thanks can adequately express the obligations under which we lie to Mr. Fitzedward Hall, and to Mr. H. H. Gibbs, for criticism of, and contributions to, almost every page, to Prof. Sievers, of Göttingen, for his criticism of, and contributions to, the etymology of Old Teutonic words, and to Prof. Paul Meyer for his assistance in many difficult or doubtful points of Old French. I have also acknowledge the help of my former assistant, Mr. Jas. B. Johnston, M.A., of Edinburgh, in reading the revises, and hunting up many earlier quotations for recent words.

Criticism of Part I.—Reviewers Reviewed.—Backwardness of English Scholarship in Scotland.

Part I. has now been long enough out to elicit the criticisms, not indeed of many of the quarterlies, but of the weekly and monthly journals, by the majority of which it has been noticed.

[1] And now has *Baj-* to *Ban*.

I have seen altogether as yet sixty-one reviews, the majority in English journals and magazines, twelve American, one Australian, two German, and one Italian. Many of the specially philological journals of the continent have still to deliver their verdict, which I await with some measure of interest.

I have said before that I did not expect much effective criticism in England, not seeing exactly beyond the limits of this Society, and of the helpers who are mentioned in the preface, whence such criticism was to come. I am pleased to admit however that the calibre of many of the articles is, on the whole, better than I had anticipated; and I have marked with satisfaction a general desire to grapple fairly with the work and honestly to appraise it. And it must have been gratifying to the Society, as it has been to myself, to see that the general design and plan of the Dictionary, the ideal which we have sought to realize, has received general, one may say, virtually unanimous approbation. Also, it is encouraging to learn that our efforts to realize that ideal, imperfect in many respects as we know them to be, have not been altogether unsuccessful, and that the work is hailed as a genuine contribution to English scholarship.

If I take leave to make a few remarks on some of these reviews, and to a certain extent to review my reviewers, I shall do it in no carping spirit, with no desire for a merely rhetorical triumph, but mainly as an *apologia* for points on which fault has been found, and an explanation of things, which, I think needlessly sometimes, have troubled the reviewers.

Some expressions of disapointment have been uttered that with all our twenty-five years of collection, and the 1300 readers, who from first to last have furnished us with quotations, a larger portion of our literature has not been included. The reviewer in the *Athenæum* indeed made a curious slip in this respect, in speaking of the 5000 *books* which had been read, while the Preface really speaks of the works of 5000 *authors* as being laid under contribution. And this suggested the question why we did not state

straight off how many books have really been read. The reason is very simple. I do not know what a *book* is. I happen just to have been referring to one of the notes in the Clarendon Press edition of *As You Like It*, the Shaksperian play set by the Syndics of the Cambridge Local Examination for the present year. This is known in the trade, I believe, as a book; and opening it at the Preface I find that Dr. Aldis Wright quotes from the registers of the Stationers' Company the original entry in which its publication was first announced, as "As You Like It—A Booke." There is thus good ground, ancient and modern, for calling *As You Like It*, a 'book,' and each of Shakspere's other plays a 'book' also. But here, beside me, for the sake of the old spelling, is Chatto and Windus's reduced facsimile of the first folio of 1623, containing thirty-six such works as *As You Like It*, and this is also a *book;* here, for the sake of its numbered lines, and capability of exact reference, is also the *Globe Shakspere*, containing all that the first folio contained, and eight other distinct works, originally published independently. And this is also a 'book.' Which is to be reckoned a 'book' for our Dictionary statistics? Was Shakspere the author of one book or of forty-four books? It makes some difference in the reckoning. Are the thirty volumes of the *Penny Cyclopedia* one book or thirty books? But if 'books' cannot be defined, and, since not defined, cannot be counted, can we not tell the number of works? What is a 'work'? Is each of Tennyson's poems a work, or are his poems as a whole a work? Are the 150 volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions* which were read for us, *one* work or 150 works? or is each distinct paper in them a work? These are some of the previous questions which must be answered by the hundred or the thousand, before we can say how many *books*, or how many *works*, have been read, and why we were perforce constrained to reckon authors, and let 'books' alone. If the *Globe Shakspere* is to reckon as a book, perhaps 15,000 books have been read: if *As You Like It* is a book, then 100,000 may be a moderate estimate. It is true that *all*

books have not been read, not by a long long way. But the complaints as to the *kinds* of books omitted have been of curiously opposite nature. Some English reviewers producing omitted words, or earlier instances, from obscure authors of the seventeenth century, have ventured to suggest that more attention might well have been paid by the Dictionary readers to minor literature, or to forgotten seventeenth century theology: the scholarly author of the two reviews in the *New York Nation* is disposed to think that too much is quoted from minor writers, and that a greater effort should be made to quote chiefly the great writers of each period, as giving its literary usage. Both are no doubt right: if human life were longer, and the Dictionary four times the size, it would be well to give both more attention to the minor authors and their curious words, and more weight to Shakspere, and Milton, and Addison, and Burke, and Macaulay, and Matthew Arnold, with their literary authority. But more of either could hardly be included within our present limits, especially in the face of a third set of critics, who find in every page superfluous quotations, and would gladly sacrifice many of those given, to find certain favourite passages of their own which, by some curious oversight, the editor has omitted. Upon the whole, the additional words, senses, and earlier quotations suggested by reviewers have been surprisingly few; a mere nothing, indeed, in comparison with what the experience of future times will detect.

Many of the literary reviewers incline to think that the line has been drawn somewhat too widely in reference to technical terms; although a very different opinion has been expressed by various men of science, each of whom would like rather more indulgence shown to the vocabulary of his own particular department. The canon proposed by some critics, that no word should be admitted for which a quotation from a non-technical work cannot be given, is however absurdly impracticable of application. Translated into practice, it would mean the attempt to establish a universal negative for tens of thousands of words, or the application of the ignorance of the editor to the exclusion of a word.

If all literature had been read, and especially all the modern literature which deals so largely with the speculations suggested by modern science, we might say with some confidence that a given scientific word had not yet appeared in any literary article or essay. But without this, who is prepared to maintain the negative? I, certainly, am not. What a delightful scope for criticism would be afforded by the attempts to apply such a canon! How triumphantly would it be pointed out that *alkarsin* was not in the dictionary, although it had been mentioned years ago in a literary article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and that *anti-cyclonic* was not to be found, though it had been used figuratively in a funeral sermon by the Vicar of a sea-board parish in Cornwall. No such mechanical test can be applied; the line *may* be drawn more closely than heretofore; but it will still remain as vague as ever, a line of discretion, guided by much evidence positive and negative, and many delicate considerations which cannot be exhibited within the narrow limits allotted to such words in the Dictionary.

Considerable indignation has been expended on quotations from modern newspapers: *modern*, I say, for I do not find that any objection has been raised to our liberal quotations from the *London Gazette* of two centuries ago, or from anonymous pamphlets of the Commonwealth period, which age has since hallowed. Personally, I think this criticism by far the silliest that the Dictionary has elicited. I am certain that posterity will agree with me, and that the time will come when this criticism will be pointed to as a most remarkable instance of the inability of men to acknowledge contemporary facts and read the signs of the times. If it were offered only by people who never read newspapers, or who read them only as a severe means of afflicting the spirit during the forty days of Lent, I could in some sort understand their aversion to see them quoted in the Dictionary; but hearing the objection from people who begin the day with the morning paper far oftener than with *Paradise Lost*, or Burke *On the Sublime and Beautiful*, and who find the new magazine quite as interesting as *Rasselas*, and even

more so than the most solid dissertation of Dr. Watts, I am disposed to look upon the criticism as a piece of conventional cant. Men have a sneaking idea that they *ought* to prefer Addison to the *Saturday Review*, and Hervey's *Meditations on a Spring Day* to the leaders of the *Times*, and they would like the Dictionary to make believe that they do, and that they 'glance at the papers' only to be horrified by 'the atrocities of newspaper English.' I should have been glad to have criticism of individual quotations, showing what was objectionable in them, in order that I might explain in each case why the quotation was given, as certainly no quotation has been admitted into the Dictionary without careful consideration of its intrinsic merits as an example of the sense which it is intended to illustrate. But as this has in no case been done, I can only state that the general principle on which we have chosen a quotation for any century has been to take that which was intrinsically the best for its purpose, without any regard to its source or authority: only where intrinsic claims were balanced, have we allowed the question of authorship to be of weight. I am still persuaded that this is the true method, and in this the verdict of foreigners supports me; but if English people prefer that we should not quote newspapers when it can be helped, I do not know that their whim is worth opposing. But in many cases, the simple choice is between that and nothing: we have a serviceable newspaper quotation, but it would perhaps take the whole Dictionary staff, and all the correspondents whom I could engage, searching for a day to find another. When it is remembered that Part I. contains 8365 words, and that 8365 words a year means 30 articles great and small to be begotten, written, printed, corrected, and passed every day, or 60 articles if we are to produce two parts a year, wise men will judge whether we can then spend time in looking for literary quotations. At such a rate the Dictionary would not be finished in a hundred years.

The writer in the *Spectator* wished that I had had the moral courage to exclude all the mere Dictionary words, which he evidently regards as noxious cumberers of the

ground. Now apart from the fact, that we are hardly in a position to assert with regard to any one of these, that it is a *mere* Dictionary word—another universal negative very hard to establish, single or even double instances of many of them having actually been since found in seventeenth century writers—I may just quote the words of a literary man and scholar, who writing to me, after his first examination of Part I., says: "I am so glad that you include all the old Dictionary words; it is such a comfort to know that one has the whole body of English words together in one place." It is, I think, a fair inference that the gentleman in question did not write the notice in the *Spectator*.

It is not worth while to refer to a long array of little mistakes made by reviewers, such as asserted omitted words, due, doubtless, to the haste of reference, or to misplaced notes. I would only mention that the reviewer in the *St. James's Gazette*, in questioning whether the first quotation for *Abigail* really has the meaning given in the definition, questions something not asserted. The quotations, as stated in the Preface, are given to illustrate the *history* and *formation* of words, as well as to show their fully-developed senses.

The ETYMOLOGY can scarcely be said to have been touched by any of the notices which have yet appeared, and for this we must still await the more detailed criticism of philological journals. It is perhaps a sign that the educated, now at least, look upon etymology as a scientific study, in which the notions of the untrained are no more likely to be of any value than they would be in a question of embryology, palæontology, or abstract mathematics, that most of the ordinary reviewers have frankly or implicitly confessed their inability to deal with this part of the work, while stating that its method has at least the look of being that of exact science. Personally, I should be glad to see some of the specially new points of etymology and word-history dealt with; but this will doubtless come in time. Two reviewers have expressed a desire that space could be found for some of the legendary etymology which has clustered around certain words, and which they think forms a legitimate part of their

history. Most of us would probably be glad if space were available for this purpose, though it is doubtful whether even then this would be the wisest use to which to devote it. This *Folk-Etymology* is so very extensive that it has, in the hands of Mr. Smythe Palmer, filled a large and highly-amusing volume, where it can readily be found. Occasional reference to such points is necessary in order to explain old spellings or perhaps even uses of the word,[1] but our space compels their restriction to the narrowest possible limits.

The method employed to indicate pronunciation has received the general approval of foreign reviewers as simple, intelligible, and practical, 'einem leicht zu merkenden System' is Prof. Zupitza's verdict in the *Deutsche Literaturzeichen*; it has disturbed the equanimity of some English critics who apparently object to it that it is not self-explanatory, or does not *seem* to be so; a circumstance which recalls an acute observation I once heard from Mr. Ellis in reference to his Palæotype, when he first introduced it, to the effect that by confining itself to old letters, it *looked* familiar to people, they *thought* they could read it, and that went a long way. It is only in the United States therefore that any attempt has been made to criticize the actual pronunciation exhibited; always excepting the *Church Times*, which in a notice generally appreciative, says:

'The system adopted for fixing the pronunciation . . . is extremely complicated, and involves the employment of the eccentric alphabet invented by the fanatics of the Fonetic Nuz. . . . But we object to Dr. Murray's pronunciation on another ground; namely, that, in certain words the sound he assigns is not the true one, but that in use amongst lower middle-class Londoners. For example, *alone*, as he marks it, is given the drawling "ow" sound of the sempstress voice, as heard in Kentish Town or Peckham.'

[1] As in the case of *artichoke*, a word with which 'popular etymology' has been busy in many languages, and which in English was actually spelt *hortichock*, *hartechocke*, *hartichoake*, because it *chokes* the *garden*, or the *heart*, or at least has a *choke* in its *heart*. Hence R. Brooke (1641) in *Nat. Hist. Episc.* 16, said 'Error' is 'like to the *Jerusalem-Artichoke*; plant it where you will, it overruns the ground, and choakes the Heart'; and the supposed connexion with *choke* is the cause of the present spelling instead of the earlier *chock*.

This whole passage is so delicious, substituting, as it does, for my pronunciation the writer's perverse interpretation of the symbols (there is a 'Key' to them, too), that I think it deserves preservation, and I venture to enshrine it in the amber of this Address for the admiration of distant readers and future philologists. The joke will be appreciated most of all by those who know the discussions we have had here upon the method employed in the Dictionary to indicate the Pronunciation, in which the main charge has been that we have not adequately recognized current colloquial tendencies. I would only remark upon the reviewer's characteristic expression 'fanatics of the Fonetic Nuz.' Of course he did not know that the ringleader of these 'fanatics' is the learned Father of English Phonology, who has five times addressed us from this chair, as our honoured President: it is only the 'Christian courtesy' of the ecclesiastical journalist to use bad language of all whom he does not know and does not understand, and especially of those whom he does not want to know nor mean to understand. Yet this writer makes a special objection to the 'great many (in ordinary language 'very few') words' included in the Dictionary, which 'have no earlier or higher source than the *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily News*, and if not actually excluded, ought to have been marked as bad English.' If the daily papers use 'bad English,' they fortunately leave to others the use of bad nonsense.

I think that the poorest notices, so far as regards grappling with the plan and method of the Dictionary, or recognizing its significance, have appeared in the *Dublin Review*, and in the Scottish daily papers. In connexion with this, I was strongly impressed with the fact, when in Edinburgh a few weeks ago at the tercentennial celebrations of the University, how far Scotland has, during the last twenty years, fallen behind England in philological studies, and in English philology especially. I could not discover indications of any advance made during the last quarter of a century. And this I think is because Scotland has been hardly touched by the two great agencies which have been working in England during the period. One of these is the

Early English Text Society, with its many daughter- and sister-associations for publishing, popularizing, and bringing home to Englishmen the facts of our earlier language; many, even if they have not read the texts themselves, have read the prefaces and introductions in which Dr. Morris, Prof. Skeat, Mr. Sweet and others have summarized the salient characteristics of the language or dialect of the work. And as the Early English Text Society was the legitimate daughter of the Philological Society, and was born in the same room with the idea of the Dictionary, our Society may certainly claim a foremost share in the good work. The other cause is the just and enlightened position accorded to English in the examinations of the University of London, a position which has obliged examiners and examinees alike to learn something of the history of the language, and its connexion with general philology, has made 'Grimm's Law,' and 'Latin Elements in English,' and 'Strong Verbs,' familiar expressions, has called forth the appearance of better text-books, such as Dr. Morris's 'Historical English Grammar' and 'History of English Accidence,' has sent its candidates for degrees to the actual texts of Chaucer, and Piers Plowman, and even to King Ælfred himself. It is not easy to over-rate the stimulus which this has given to Early English scholarship. In many cases it has led the student, who has received this elementary training, to advance to a more thorough investigation of the subject; but even when it has not done this, it has diffused a respect for English studies, a disposition to appreciate them, and a certain capacity to understand and follow them, which are very satisfactory features of the time. But neither of these agencies has appreciably affected Scotland: the Scotch Universities still treat English literature as a subordinate and somewhat clandestine appendage to 'Rhetoric,' and English Language as a very beggarly relative of English Literature. An eminent professor expressed in my hearing a considerable amount of sympathy with Artemus Ward's criticism of Chaucer, that 'he was no doubt a great poet, but what a pity he could not spell!' to the extent at least of

objurgating all old-spelling Shaksperes, literal reprints, and other 'slavery to the letter,' which he said continually irritated and annoyed him, and disturbed him in his enjoyment of the thought of the old writer. With such a disposition in the professorial mind to find the spelling of Early Modern or Middle English a nuisance, it is not likely that students will be fired with much enthusiasm to penetrate the mysteries of Middle English, or to appreciate the importance of final *-e* in Gower and Chaucer. Thus, in Scotland, Early English and Early Scotch still figure as a kind of antiquarian dilettantism — which is the appropriate territory of limited publishing clubs that print editions of 50 or 100 copies, but which is '*caviare* to the general.' Hence the Early English Text Society has always found but little support, and I found a very small number of Dictionary 'Readers' in Scotland, though four of these, I gladly add, were first-class, while four excellent sub-editors are also doing good service. After many delays, an Early Scottish Text Society has at length been started, and has this year issued its first work, a careful edition of the Kingis Quair by Professor Skeat; let us hope that its labours will do something to excite a wider and more popular interest in language and literature.

Future of the Dictionary.

It would give me much pleasure to be able to answer here a question often asked, viz. when do I expect the Dictionary to be finished? The only answer I can give is, All depends upon the amount of time which I can be enabled personally to give to the work, and the number of competent assistants whom I have to help me. I could not desire *better* assistance than I have from the two gentlemen who at present work with me, Mr. Alfred Erlebach and Mr. John Mitchell. To Mr. Erlebach, especially, my obligations, and indeed the obligations of all interested in the Dictionary, are most especially due for his share in the work. With three such as he, and three such as Mr. Mitchell, it might I think be possible, if I could give all or nearly all my time to the

work, to produce two parts in the year, and thus finish the whole in 11 years from next March. Whether it is possible to employ so many workers it is not within my province to say; I hope that means may be found for rendering it possible. Meanwhile much may be done to facilitate the task by good volunteer sub-editors. Even if some who are present would take up each a single difficult word, and do their best to put it into satisfactory form, much more if they would take sections of the work immediately in front of us, as is now being done by Dr. Brackebush and the Rev. C. B. Mount, adding the new material and revising the whole arrangement, so as to make it as nearly perfect as possible, it would measurably accelerate our speed, and bring us nearer the goal of our labours.

I have now to introduce to your notice the following reports on special branches of philology by the following gentlemen, all members of this Society, W. R. Morfill, M.A., Oxford, A. J. Patterson, M.A., E. G. Browne, Pembroke College, Cambridge, R. N. Cust, and Henry Sweet, M.A.

Notes on Slavonic Philology and Literature during the Past Year. By W. R. Morfill, M.A.

"I propose in the following short notice to call attention to the most important works which have appeared in Slavonic literature during the past year, but I shall confine myself almost entirely to philology. I shall take the literatures according to the classification of the languages generally adopted.

"1. *The South-Eastern Branch.*

Russian.—During the past year the Russians have lost the great novelist, Tourghéniev, who died at Bougival, near Paris, on the 4th of September, aged 64. His last two works were 'Poetry in Prose' and 'Clara Milich,' the latter a short story, published in the European Messenger (*Viestnik Yevropî*). The satirist Saltîkov, who

writes under the nom de guerre of Stchedrin, has published some new sketches, and Professor Dashkevich, of the University of Kiev, a work on the origin of the Russian *Bilini* or legendary poems. Good books have been written on Russian law by Sorghéiev and others. The second volume of Prof. Miller's work entitled 'East Indian Studies' has appeared, in it a quantity of interesting newly-collected Indian folk-tales are to be found. In philology the Russians appear to have done but little, nor has any great scholar appeared among them since the death of Sreznevski. The work by Mikoutzki,[1] now in course of publication at Warsaw, represents an obsolete school of philology. The derivations are fantastic and no regard is paid to the history of words. Professor Boudilovich, of Warsaw, has published a new Grammar of the Ecclesiastical Slavonic Language,[2] and Professor A. Potebnya, of Kharkov, continues his useful series of papers on the Phonetics of the Russian Language.[3] The Early Russian Text Society still continues its useful labours, and has published many interesting books, of which it would be impossible to give a list here. The Russian Academy of Sciences is about to print a Dictionary of Old Russian, the manuscript of which was left by Sreznevski. Professor Jagić, who has succeeded to his chair at St. Petersburg, still busies himself with a great comparative Slavonic Dictionary, which he hopes to publish with the help of many Slavists. He also continues to edit the valuable '*Archiv für Slavische Philologie*,' which appears at Berlin, four times a year, and contains valuable articles on all branches of Slavistic.

"Jagić has this year published, at the expense of the Imperial Academy, the Codex Marianus. This manuscript is of the eleventh century; it is written in Glagolitic letters, with the exception of one leaf, which is in Cyrillic. It was found by Grigorovich in a monastery on Mount Athos. I

[1] Materialî dla kornevago i obyasnitelnago slovara rousskago yazika i vsekh slav. narechii. Sostavil St. Mikoutzki. (Materials for a Dictionary of the Roots of the Russian Language and all Slavonic Dialects, compiled by St. Mikoutzki.)

[2] Nachertanie Tzerkovnoslovianskoi Grammatiki, etc. (Sketch of an Ecclesiastical Slavonic Grammar.)

[3] K Istorii Zvoukov Rousskago Yazîka. (Contributions to the History of Russian Sounds.)

must also mention that the Russians celebrated on the 8th of December, old style, the tercentary of the death of their first printer, Ivan Fedorov, to whom a monument has been erected.

"Of works on Russian dialects I may mention that Eugene Zelechowski, of Stanislau, continues his valuable dictionary of the Malo- or Little Russian language (for it certainly has very strong claims to be considered more than a dialect),[1] of which about one-half has appeared. This promises to be a very useful book, for up to the present time students have been obliged to rest satisfied with the scanty publications of Levčenko, Piskounov, and Verchratzki. The work of Professor Partitzki[2] was good, but only the German Ruthenish part was published. Anton Semenovich, already favourably known by a work on the quantity of Polish vowels, has just published another on the dialect of the Malo-Russians in Hungary, where they inhabit a thin strip of territory, north of the Carpathians.[3]

"*Bulgaria.*—The principality of Bulgaria and the so-called territory of Eastern Roumelia, soon, let us hope, to be united, show considerable literary activity. A good account of their present condition may be found in M. Leger's interesting little book, which has just made its appearance, 'La Save, le Danube et le Balkan.' I was also glad myself to see something of the Principality during the summer of last year. While under the detestable yoke of the Turks, fatal to any civilization, it was impossible for the Bulgarians to make much progress in literature, such books as they published were issued at Braila in Roumania, or Bolgrad in Bessarabia. The Bulgarian Literary Society has now been removed from Braila to Sofia, where it issues its journal (Periodichesko Spisanie), and we may hope that some important results may follow from the attention which is now being paid to the Bulgarian dialects, many of which, as is known, present very interesting features of Slavonic. The

[1] Malorousko-nimetzkii slovar, Ruthenisch-deutsches Wörterbuch, published at Lemberg.

[2] Deutsch-Ruthenisches Handwörterbuch, Lemberg, 1867.

[3] Ob osobennostakh ougrorousskago govora Antona Semenovicha. (On the peculiarities of the Ugro-Russian speech, by Anthony Semenovich.) St. Petersburg.

publishing house of Christo Danov, which existed before on a humble scale at Philippopolis (Plovdiv), has now branches both at Roustchouk and Sofia. I have seen the catalogues which have been issued by this firm, but they do not call for any particular notice, as they chiefly give lists of translated works, and in their present condition the Bulgarians cannot employ themselves with anything better. An important work is the *Geschichte der Lautbezeichnung im Bulgarischen*, by Miklosich, Vienna, 1883, a valuable study on a very obscure subject. I may here mention that the seventieth birthday of this *coryphæus* of Slavists was celebrated on the 20th of November last, on which occasion he was presented by his pupils and admirers with a gold medal.

"Turning from the Bulgarians I come next to the *Serbs*, who sustained a great loss a little while ago by the death of Danichich (Nov. 17, 1882), the editor of many valuable editions of their classics, and the author of a useful Lexicon in three volumes of the Old Serbian language. At the time of his death he was engaged in an extensive historical Serbo-Croatian dictionary, of which only one part has appeared: let us hope that successors will be found to worthily carry on the work. Croatian is, as is well known, almost identical with Serbian, and employs the Latin alphabet.

"Professor Maretić, of Agram, has published a valuable work on accent in the Serbo-Croatian language.[1] The accent in Serbian (and Russian) is more difficult than in any of the other Slavonic languages. Here also must be mentioned the *Čakavisch-kroatische Studien* of D. Nemanić. Of this the first part has appeared on the Laws of the Accent (Accentlehre); the Čakavish in the form of Croatian spoken in Istria and the Dalmatian littoral. It is so called from the word for 'what,' *ča* (pron. *cha*).

"Professor Budmani has published a work on the dialect of Ragusa, called in Slavonic Dubrovnik.[2] Again, Professor

[1] O njekim pojavima kvantitete i akcenta u jeziku hrvatskom ili srpskom. (On some developments of the quantity and accent in the Croatian or Serbian language.)

[2] Dubrovački dijalekat kako se sada govori, napisao P. Budmani. (The Dialect of Ragusa as it is now spoken, written by P. Budmani.)

Strohal, in Fiume, has treated of the dialect of that place, called in Slavonic Rieka.[1] Thus we see that the dialects of this interesting language are being thoroughly worked up.

"Leaving the Serbo-Croatian, I now come to *Slovenish*, a language closely connected with it. The Journal of the *Matica Slovenska* (Slovenish Literary Fund) for the years 1882 and 1883, which I have just received, is of unusual interest. M. Trstenjak gives us a life of Miklosich (accompanied with a portrait) and a list of his works, including the papers read before various literary societies. We can thus form some idea of the great activity of this fine scholar, and must hope that he may be spared for many years to the great benefit of Slavistic.

"I have not time to analyse the various articles of this goodly volume, and of course confine myself in this notice almost entirely to philology, but I cannot pass by without a word the highly interesting article by M. Erjavec, entitled, 'Fragments from a Traveller's Basket' (*Iz pótne torbe*), where we have a valuable list of words gathered by the author from rural districts inhabited by Slovenes. Feasts await the student in these fields of Slavonic dialectology, which are now being reaped. I may mention in passing that the Society during the past year has published a memorial volume to celebrate the six-hundredth anniversary of the union of the Slovenes with the territories of the House of Habsburg.[2] Here we have mention of some of their more remarkable men. It is but little known that the writer of the first Sanskrit Grammar[3] was a Slovene, but his name is hidden under the ecclesiastical title of *Paulinus à Bartholomæo*, he having worked as a Roman Catholic Missionary.

"2. *The Western Branch.*

"I now turn to the *Western Slavs*, and in the first place *Poland*. There has been a great deal of literature produced

[1] Osebine današ njega riečkoga narječja. (Peculiarities of the present dialect of Fiume.)

[2] Spomenik o Šeststoletnici Začetka Habsburške Vlade na Slovenskem. Laibach, 1883.

[3] Grammatica Samscrdamica. 1790.

in Polish on the two-hundredth anniversary of the raising of the siege of Vienna by Sobieski. The third centenary of the death of the poet Kochanowski has also been celebrated by the publication of an elaborate edition of his works. More concerned with philology is the book published by Krynski on the dialect of Zakopan at the foot the Tatra mountains to the south of Cracow. There is also a work by R Zawilinski on a Polish production of the fifteenth century, 'Glossa super epistolas per annum dominicales,' and a valuable edition by Professor Nehring of Breslau, of the Psalter of St. Florian,[1] one of the earliest monuments of Polish literature. A new edition by St. Ptaszycki has also appeared of the Wizerunek Własny zywota czlowieka poczciwego (Picture of the Life of an Honourable Man), by Mikolaj Rej z Naglowic, the first Polish poet, who flourished in the sixteenth century.

"During the past year Poland has lost two of her historians, Szujski and Schmitt, and Maciejowski, the author of a valuable work on Slavonic Law, who died at the advanced age of ninety. In his Beiträge zur Slavischen Dialektologie Herr Leon Biskupski has written an interesting pamphlet, in which he essays to prove that the Kashubish language, spoken in the neighbourhood of Danzig, is only a dialect of Polish. This is in opposition to the opinions of Schleicher and Hilferding, who have connected it with the extinct Polabish. The pamphlet contains very interesting details on the dialects of this obscure language, for the author tells us, *von der Kaschubei könnte man sagen quot villæ, tot linguæ: jede gegend hat ihren Lokaldialekt.*

"Leaving now the Poles, I come to the *Čechs* or Bohemians, who always show themselves one of the most active branches of the Slavonic family.

"A fair amount of poetry has been produced by the Čechs during this year, with which, however, we have nothing to do, but they have not been very active in philology. A new literary journal has been started, the 'Athenæum,' which

[1] Psalteris Florianensis partem polonicam ad fidem codicis recensuit apparatu critico, indice locupletissimo instruxit W. Nehring, Posen, 1883.

seems more or less modelled upon its English namesake, and contains occasional articles on philology. It represents the Bohemian section of the now divided and bilingual University of Prague. A new magazine, 'Slovanský Sbornik' (the Slavonic Miscellany), has also made its appearance with the beginning of the year. One of the most noteworthy articles contained in it is on the Resanians, the Slavonic tribe living in Italy in two villages of the Julian Alps. This sketch is by Professor Baudoin de Courtenay, who has already written on this interesting settlement in the Russian Slavonic Miscellany (Slavianski Sbornik). The Časopis or Journal of the Bohemian Museum still appears four times a year, and contains valuable articles on Slavonic history, biography, and philology. It has not fallen below the high standard which has hitherto characterised it.

"Lastly, I come to the *Lusatian Wends*, the small Slavonic people living partly in Saxony and partly in Prussia, whose Časopis appears twice a year, and contains interesting articles on folk-lore, and dialectic peculiarities, with occasional songs taken from the mouths of the people. It is to be regretted that Dr. Pfuhl, the author of a Lusatian Dictionary, should have ventured in some of the recent numbers upon many whimsical etymologies, surprising in these days of scientific philology. Such literature as is published by the Lusatian Society is mainly of an educational character, for the language is now only spoken in the rural districts.

"In conclusion, I may mention that last year two courses of lectures were delivered at Oxford on the Ilchester foundation, one by Dr. Carl Abel and the other by myself. The subject chosen by Dr. Abel was what he called Comparative Lexicography, and his lectures were afterwards published by Messrs. Trübner. Great as may be the merits of Dr. Abel as an Egyptologist, he cannot be considered happy in his treatment of Slavonic words in this work and elsewhere. His curious theory of considering that each word involves two opposed meanings when read backwards or forwards (as also stated in his work *Ueber den Gegensinn der Urworte*), is carried in Slavonic words to many inconsistencies, in which

the history of words is entirely ignored. The remarks by Jagić in one of the last numbers of the *Archiv* (vii. p. 483) are very just. One cannot allow oneself to be carried away by an etymologist who connects γήλοφος and the Russian *gloubokii*(!). My own lectures were on Slavonic Law, dealing with the communal tenure, the old codes, as *Rousskaia Pravda*, the *Soudebnik*, and *Oulozhenie* among the Russians, and the Code of Doushan among the Serbs, etc.

"I must not omit to mention the elaborate work of the eminent Slavist Geitler, *Die Albanesischen und Slavischen Schriften*, Vienna, 1883. In this an unsuccessful attempt, as appears to me, is made to connect the Glagolitic and Albanian alphabets. Slavonic scholars on the continent do not seem to think the question closed by the theory that the Glagolitic was derived from Greek cursive writing, which has been stated recently with much vigour by Mr. Isaac Taylor. The view has not received the adhesion of the greatest of living Slavists, Miklosich, to judge from his remarks in the work on Bulgarian sounds already cited in these notes. The subject has been treated in an exhaustive article by Prof. Jagić in one of the last numbers of the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, and there is also a good notice in the *Ljubljanski Zvon* (the Bell of Laibach), a literary journal edited by K. Strekelj. The writer thinks that Mr. Isaac Taylor has perhaps traced one or two letters, but many of his supposed identifications are fanciful.

"Finally I may perhaps be permitted to allude to a little work of my own, which appeared at the close of last year, entitled 'Slavonic Literature,' in which an attempt has been made to give some of the characteristics of the leading Slavonic languages and their earliest literature. Perhaps it may have some claim upon the philologist's attention, as the first work on the subject in our language, with the exception of the book published by Theresa von Jacob, afterwards Mrs. Robinson, at New York, in 1850, which, however meritorious it may have been, is now out of date, and was occupied more with the literature than the philology of these tongues."

Report on Recent Hungarian Philology. By A. J. Patterson, M.A.

"Owing to the peculiar position of the Hungarian language, which is the only non-Aryan form of speech that has acquired a position of political importance in Christian Europe, its study excites in its own country an exceptional interest. Indeed, the philology of the Hungarian language, and in a lesser degree that of the cognate languages, has been described as the Hungarian science. Nor is it apparently studied at present outside Hungary, although a few Finn philologists have acquired it for the purpose of illustrating and completing their studies in Ugrian philology.

"Mr. Paul Hunfalvy, the chief librarian of the Hungarian Academy and the patriarch of Hungarian philology, has kindly contributed a few notes with regard to the philological work done in Hungary since 1873.

"The Hungarian Academy publishes three philological periodicals. Of these the *Philologiai Közlöny* (Philological Gazette) treats of the Classical and Germanic languages, but also admits articles on general philology.

"The *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Philological Communications)—edited up to 1878 by Mr. Paul Hunfalvy himself, and since then by Prof. Budenz—is devoted exclusively to the comparative philology of the languages cognate to the Hungarian. The volume for 1875 was entirely taken up with Mr. Hunfalvy's 'Grammar of the Northern Ostiak Language.' It is based on M. Vologodski's Russian translations from the Ostiak and his Russian Ostiak Dictionary, compared with Castrén's Grammar of the Southern Ostiak and the Ostiak folk-songs collected by the Hungarian Reguly. Mr. Hunfalvy's book contained 234 pages of Grammar and Texts and 226 of Dictionary. In 1883 Prof. Budenz made a collection of 'Ostiak Phrases,' also from Vologodski's work, but this has not yet been printed. As the Ostiak and Vogul languages on either side of the Ural chain stand nearest to the Hungarian of all the Ugrian

languages, these Ostiak studies may be considered as a continuation of Mr. Hunfalvy's publications on the Vogul —his 'Vogul Land and People,' from the papers of Reguly, and his edition of the 'Gospel of St. Mark' in the Konda dialect of the Vogul. In 1873 an enterprising showman took a party of Swedish Lapps with their reindeer to the Exhibition at Vienna, and afterwards took them on to Budapest, where they encamped in the Zoological Gardens. There they were constantly visited by Prof. Budenz, who took down from their mouths the folk-tales they were able to relate. In 1876 these appeared in the *Közlemények* with grammatical annotations as *Svéd-lapp nyelvmutatványok*, Specimens of Swedish Lappish. In 1879 a Finn philogist, M. Arvid Genetz, who made a long stay in Hungary for the purpose of studying Hungarian, contributed an account of the dialect of Lappish spoken in the peninsula of Kola, and in 1881 a young Hungarian philologist, M. Halásy, an extensive work on the Swedish Lappish with reading book.

"Besides his above-mentioned works, Prof. Budenz has published in the volume for 1877 a Grammar of the Mordvin Language in its two dialects, the Moksha and the Ersa, and in 1881-3 a Syrjänian Reading-book. Of the younger generation of Hungarian philologists, M. Munkácsi has contributed specimens of the Votiak—a language allied to the Syrjänian—and M. Szinnyei an account of the Veps—the easternmost dialect of the Finnish properly so called; and also a Finnish-Hungarian Dictionary.

"In addition to these studies of the Finn-Ugrian languages, the *Közlemények* has published a few papers on the Turkish-Mongol languages, M. Valentine Gabriel's paper on the Burjät dialect, and Professor Vámbéry on the 'Love-songs of the Bashkirs.' Outside the limits of the *Közlemények*, one or two books bearing on the comparative philology of the cognate languages must be noticed.

"One is the publication by Count Géza Kuun of the so-called *Codex Cumanicus*. This is a vocabulary of Latin, Persian, and Cuman, made at the beginning of the fourteenth

century for the use of the Genoese traders in the Crimea and its neighbourhood. The MS. became the property of the poet Petrarch, and was bequeathed by him with his other books to the Republic of Venice. Leibnitz mentions it as occurring in the catalogue, but says that he was not able to find it. The Hungarian savant, Cornides, however, found it in the Library of St. Mark in 1770, and published its title and some extracts. Klaproth, in 1828, published the paradigms and about 2500 words from a copy he had made for himself. This edition was full of obvious mistakes, the fault either of the copyist or of the printer, and in 1876 the German Orientalist, Dr. Otto Blau, expressed a wish to see a new and more correct edition published. This want is now satisfied by the publication in 1880 of *Codex Cumanicus bibliothecæ ad templum divi Marci Venetarum. Primum ex integro edidit, prolegomenis notis et compluribus glossariis instruxit Comes Géza Kuun, Acad. Sc. Hung. sodalis.*

"The saying *Nomen est omen* particularly applies to this edition of the Codex Cumanicus by Count Kuun [as in Hungarian *Kún*=*Cumanus*].

"Another book worthy of mention is the great comparative Dictionary of the Hungarian and Ugrian Languages by Dr. Budenz, *Magyar-Ugor összehavonlító szótár* (Budapest, 1873–1881), containing the root-words in Hungarian, Vogul, Ostyak, Syriän-Votiak, Lappish, Finnish, Mordvin and Tsheremiss.

"Mr. P. Hunfalvy has been led, by his philological studies and the controversies to which they have given rise, to write on the early history of Hungary and of the Roumans in that country. The idea that the poor fishers and trappers of the Ural Mountains are their nearest kindred is as unpopular in Hungary as the idea that they are recent colonists in the lands they now occupy is to the Roumanians. Both these positions are ably maintained in Mr. Hunfalvy's '*Magyarország Ethnografiája*' (translated into German by Dr. Schwicker), 'Die Ungern oder Magyaren,' published by Prochaska, and 'Die Rumänen und Ihre Ansprüche.' In

the latter book he has discussed the loan-words taken into Roumanian from Hungarian.

"On the other hand, Prof. Vámbéry has published in Hungarian and German a large book (pp. 587) on the 'Origin of the Hungarians,' in which he maintains that the Hungarians are a Turkish people, whose language has become to a certain extent Ugrianized by contact with Ugrian populations. Although the book is, as its title declares, an 'ethnological study,' considerable space is given up to a criticism of Dr. Budenz's Comparative Dictionary of the Ugrian and Hungarian languages, in which Prof. Vámbéry tries to prove that so many of Dr. Budenz's comparisons are forced, and in other cases can be matched by equally probable resemblances between Hungarian and Turkish words as to establish the mixed — *i.e.* Turkish-Ugrian — character of the Hungarian language. Of course this challenge has not been left unanswered, and both Hunfalvy and Budenz have produced refutations of Vámbéry's position, the latter in a series of papers read before the philological section of the Hungarian Academy.

"Beside the comparative study of the Ugrian and Turkish cognate languages, there is another subject that absorbs the energies of Hungarian philologists—the study of Hungarian itself. To this study the struggle between the respective partizans of 'orthology' and 'neology' supplies both a stimulus and a direction. During the first half of the last century, Hungarian literature sank to its lowest depth, Hungarian society was either denationalized or apathetic or barbarous, and as an inevitable consequence the Hungarian language became checked in its natural development, and flooded with a mass of foreign words and idioms. Between 1770 and 1780 the national reaction began, what we may call the Hungarian renaissance in the sense in which the several Slavonic languages and literatures had each its renaissance at somewhat later dates. In this renaissance the chief part was played by a poor country squire, Francis Kazinczy of Kazincz (Kazinczi Kazinczy Ferencz). The writers of his school, the 'neologians,' set themselves to the

three-fold task of (1) enriching, (2) beautifying, and (3) purifying the language. The first and third processes went hand in hand, as the coining of new words out of native roots was rendered necessary, not only by the influx of new ideas, but also by the expulsion of words of foreign, mostly of Latin, origin. As the work was undertaken with a very imperfect knowledge of the science of language in general, and of the genius of the Hungarian language in particular, and with a very imperfect acquaintance with the older Hungarian literature, the results have not proved satisfactory to the critics of a later generation. Even at the outset of Kazinczy's career as a 'neologian,' there was an opposition on the part of those who called themselves 'orthologians,' who felt that the novelties introduced were too often due to too close an acquaintance with foreign, especially German, models. The more scientific study of philology during the last fifteen or twenty years, and the gradual republication of the Hungarian authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has intensified the feeling of 'orthology.' In 1871 the *Magyar Nyelvör* (Hungarian Language Watchman) was started to stem, and, if possible, turn back the flood of uncalled-for and unsuitable innovation, and to direct the stream into old channels. That it still continues to be published, and still continues its criticisms of the literature of the day, is a proof of the difficulty of the task it has undertaken. A prize for the best essay on the corruption of the language and the best means of remedying it was awarded to both the competitors, MM. Emil Ponori-Thewrewk and Alexander Imre. In reading the two essays, one is amazed at the extremely modern and artificial character of what we may call 'received' Hungarian. In reading the newspapers of Budapest, one sees that this 'received' Hungarian is practically an ideal not yet reached, a *pium desiderium*. The old-fashioned Latin words still stud the columns thickly, and when even they fail him, the leading-article writer or the penny-a-liner betakes himself in his haste to a German substitute. At the best, the words reprobated by the *Nyelvör* show themselves without scruple and without shame."

On the Turkish Language, and Turkish Philology.

By E. G. Browne.

"The various idioms included generally under the name of Turkish are spoken over a very large area of country extending from the Lena and Polar Sea to the Adriatic. Though divisible into many distinct dialects, they all resemble one another closely in grammatical construction and etymology, and form a well-defined and typical class amongst that family of languages grouped together as Turanian. They are peculiarly interesting philologically, as showing the actual passage from the *radical* to the *inflectional* stage of agglutinative languages. As Mr. Shaw remarks in the preface to his interesting 'Grammar of Eastern Turki': 'The Indo-European languages are like an ancient building where frequent restorations have interfered with the original design, and where finally a universal coat of plaster has destroyed all outward distinction between old and new. In the Turanian structure, on the other hand, every tool-mark is still fresh, the places where the scaffolding has rested are still visible, and we can almost trace each course of the stonework to its origin in the quarry whence it was hewn.'

"Thus in the Eastern dialects of Turkish we see words appended to other words to indicate the relation in which such stand to the other members of the sentence, each of the words thus articulated still bearing its full meaning. As we trace the changes undergone by the language as it passes westwards to more cultivated peoples, we see the word which was first merely appended to another to define its position and force in the sentence, gradually becoming absorbed into it, dwindling down into a mere termination, and ultimately degrading to a mere case-inflection. A single instance will suffice to make this clear. The Turkish for 'horse' is *ât* (*â* pronounced as in *all*), while 'head' is *bâsh*. In Eastern Turki 'the horse's head' would be expressed thus, *Ât ning bâshi*. So we may say that a word is put in the genitive case by adding the syllable *ning* to it.

"But in an old Ouigour book called the *Kudatku Bilik*, written probably about the middle of the eleventh century, of which the text, with German translation and glossary of Ouigour words occurring in it, has recently been printed at Innsbruck by Vámbéry, we find the word *neng* used as a substantive meaning 'property,' 'thing.' If, as is probable, this is the same word as what we may call the 'genitive termination' *ning*, then it was clearly added to a word originally to show in what relation it stood to the words following it. Thus, to take the above example, *ât-ning* would mean 'horse-property,' and *ât-ning bâshi* 'horse-property head,' so that what we are accustomed to regard as the genitive case might perhaps more truly be looked on as a sort of compound adjective (similar to those so numerous in Persian which are compounded of two substantives). But when we turn to Ottoman Turkish, we find little trace of the original use of this termination. In the Ouigour characters it is written in full *ning*, with four letters. When the Arabic alphabet was introduced, on the Turks adopting the religion of Muhammad, it was still written with four letters. But as the short vowels in the latter system of writing are usually expressed by vowel-points, rarely used except in books like the Ḳu'rân, the *i*, being short, naturally fell out, and the termination was written *nng*. Then the Ottoman Turks, disliking the harsh sound of *ng*, reduced it to a simple *n*, but to distinguish it from the ordinary *n*, they introduced a new letter into the Arabic alphabet to express it, or rather they gave this new value to the letter *k*, distinguishing it from the latter by placing three dots over it (which, however, are rarely written actually). It is difficult to see why *k* should have been selected for this purpose, the only reason which I have heard suggested being that as *k* in Arabic is the pronominal affix of the second person singular, thus corresponding to the Turkish affix of *n*, it was thought desirable to use the same letter, giving it a new value.

"Finally, the Ottoman Turks rejected the first *n*, except in the case where the word which it followed ended with a vowel. Thus in *Ouigour* and *Eastern Turki* the words *âtâ-*

ning, *ât-ning*, which mean respectively 'of the father,' 'of the horse,' in the language of Constantinople sink down to *âtâ-niṇ* and *ât-iṇ*.

"In the latter case only a single letter is left of the word *neng* 'property,' and even that is expressed by a new character, while the word itself has passed into disuse and oblivion; and probably there are few Turks who regard it as less an inflectional termination than we do the same case in Greek or Latin.

"The genitive is the only case in which we can see this change in its entirety, for though the other case-endings have been greatly cut down in travelling westwards, we cannot, even in their fuller Eastern forms, recognize complete intelligible words capable of being used alone. Either their individual meaning has been lost, or they had become so much worn down by use before the language was reduced to writing, that they bear little resemblance to their original form. Mr. Shaw, to whose valuable work on Eastern Turki I am indebted for this view of the original use of the genitive case, considers the accusative termination *ni* as identical with the pronoun *ni* 'that, what,' and thinks that a sentence such as *ât-ni mindi* originally meant 'horse that-which he-rode.' This view seems to be strengthened by the fact that the accusative is only used in cases where the object of the verb is definite, so that in Ottoman Turkish *Áti gyurdum* means, 'I saw *the* horse,' while 'I saw a horse' is *Bir ât gyurdum*.

"Now that we have seen the light which the more Eastern, *i.e.* the more primitive, dialects of Turkish throw on the structure of the more cultivated Ottoman Turkish, and also their more general philological interest as showing the growth of language, we must briefly consider the various distinct dialects included under the general name of Turkish. They all belong to the Northern division of the great Turanian family, where they stand side by side with the *Tungusic*, *Mongolic*, *Finnic*, and *Samoyedic* classes.

"Dr. Radloff, two years ago, published a most complete

account of the various Turkish dialects (Phonetik der Nördlichen Türksprachen, Leipzig, 1882), where he divides them into four groups:

"1. *Eastern dialects*, of which he enumerates 8, with their various subdivisions; of these, that spoken by the *Yakuts*, who inhabit the country near the river Lena in the East of Siberia, is the most primitive, and may be taken as typical.

"2. *Western dialects*, of which there are 4 main divisions, including those spoken by the tribes on the river Volga.

"3. *Central Asian dialects* (6), of which *Chaghatai* is the most cultivated and best known. This group includes the idioms of Yarkand, Kashghâr, Khiva, and Bokhârâ, generally classed together as *Eastern Turki*.

"4. *Southern dialects* (6), including those of the Turkmâns, and of the Crimea, Anatolia, and Âzarbaijân, as well as the language of the Ottoman Turks, which stands far above all the other Turkish idioms for refinement, richness, and cultivation, possessing as it does an extensive and varied literature.

"Rémusat in his 'Recherches sur les langues Tartares' enumerates four principal dialects of Turkish, viz. *Ouigour*, *Chaghatai*, the language of *Kasan* and *Astrakhan*, and *Ottoman Turkish*.

"David, in the introduction to the grammar which he published about 1836, adds to these six more, viz. the dialects of the *Yakuts*, and *Chuvâsh* (both of which tribes are idolaters, and very uncivilized), of *Kirgiz* and *Kazâk*, and of the *Turkmâns*, and two which he names *Caucaso-Danubian* and *Austro-Siberian*.

"Most of these dialects are only spoken amongst nomad tribes, and possess little or no literature, but only songs and folk-lore handed down from father to son. In some cases European linguists have written down and collected these precious relics, in many ways far more interesting than

the more polished, but less characteristic productions of the cultured Ottoman Turks. Amongst such collections we may cite the following:—

"*Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler* by Blau, containing songs and scraps of poetry in the Bosnian-Turkish dialect, which appears to be little more than ordinary Ottoman-Turkish, with a large admixture of Slavonic words and phrases.

"Radloff's *Türkische Volkslitteratur Süd-Sibiriens*, published at St. Petersburg in 1866, contains a vast collection of poems, etc., in the Altai or East Siberian dialect, with a German translation. The text is unfortunately printed in Russian characters, instead of Arabic or Ouigour, which gives even familiar words a strange and almost unrecognizable appearance.

"Chodzko's *Popular Poetry of Persia, as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou, the Bandit-Minstrel of Northern Persia, and in the Songs of the people inhabiting the shores of the Caspian Sea* (orally collected and translated). These songs are for the most part in the provincial Turkish patois of the nomadic Turkmáns, and not in Persian as the name would lead us to suppose. This collection was published in 1842.

"There still remains much to be done, however, in collecting and writing down accurately specimens of the various dialects and Tartar folk-lore. We must now pass on to the cultivated idioms of Turkish, of which there are three which possess more or less literature, and which have been used by learned men for purposes of science and art. These three are *Ouigour*, *Chaghatai*, and *Ottoman Turkish*.

"First let us speak of the *Ouigour*, which is apparently the oldest of the Turkish dialects, and is spoken from the Oxus eastwards. Shaw, in his grammar, says that the people who use this language no longer call it Uigour, but simply *türk tili*, 'Turkish language,' or *turkcha*, 'Turkish.' The same terms are used in the *Kudatku Bilik*, a work of the eleventh century in this idiom, which is the oldest written monument of the language extant. Vámbéry

derives the word Ouigour from the verb *ûy-mak*, which means 'to follow, submit.' The root of this, *ûy-*, with the adjectival suffix *-ghûr*, would therefore mean, 'one who follows,' or 'submits.' He accordingly believes the word to have been originally used to distinguish the orderly and settled Eastern Turkish tribes from their predatory and nomadic western kinsmen. In later days, when the more enterprising nomads had pushed far towards the west and had imbibed the culture of the Arabs and Persians, they looked back with contempt on the tribes whose ambition had never led them forth to conquer and to learn, and hence the appellation of *Ouigour* came to be used contemptuously, meaning 'stupid' and 'ignorant.' The same thing has happened to the word *Türk* farther west, for amongst the Ottoman Turks it is used generally in the sense of 'clod-hopper,' or 'provincial,' the people preferring to call themselves *Osmânlî*, 'descendants of Osmân.'

"Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the Ouigours were originally the most civilized, as they are the most ancient branch of the Turkish race. To them also belongs the alphabet which bears their name, though it is very doubtful whether even this is really national, the almost universal opinion amongst those who have studied the question, from Rémusat to Vámbéry, being that it was borrowed from the Syrians about 760 A.D., or earlier. The Syrians undoubtedly exercised a considerable influence over the Tartar tribes, and Kashghár was a Nestorian bishopric as late as the fourteenth century. Vámbéry says that he showed a manuscript of an Ouigour book to some Syrian Christians, and that they were able to read it, though they could not of course understand its meaning. Indeed, if we compare the Ouigour with the Syriac alphabet, its resemblance to it is at once apparent, the same being the case with the Mongolian and Manchu characters. The two latter are written vertically from above downwards, in lines from left to right. The Ouigours seem to have written in the same way, and also horizontally from right to left. It has been much debated as to whether this vertical writing can be

regarded as a national peculiarity of the Tartars. Some writers have considered it to be so, and have attempted to prove from it that their alphabet is of far greater antiquity than is generally supposed, which they do by assuming that it is more inconvenient to write thus than horizontally, and that the most inconvenient method of writing is the most primitive, and therefore the oldest. But it is evident that no importance can be attached to this argument, for the convenience of any method of writing depends merely on custom, and to an Arab our method of writing from left to right would seem quite as strange as his system does to us, while it is said that the Chinese in their books frequently allude to the barbarous method of foreigners of writing in horizontal lines instead of vertically.

"Some, again, consider that the Tartar nations originally wrote horizontally, and that the custom of writing vertically was introduced when they began to study Chinese, and wished to write glosses parallel to the Chinese texts. But the truth seems to be that this method of writing was, with the alphabet, borrowed from the Syrian missionaries, for it is stated on good authority that even at the present day the Syrians always write vertically, in lines extending from the left to the right side of the page, but when they wish to read, they turn the page round and read horizontally from right to left. Now the Manchus, Mongols, and Ouigours all write in this manner, viz. in vertical lines beginning on the left side of the page, while the Chinese begin on the *right* side. This alone would lead us to believe that it was from the Syrians and not the Chinese that the Tartar nations borrowed their method of writing. It is clear that this habit of the Syrians of writing vertically, and reading horizontally, is not merely a modern innovation, for Theseus Ambrosius, writing in 1539, says, in his 'Introduction to Chaldee': 'Les Chaldéens, quoique lisant leurs lettres de droite à gauche comme les Hébreux, les Samaritains, les Arabes, et les Carthaginois, ne suivent pourtant pas le même mode en écrivant; c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne conduissent pas leur roseau de droite à gauche, mais qu'ils tracent leurs lettres *du ciel*

vers l'estomac, comme quelqu'un l'a dit à ce sujet: 'E cœlo ad stomachum relegit Chaldæa lituras.'

"André Thevet, writing in 1575, makes the same statement, as do also Bayer and Duret.

"There is one other theory which has been put forward by David in the Introduction to his Turkish Grammar, viz. that the Ouigours borrowed their system of writing from the Zoroastrians of Persia, and he fancies he can detect a resemblance between the Zend and Ouigour characters. To support this hypothesis he points out the great amount of intercommunication which existed in ancient times between Irân and Tûrân, which is amply shown by the old Persian legends embodied in the *Shâh-nâma*, and he opposes the theory that the Tartars took their alphabet from the Syrians on the ground that whereas there are twenty-two letters in the latter, there are only fourteen in the former, many of the letters having therefore to do duty for several distinct sounds. Now he says that it is very improbable that any nation adopting a foreign alphabet would adopt some of the letters and not all, for if they made any change it would probably be in the contrary direction. It need hardly be said that this argument is equally opposed to his own theory, inasmuch as the Zend alphabet, like the Syrian, contains twenty-two distinct characters.

"On the whole it seems almost certain that the Ouigour alphabet was a modification of the Syriac, and was introduced in the seventh or eighth century by the Nestorian missionaries amongst the Tartars, but at the same time it is very probable that it displaced an older native alphabet, for it is asserted by many travellers that there exist in different parts of Tartary inscriptions in unknown characters, evidently of great age. Thus Rémusat says: 'Les Tartares d'aujourd'hui sont les plus grossiers et les plus ignorants des hommes; ceux d'autrefois ont pu être éclairés et policés. On trouve dans quelques unes de leurs solitudes des inscriptions en charactères inconnus, des débris d'édifices qui paroissent avoir été considérables, des vestiges de longs et pénibles travaux exécutés dans les mines que la terre y recèle.'

"Whatever view we take of the origin of the Ouigour alphabet, there can be no question that it was very imperfectly adapted to express clearly the sounds of the Turkish language, and we can hardly wonder that it was gradually entirely superseded by the Arabic alphabet. Several reasons besides the much greater efficiency and perfection of the latter conduced to its adoption.

"When the majority of the Turkish races embraced the religion of Muhammad, it naturally followed that a quantity of Arabic words were introduced to express the new ideas which it contained, and as these could be very imperfectly represented by the Ouigour alphabet, it was natural that it should be found more convenient to adopt the Arabic alphabet altogether. Indeed it is usually the case, even in Ouigour manuscripts, to find here and there Arabic sentences and formulæ written in their proper character. Hence it must have been necessary for Ouigour scribes to be conversant with the latter, and as the use of two alphabets was troublesome, it would be found practically more convenient to drop the old alphabet entirely. Besides this, Muhammedans regard the Arabic character with almost superstitious reverence, as being that in which the Ḳu'rán (which they regard as having existed from all eternity) is written, and they are continually exercising their ingenuity to discover new meanings in the very forms of the letters. It is probably for this reason that the Arabic alphabet is in use over almost the whole of the Muhammedan world, having supplanted not only imperfect systems of writing like the Ouigour, but even alphabets like the Devanâgarî, which are far more perfect than itself. Thus in Persia, the old alphabets entirely disappeared before the Arabic, on the conversion of that country to Muhammedanism in the seventh century of our era, except amongst the small remnant of the followers of Zoroaster who remained in Persia or fled to India, and who still continued to use the Zend characters for their sacred books.

"Amongst the Indian Muhammedans also the Arabic character is invariably used for writing their language,

though far less suitable to express its sounds than the Devanâgarî alphabet, which is used still by the Hindus. As before said, the Ouigour alphabet consists of fifteen characters, three of which are vowels. It is unable to distinguish between long and short vowels, and many of the consonants have to do duty for three, four, or even five letters of the Arabic alphabet. Thus, the same Ouigour character is used for the sounds *b*, *p*, *f* and *v*, while another stands alike for the three different kinds of *s*, and the four different kinds of *z* of the Arabic, *i.e.* of the Arabic alphabet as pronounced by the Turks, for the sounds of these letters are distinct in Arabic. Whatever literature may once have existed in this character, most of it has perished. A large collection of Ouigour and other books presented to a monastery by Ablai Khân was completely destroyed by the Russians, only a few scattered leaves remaining to indicate the rich store that had formerly existed there. A few of these were found by a young Russian naturalist who visited the spot, which was still occupied by the vandal soldiery who had caused this great loss to science. Some of these were exquisitely written in letters of gold, and were richly ornamented. All the Ouigour MSS. which exist in Europe are post-Muhammedan. The oldest is one of the *Kudatku Bilik* or 'Auspicious Knowledge,' written in Herât in the year 843 of the Hijra. The text, as before stated, has been published with a German translation and glossary by Vámbéry. It is a most valuable relic, for it is almost free from Arabic and Persian, and not only makes us acquainted with many Turkish words which have now entirely disappeared, but gives us a far greater insight into the national characteristics and modes of thought than later books written in a language full of Arabic and Persian words, and permeated throughout with Muhammedan ideas. Besides this, there is an Ouigour version of the Persian romance called the *Bakhtiyâr-nâma*, of which a MS. exists in the Bodleian at Oxford, and another called the *Mi'râj-nâma*, containing an account of the night-journey of Muhammad to heaven.

"Although the peculiar Ouigour character is no longer

in use, however, the language of Kashghár and Yarkand is still essentially the same as that of the *Kudatku-Bilik*. It closely resembles Ottoman Turkish in its system of grammar, but is more primitive and freer from admixture of foreign words. In it the verb is even more wonderful in its power and complexity than in the language of Constantinople, though it was the system of conjugation in the latter idiom which called forth Max Müller's enthusiastic eulogies of the Turkish language. Indeed, there have not been wanting writers who, struck by the simplicity and perfection of Turkish grammar, which is on the one hand capable of expressing the finest shades of thought, and on the other is free from the irregularities and arbitrary rules which mar so many languages, have considered it to be the most perfect language, and the most fitted for a universal means of communication between the learned of all nations. Yates, in a very interesting little work entitled 'The Science of Grammar and Turkish Grammar,' published in London in 1857, strongly urges the superiority of Turkish over all other tongues. The ingenuity of its grammar has not failed to strike Oriental nations also, and has given rise to the well-known Persian proverb, 'Arabic is the Original; Persian is Sugar; Hindi is Salt; *Turki is Art.*' It will be well to postpone an account of the peculiarities of Turkish generally till we come to speak of the dialect of the Osmânlîs, but in general it may be stated that in the more primitive Ouigour we are able to recognize as distinct significant words many terminations which in Ottoman Turkish have sunk down into mere inflections. I think I cannot here do better than quote some of the remarks made by Mr. Shaw in his 'Grammar of Eastern Turki' on this subject.

"He says: 'At the early period above referred to, the verb was perhaps a mere noun of action, destitute of any conjugation, although afterwards labelled by means of certain syllables (originally independent words) to indicate the several times and modes of the action. Such compound words, which could hardly be considered verbs, would apply equally to the *agent*, the *action*, and the *object acted upon*.

. . . A further development of the language would consist in also labelling these verbal nouns with the several pronouns or the corresponding possessive affixes (according as the desired sense might require), to point out the subject of the action; and thus were at last obtained several tenses of a real conjugation. All these stages of the Túrki verb formation co-exist in the present language of Yárkand. If one asks a man whether he has seen so-and-so, he replies: *Körgan.* This word may apply equally to 'the person who sees,' 'the thing seen,' and 'the action of seeing.' But in a case of ambiguity, or for greater emphasis, he might also answer: *Körgan-im bár*, lit. '*my* seeing exists,' or *Körgan-man*, lit. '*I* the seer.' In one case the possessive *im* 'my,' and in the other the personal pronoun *man* 'I,' is affixed; and thus the first person singular of the two (Indefinite) Past Tenses is formed. These are the two typical modes of forming the persons of a tense, and there is no other.'

"Mr. Shaw then proceeds to enumerate the various syllables which may be appended to the verb-root to modify its meaning, and the various participles which may be formed from each of these new roots by the addition of other syllables, and finally the way in which the different persons of the tenses may be expressed by the further addition of pronouns or pronominal affixes.

"He then continues thus: 'With all these possible combinations before him, the Túrk of the East appears to construct his words on each occasion from the elements at his disposal (as a compositor sets up type), rather than to employ ready-made or stereotyped forms. He accumulates affix upon affix until he has completed his meaning, instead of looking about him for a single word to which that meaning is already assigned. Hence his belief that his language is arbitrary and dependent only on his own will (notwithstanding the fact that he really, though unconsciously, works on distinct and simple principles), and hence also the fact that to him each element of his words retains its separate vitality and meaning. When a Frenchman says 'vous êtes,' he has ordinarily no notion that in the termination '-tes'

he is repeating the pronoun 'vous' in another form. But an Eastern Túrk is perfectly aware of the meaning of the termination in the words *dursiz* 'ye are,' *ḳelghaningiz* 'ye have done,' and will not hesitate to use the same pronouns in other applications, as *siz-ga birdim* 'I gave to you,' or even superfluously prefixed to the verb, as, *siz dursiz* 'ye are;' and so also *ât-ingiz* 'your horse.'

"From the distinctness of the several parts of most Túrki words, and the small amount of wearing down which they have undergone, it would seem likely that the language was reduced to writing at an early period, for there can be no doubt that an early literature does more than anything else to prevent the alteration and contraction of words. For instance, Mr. Shaw tells us that the compound tense *bol-up-ir-di* (compounded of the participle *bolup* of the verb *bol-maḳ* 'to become,' and the third person singular of the past tense of *ermek* or *irmek* 'to be,' and meaning 'it had become') is in many of the towns of Central Asia shortened to *wopti* in conversation. Nevertheless, it is always written in full *bol-up-ir-di*. If the art of writing, however, were unknown to the people who used it, all sense of its structure would doubtless soon be lost, and it would require all the skill of the philologist to discover its original form. If this hypothesis be true, viz. that the detrition and phonetic decay of a language is checked by its being at an early stage of its growth reduced to writing, it would support the view that Ouigour is the oldest of the Turkish dialects, inasmuch as in it we find words in their fullest and simplest form. The case of the so-called Auxiliary verb will afford us another example of the more primitive structure of Ouigour as compared with Ottoman Turkish. In Ouigour it is formed merely by adding the different pronouns to the root of the verb *dúr-maḳ* or *túr-maḳ* 'to stand.' Thus, *man* means 'I,' *sa* 'thou,' *siz* 'ye.' 'I am' is *dúr-man*, 'thou art' *dúr-sa* 'ye are' *dúr-siz*. The 3rd persons singular and plural are not so regular—'he is' is expressed simply by the root *dúr*, or it may take the form *dúrur*. 'They are' is *dúr-lar* (*i.e.* the

root plus the regular plural affix). 'We are' is *Dúr-miz*, while we should have expected *Dúr-biz*, *biz* being the word which means 'we.' If we may judge by analogy, however, *miz* must be the older form of *biz*, just as the Ouigour pronoun *man* 'I' becomes *ben* in Ottoman Turkish. In the latter language the auxiliary has been so much cut down that except for the 3rd persons singular and plural—*dir* or *dur* 'he is,' and *dirlar* or *durlar* 'they are,' we could hardly see its connection with the verb *dúr-maḳ* 'to stand.' Here is the present tense of the auxiliary in both languages with the pronouns prefixed:—

		Ouigour.	Ottoman Turkish.
S.	1. I am	*mandúr-man*	*ben-im*
	2. Thou art	*sandúr-san*	*sen-sin*
	3. He is	*uldúr*	*odúr*
P.	1. We are	*bizdúr-miz*	*biz-iz*
	2. Ye are	*sizdúr-siz*	*siz-siṇiz*
	3. They are	*ulardúr-lar*	*ânlardirlar*

"In Ottoman Turkish, indeed, the terminations which constitute the auxiliary verb closely resemble the possessive affixes. Thus, for example: *kárndash-im* may mean either 'I am a brother' or 'my brother'; *kárndash-sin* means 'thou art a brother,' while *kárndash-iṇ* means 'thy brother'; *kárndash-siniz* means 'you are a brother,' or 'you are brothers,' while *kárndash-iṇiz* means 'your brother.'

"It will be better to postpone a more systematic consideration of the verb-formations till we come to speak of Ottoman Turkish, but a few forms peculiar to Ouigour may be noticed here. One remarkable feature is the great tendency to prefix the participle of one verb to another, and use the compound thus formed to express more graphically some action which as it were unites the actions expressed by each of the two verbs thus compounded. For example: from *sât-maḳ* 'to sell,' and *âl-maḳ* 'to take,' we get a compound verb, *sâtip-âlmaḳ* 'to buy' (in Ottoman Turkish *sâtin-âlmaḳ*). Again, from *yet-mek* 'to reach' and *ḳâl-mak* 'to remain,' we get *yetip-ḳâlmaḳ* 'to exceed,' *i.e.* 'reaching, to remain (over).' These compound verbs are very similar to those so common

in Hindústání, only that in the latter language the first verb is usually in the root form, and not the participial.

There are one or two peculiar participles in Ouigour not found in Ottoman Turkish; as, for example, the *participle of* [illegible] and the *participle of probability*. The former is formed by adding the termination *-ghu-luk* to the root of any verb, [illegible] example from *kel-mak* we get *kel-ghu-luk* 'to do' or [illegible] from which we get several tenses, by the [illegible] the auxiliary verb, as *kel-ghu-luk-idim* 'I was to [illegible]' and *kel-ghu-luk-ikan-man* 'I am to do' [illegible] may also be used as a substan[illegible] pronominal affixes may be added, as *kel-*[illegible] The participle of [illegible] by adding the termination *-ghu-luk* [illegible] to do, from which [illegible] the auxiliary verb, or by [illegible]

[illegible]

the preference to the former. Besides this he composed a Dictionary of Chaghatai, commonly known as the *Aboushka*, that being the first word which is explained in it. A dictionary based on this work has been published by Veliamanof Zernof at St. Petersburg, the Chaghatai words being explained in Ottoman Turkish. Another dictionary of this language by Fazlu'lláh Khán was published at Calcutta in 1825, and is called *Lughat-i-Turki*. Besides Mír 'Alí Shir, the most celebrated of those who have written in Chaghatai are *Timúr* (whose Laws or Institutes are still extant); *Bábur*, his great-great-great-grandson, who conquered India in 1525, and founded the dynasty commonly known in Europe as the 'Great Moguls,' and whose autobiography in the original Turkish, with a Persian translation, has been published in India, an English translation of the Persian version having also been published by Leyden and Erskine; *Ulugh-Beg*, the grandson of Tímúr, and famous astronomer, who in his observatory at Samarkand compiled his catalogue of over twelve hundred stars between 1430 and 1440 A.D.; and lastly, *Abu'l-Ghází*, Prince of Khíva, born in 1605 A.D., who wrote a book called *Shajara-i-Turki*, on the Genealogy of the Turks. Two more dictionaries of this language deserve notice. One is by M. Pavet de Courteille, and is, I believe, very complete. The other is more recent, and is the work of a very eminent Ottoman savant, Ahmed Vefík Páshá, who has paid much attention to the philology of his language, and its relation to kindred idioms.

"We must now notice some of the leading features of the most polished and cultivated of all the Turkish dialects, viz. Ottoman-Turkish, the language of the Osmânlis, spoken by all high officials throughout the realms of the Sultan, as well as at the court of Persia to a considerable extent. In speaking of its leading features we shall include much that might have been said concerning the other dialects, but which can be better treated of here, since the Ottoman-Turkish has been more thoroughly fixed and reduced to rule by the labours of innumerable native and foreign grammarians than its kindred idioms.

"First of all we must consider the alphabet, and the modifications which the Turks have introduced into it. As before said, when they embraced the religion of *Islám*, they adopted the Arabic characters and rejected their own less perfect alphabet. But they came in contact with Arabic thought through a Persian medium rather than through direct contact with the people amongst whom their Prophet arose, and hence they adopted the Arabic alphabet with the modifications which the Persians had introduced to meet the needs of their language. The Arabic alphabet consists of 28 letters, all consonants, three of which, however, are weak consonants, or semivowels. These three are *alif*, *wáw*, and *yá*, and they correspond to the three vowel-points which represent respectively short *a*, *i*, and *u*. When supported by their corresponding weak-consonants, these latter express, in the middle or at the end of a word, long *á* (as in 'father'), long *í* (as in 'machine'), and long *ú* (like *oo* in 'pool'). It is needless to enter into the details of their use in Arabic: in Persian we may practically regard these three letters as representing the above three long vowels, while the three vowel-points represent the three short vowels. Thus in Persian we can express in writing six vowel-sounds, three long and three short, viz.:

short { *a* (as in 'man,' but in India pronounced like the *a* in 'above' or *u* in 'fun').
i (as in 'bit').
u (as in 'pull').

long { *á* (as *a* in 'all,' but in India like *a* in 'father').
í (like *i* in 'machine'; in India sometimes like French *e* or *ey* in 'they').
ú (like *oo* in 'pool'; in India sometimes like *o* in 'old').

Besides these a new value was given to the Arabic *h*, which is used in Persian for final surd *e* or *a*.

"These are quite sufficient to express the sounds of the Persian language as pronounced in Persia, though in India two of the long vowels have a double value. But in Turkish there are eleven simple vowel-sounds, which have to be represented by only six signs. Moreover, the short vowels,

though they can be expressed by the vowel-points, are ordinarily not written, so that practically a word must be known before it can be read, though after a little practice the vowels to be supplied in most Arabic and Persian words can be guessed accurately enough, especially in the former, where all words are formed on certain fixed measures or models. Naturally the inconvenience arising from the double values of most of the vowels is much less to a Turk than to a foreigner attempting to learn the language. Lately, however, the Turks of Constantinople have been paying much attention to the improvement of their language, and have not only introduced the European system of punctuation, but have invented a method of distinguishing the different values of all the letters, vowels, and consonants. In old books there is no attempt at punctuation, beyond the occasional presence of a sort of asterisk to indicate a full stop, but now many of the books printed in Constantinople are fully punctuated. The system of marking the different values of the vowels, however, has been very sparingly used, and will probably never come into general use, being too cumbrous and troublesome, besides being unnecessary for one who is fairly conversant with the language and its euphonic laws. I do not know the name of the inventor of the system, but it is explained and illustrated in a book called the *Tuḥfé-i-Eṭfál*, by Rushdi Bey, of the Imperial School of Medicine at Constantinople.

"As illustrating the system, we may take the letter *váv*, which besides its consonantal value of *v* or *w*, stands in Turkish for the four vowel-sounds of *ú* (as in 'flute'), *ü* (German, as French 'eu'), *u* (French, as in 'tu'), and *o* (as in 'no'). For the first of these four vowel sounds the *váv* is written with a circumflex accent (^) *underneath*, for the second with an *inverted circumflex above*, for the third with a *circumflex above*, and for the fourth with *an inverted circumflex below*. Though this system should never come into general use, it may still prove very useful for the proper transliteration of foreign words in Turkish. The Turks have likewise taken to using the Arabic soft *h*, to which the

Persians gave the value of surd *a* (*é*) at the end of words, to represent the French *é* in transliterating European words into Turkish. Hence at the present day the correct sound of almost any word can be expressed in Turkish characters by means of a proper use of this new system. With regard to the consonants, it need only be said that to those used by the Arabs the Persians added four more, *ch* (as in church), *zh* (French *j*), *g* (as in 'good'), and *p*, thus raising the number of letters in the alphabet to thirty-two. The Turks added one more, viz. the *ṇ*, which took the place of the old *ng* of the Ouigour. Both this letter and *g* are of the same form as the Arabic soft *k*, and though the former value may be distinguished by writing a double stroke above the letter, and the latter by placing three dots above it, these marks are not used as a rule in printed books, and hence the same letter stands for the three sounds of *g*, *k*, and *ṇ*, as well as the softened sound of *y*, which *g* often assumes in Turkish. This is the only consonant about which there can be any confusion, and even there it may be readily avoided by using the proper marks to distinguish the different values.

"We now come to one of the most striking peculiarities of Turkish, viz. the law of *Euphony*, which regulates the pronunciation of the whole language, and determines the vowel-sounds in each word by the predominance of hard or soft consonants. All the letters are divided into three classes, hard, soft, and neutral. Nine of the consonants (including most of those only used in words of Arabic origin) are hard, five are soft, and the rest are neutral. Of the vowels, four are hard, four soft, and the others neutral.

"According to whether hard or soft letters preponderate in the root of any word, are the vowels in that word, as well as the vowels, and as far as possible the consonants also, in any termination added to it, hard or soft. Further back it was stated that all verbs in Turkish end in *-mek*, or *-maḳ*. Which of these terminations is used for any given verb-root depends on whether it is soft or hard. The termination *mek*, with the soft *k* and the soft vowel *e*, is used after roots in which the soft letters predominate, while *-maḳ*,

with hard *ḳ*, and the hard vowel *a*, is used after hard roots. For instance, in the root of the verb 'to look,' *bâḳ*, the predominant consonant is the hard *ḳ*. This determines the value of the second letter, *elif*, which takes the hard sound of the *a* in 'all.' It also requires the hard infinitive termination, *-maḳ*. Similarly, if we add to such a root the termination *-di* of the third person singular of the past tense, the final *i* is not pronounced with the 'soft' sound of the *i* in 'bid,' but with the hard sound of the *i* in 'bird,' *bâḳ-di*. On the other hand, if we take the root *sev* of the verb 'to love,' we find that it consists of a soft letter, *s*, and a neutral letter, *v*. Hence the vowel between them must be the soft *e*, and not the hard *a*, and the termination for the infinitive must be the soft *-mek* and not the hard *-maḳ*, and so on with all other terminations that can be added. Similarly the vowel which precedes the termination *-ṇ* which marks the genitive case of nouns depends on whether hard or soft letters preponderate in the word to which it is added. Thus the genitive case of *ev* 'a house,' is *eviṇ*, while that of *ōt* 'grass,' is *ōtúṇ*. In short, the laws of euphony are of paramount importance in Turkish, and to them not only the pronunciation, but to a certain degree the spelling also, gives way, except in the case of Arabic and Persian words, where the orthography is rigidly fixed. To this peculiar and almost unique characteristic of Turkish amongst languages is due the softness and sweetness of the spoken tongue, no combinations of letters which jar on the ear or render the pronunciation difficult being possible.

"From them, too, another important result arises. It has been stated already that for the expression of the eleven vowel-sounds of the Ottoman language, there are only six written symbols (viz. the three long vowels, *á*, *í*, and *ú*, and the three corresponding short vowels, represented by the three vowel-points). To these we may add the final surd *é* of the Persians, represented by the Arabic soft *h*. Thus it would appear that in most cases we should be in doubt as to the particular value which we ought to give to any vowel in any given word. But it is obvious that by a knowledge of

the laws of euphony we can generally determine how any vowel ought to be pronounced, each of the written vowels having at least two corresponding sounds—hard and soft.

"Enough has now been said of the alphabet, and we must pass on to consider a few of the more striking peculiarities of the language itself, beyond those which have been already noticed. In the first place its extreme regularity is remarkable. Though capable of expressing the finest shades of feeling, it is not complicated by unnecessary rules, or still more unnecessary exceptions. Adjectives have no genders, and undergo no changes of declension except when they stand alone as nouns, in which case they take the usual case-affixes. The latter are always the same, only the vowels varying in accordance with the euphonic laws. A certain element of irregularity is, however, introduced into the language by the common employment of Arabic broken plurals, etc. In fact, Turkish cannot be thoroughly known without a considerable acquaintance with the rules of Arabic and Persian grammar.

"Of the verbs we have already said something, but they are so remarkable that a short account of their structure may not be out of place. From the root, *i.e.* the second person singular of the Imperative, we form the various tenses, participles, and gerunds by the addition of certain terminations. But by introducing certain syllables *between the root* and any such termination, we may give it a *passive*, *causative*, *potential*, *reflexive*, or *reciprocal* meaning, or the *negative* of any of these. By the various combinations of the syllables expressing these ideas, we get from each root an enormous number of derived roots representing the different conditions under which the action expressed by the root takes place, each of which is conjugated exactly like the original verb.

"We may take the well-known example of the verb *sev-mek* 'to love,' for this serves better than almost any other to illustrate the principle of derivation, inasmuch as nearly all the possible forms can be actually used in it. By placing the syllable *-dir* after the root *sev-*, we get the causal form, *sev-dir-mek* 'to cause to love.' A doubly causal verb may be

made by adding the letter *-t* to the syllable *-dir*, and even in some cases a trebly causal verb is possible. If instead of this we add *-in* to the root, we get the reflexive, or indeterminate, *sev-in-mek* 'to love oneself,' *i.e.* 'to be pleased.' If we substitute *-ish* for *-in*, we get the reciprocal *sev-ish-mek* 'to love one another.' From each we can make a causal verb, as above, by appending to the root thus formed the syllable *-dir*; thus *sev-in-dir-mek* means 'to cause to rejoice,' and *sev-ish-dir-mek* 'to cause to love one another.' The syllable *-il* gives a passive signification to the derived verb, as *sev-il-mek* 'to be loved,' *sev-ish-dir-il-mek* 'to be caused to love one another,' etc. The negative of any of these is formed by introducing the syllable *-me* before the termination, as *sev-me-mek* 'not to love,' *sev-il-me-mek* 'not to be loved,' *sev-ish-dir-il-me-mek* 'not to be caused to love one another.' Finally, if we prefix the syllable *-e* to the negative *me*, we get the negative potential, as *sev-e-me-mek*, 'not to be able to love,' *sev-il-dir-e-me-mek* 'not to be able to cause to be loved,' *sev-ish-dir-il-e-me-mek* 'not to be able to be caused to love one another.'

"Another remarkable thing about the Turkish verbs is the use of some of the participles, by means of which the use of relative pronouns is almost entirely avoided, and great conciseness is attained. For instance, the perfect and future participles have a passive as well as an active sense, and by adding to them the various pronominal affixes, and prefixing them to any substantive we wish to qualify, we form a relative clause without the use of any relative pronoun. For instance, *sev-dik*, the perfect participle of the verb *sev-mek* 'to love,' means either 'having loved,' or 'having been loved.' In the latter meaning it takes the pronominal affixes, and we say *sev-dig-im dost* (pronounced *sev-di-yim*, by euphony for *sev-dik-im*), 'the friend whom I loved,' *sev-dig-in dost* 'the friend thou didst love,' etc. We can use the future participle in the same way; so, for example, from the verb *ül-mek* 'to die,' the future participle is *ül-ejek* 'about to die.' If we wish to express 'the day when I shall die' in Turkish, we say it in two words, *ül-ejegim gyun* (pronounced *ül-ejeyim*),

and similarly the day when we shall die would be *ö-lecek gün*, etc. For these same participles may also be used substantively: thus if we wished to express what I learnt that you were about to come in Turkish, we should say it in two words, viz., *ge-lec-ej-im-i-ni* [illegible] *geleceğimi öğrendim*. Employing such a sentence, we see that *ecek* is the future participle of *gelmek* 'to come,' plus the pronominal affix of the second person singular, *-ni*, plus the termination of the accusative, *-i*. Again, *sür-dü* is the past participle of the verb *sür-mek* 'to drive,' to which is added the pronominal affix of the first person singular, *-m*, to which again is added the termination of the locative, *-da*, meaning 'in,' 'on,' or 'at.' The literal translation of the sentence would therefore be 'your-being-about-to-come I-learnt in-my-driving-seat.'

"It is impossible here to do more than indicate the enormous power and flexibility of Turkish verbs, and a full account of them can only be given in a grammar. These more forms may however be named.

"By adding to any verb-root the vowel *-i* or the syllable *-ir*, and the verb *ver-mek* 'to give,' we get a verb expressing great facility or opportunity, as for example, from the verb *ö-lek* 'to kill,' we get *ö-le-ver-ir*, of which the imperative is *ö-le-ver*, meaning 'kill (just) now.'

"Similarly, by adding the vowel *-i* or *-ir* to any verb-root, and according to it the verb *yaz-mak* 'primarily meaning 'to write,' though in this usage some other other meaning, and now according to the simple verb *yaz-mak* must be followed, we get a verb expressing 'very nearly doing' something, as for example, from *bayıl-mak* 'to faint,' *bayılyazmak* 'to come very near to fainting,' 'almost to faint.'

"It is difficult to explain this peculiar use of *yaz-mak*; possibly the verb may have originally had some such signification, as 'to scrape,' in which case such a derivative as *bayıla-yazmak* would mean 'to scrape fainting,' i.e. 'to touch or come very close to that condition.'

"Thirdly, by adding *e* or *a* to any verb-root and the verb *gel-mek* 'to come,' we get a class of derivatives expressing

habitude, as, for example, from *ōl-mak* 'to be,' *ōla-gelmek* meaning 'to be in the habit of being.'

"The way in which the verb 'to have' is expressed in Turkish is peculiar. There is no simple verb with this meaning, but the idea is expressed by means of two adjectives, *vár* 'existent,' and *yōk* 'non-existent.' Thus, 'I have a book' is in Turkish *kitâb-im vár*, literally 'my book existent' or 'book of mine existent,' while 'I have not a book' is *kitâb-im yōk*, 'my book non-existent.' By adding the various tenses of the auxiliary verb, or of the verb *olmak* 'to be (in which latter case the adjectives *vár* and *yōk* may be dispensed with), expressions corresponding to the other tenses of the verb 'to have' are formed, as *kitab-im yoghúdú* (for *yok-idi*, by euphony) 'I had not a book,' literally 'book of mine non-existent was.'

"Besides simple Turkish verbs and their derivatives, an almost indefinite number of compound verbs may be formed by adding one of the four verbs meaning 'to make' or 'do' (one of which is specially used for expressing respect, in the sense of 'deigning to do,' or 'being so kind as to do') to an Arabic verbal noun of any one of the ten most commonly used Arabic conjugations, or to many Persian or other foreign words. For instance, *fahima* in Arabic means 'he understood.' The tenth conjugation of this verb is *istafhama* 'he desired to understand,' making its verbal noun *istifhám* 'desiring to understand.' The Turkish compound verb is *istifhám et-mek*, or in the deferential form *istifhám buyur-mak*, 'to deign to desire or strive to understand,' which is conjugated throughout as a simple verb, the word *istifhám* remaining unchanged. It will be easily seen how much this adds to the richness and power of expression of the Turkish language.

"There is in Turkish a dubitative form of the verb which is very useful. It is used when the speaker relates some fact, the truth or accuracy of which he does not wish to vouch for. Its characteristic is the syllable *-mish*. Thus if one wishes to state that some one came, and if one has certain knowledge of the fact, one says *gel-di*, using the simple past tense. But if one wishes to imply that one only

complete punctuation, and the way in which this is effected now leaves nothing to be desired.

"*Ebu'z-Ziyá Tevfik Bey*, lately editor of the chief Turkish newpaper, the *Wakt*, has perhaps done more to improve the typography than any one else, and numbers of books, including many translations, biographies, and compendious abstracts of the results of recent scientific research, besides numerous productions of the new school of writers, are annually published by him.

"The poetry of the present day differs widely from that of older writers, which was modelled entirely on the Persian, the same metres, similes, and forms of expression being employed, while the names of the Persian heroes, *Nushirván*, *Jemshid*, *Férídún*, *Rustem*, and the like, occur continually to the exclusion of the old Turkish warriors and sages, such as *Búlanjar* and *Oghúz Khán*, whose very names have ceased to be remembered by their descendants. In fact, what Latin and Greek have been to us, Arabic and Persian have been to the Turks, and with the adoption of the religion of Islám they ceased to care much to preserve any history of their old pagan days, so that the names of the ancient chiefs of their nation arouse even less enthusiasm in them than the remembrance of Caractacus or Boadicea does in us. Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, to whom I am indebted for much information concerning the recent development of Turkish, has written a very interesting and complete work on 'Ottoman Poetry,' with translations in verse from all the more celebrated ancient poets. I believe that he intends to write a supplementary work on the same subject, which shall include translations from writers of the new school, thus bringing the history of Ottoman verse down to our own day.

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writings unintelligible to the majority of their less erudite countrymen. Now, however, a strong reaction has set in, which was begun in the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. at the beginning of the present century (when attempts were made to simplify the language and make it less Persianized), but which made little headway till the time of *Shinási-Efendi*, a celebrated writer, who first introduced the European system of punctuation, and whose death took place in 1873. Since then the old pompous, metaphorical, Persianized style of writing has been almost entirely abandoned, a simple, clear, and national style, like that used by most European nations, having taken its place. The introduction of the drama, which is now exceedingly popular amongst all classes, no doubt helped considerably to effect this rapid change. The most illustrious Turkish dramatist at present is *'Abdu'l-Hakk Hámid*. *Kemál Bey*, the talented author and reformer, and *Ekrem Bey*, the poet and professor of literature at the Ecole Civile of Constantinople, are two other brilliant examples of the new school. In short, the language has changed more during the last thirty years than it did from the time of 'Osman I., who founded the empire in the thirteenth century, till 1850. Till then, little effect was produced on the language by its contact with Europe, except the introduction of a few Greek, Magyar, Italian, and Slavonic words. Since then, however, the Ottomans have endeavoured to put their language on a par with the languages of Europe, by rendering it capable of expressing modern scientific ideas, which has necessitated the introduction of many new words from Arabic, French, and to a certain extent, English. French is, however, the language which has been drawn on most freely, and which has chiefly served as a model to the new school of Turkish writers. This is natural, for of all European languages, it is most studied by the Turks. The orthography of Turkish has also become much more fixed, the chief tendency being now to write words as they are pronounced, and to indicate the vowels, even when short, by means of the corresponding semi-vowels, or weak consonants. Great attention is also paid to the printing of books in clear and legible type, with

complete punctuation, and the way in which this is effected now leaves nothing to be desired.

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"By far the best grammar of the language in any European tongue is Mr. Redhouse's 'Grammaire raisonnée de la langue Ottomane.' [Paris, 1846.]

"The same author has recently written another smaller one in English, published in Trübner's series of Simplified Grammars, entitled 'Ottoman-Turkish Grammar,' besides a very useful little work for affording a colloquial knowledge of the language to those who do not wish to learn the characters, called 'The Turkish Vade-Mecum,' which was also published by Trübner.

"Dr. Wells, formerly Professor at the Turkish Naval School in Constantinople, has also written a very good grammar, published in 1880.

"It is not necessary to enumerate all the older grammars of David, Barker, Jaubert, Hindoglou, Meninski, etc., which are now superseded.

"Very excellent and scientific treatises on the grammar and rhetoric of the language have likewise been written in the last few years by native savants, the best on the former subject being by Selím Sábit, and on the latter by Ahmed Jevdet.

"Of dictionaries, Zenker's, which has been already mentioned, is the most copious for purely Turkish words, as it contains most of those used in the Eastern dialects, as well as in Ottoman.

"The best Chaghatai dictionary is by Pavet de Courteille.

"The works of Bianchi and Meninski are old, and rather out of date.

"The best Turkish-English and English-Turkish dictionary is by Mr. Redhouse, published in 1856, by Quaritch. This was re-edited, with additions, by Dr. Wells, in 1879. A most comprehensive English-Turkish Lexicon, by Mr. Redhouse, was published in 1861 by the Oriental Literature Society, for the use of the American Mission at Constantinople, in which 60,000 English words and expressions are explained in Turkish, their pronunciation being also carefully indicated. The same author composed a dictionary containing 25,000 usual Arabic and Persian words explained in

Turkish (entitled, *Muntakhabát-i- Lughát-i- 'Osmániyye*), lithographed at Constantinople in 1853, which is still a standard work amongst the Turks.

"Barbier de Meynard, Professor of Turkish at the Paris Oriental College, is now bringing out a modern Ottoman-French dictionary, of which three parts have been published already.

"The best work in modern Ottoman Lexicography has, however, been done by native writers. Within the last two years, three excellent French-Turkish dictionaries have been published in Constantinople, one by Sámí Bey (not yet completed), one by Mehemed Shukrí and Michel Asgian, and another much smaller one by Shákir Páshá.

"The two best native dictionaries for purely Turkish words are the *Kitábu lehjeti'l Lughát*, by As'ad Efendi, printed about eighty years ago, in which all the Arabic and Persian equivalents of each Turkish word are given, the book being in one large volume of 850 pages; and another entitled the *Lehje-i-'Osmániyyé*, by Vefík Páshá, a more recent work on which Barbier de Meynard's dictionary is greatly based.

"Besides these, there are Turkish translations of the chief Arabic and Persian dictionaries, viz., the *Siḥáḥ* of *Jauhari* for the former, and the *Burhán-i- Ḳáti'* for the latter, as well as original works on the same subject. In short, there is no lack of grammars and dictionaries, and it is satisfactory to know that many of the best of them are due to the labours of native scholars who have striven to adapt their language to the requirements of modern science and culture, and give it the rank amongst civilized tongues, which so copious, flexible, and expressive an idiom fully deserves to occupy."

The Hamitic Languages of North Africa. By R. N. Cust.

"M. Renan some years ago struck out the idea of forming a Group of Non-Semitic Languages in North Africa; they had previously been intermixed, or imperfectly separated, the vague terms Semitic, Hamitic, or Sub-Semitic being used.

Hamitic Languages resemble Semitic in the great feature of having Gender, and using Suffixes, but in other particulars they are very different. The task of arranging them and compiling a comparative Grammar has yet to be done. M. Renan in his Farewell Report of the Société Asiatique, commended it to the French School of Savants in Algeria.

"The following subdivisions may be provisionally adopted:

I. Old Egyptian and Coptic (all dead).
II. Libyan or Berber.
III. Ethiopic.

"Of the first subdivision nothing need be said. The second is a most interesting group, extending from the Oasis of Ammon, on the confines of Egypt, to the Canary Islands, and from the Mediterranean to the Senegal River. These languages are perhaps the most ancient in the world. All the nations of Europe, and Asia are speaking languages, which have for the most part come into existence in historical times, but the Hamitic races speak the same language now, which their ancestors spoke before the Phenician settlement at Carthage. Hannibal must have given his orders to his Numidian cavalry in one of its Dialects. Massanissa, Jugurtha, Juba, and Sophonisba spoke it. Augustine and Cyprian preached in it. The names of Libyan, and Berber, may have been given to the tribes by their Arian neighbours, but they call themselves Imoshagh, or Amazirg, 'the Free.' Some words have survived, notably 'magalia' in Virgil's 1st Æneid, and 'elephas,' the name assigned to the great African beast by the Latins and Greeks, but unknown to any other Arian nation. On the other hand, in the mouths of the Berber tribes who occupy the Aures Range on the edge of the Sahára, are found Latin words, 'orto' for a garden, 'olmo' for the elm tree, Bouine the new year's salutation, from 'Bonus Annus,' and lastly the use of the Latin year and the names of the months, Yenar, Mars, Maio, Yunio: the remnants of the Latin colony, which escaped from the Arab invasion, fled to the mountains, and left these faint traces of their existence. Had this Latin Colony, which had been

[illegible]

who now inhabit Arabia, and part of whom also crossed the Red Sea, and superimposed themselves over the Hamites: thus we have an Ethiopic Branch of the Semitic Family, intermixed with the Ethiopic Sub-Group of the Hamitic Group.

"There are nine important Hamitic languages, and about nine more unimportant ones, whose names are recorded, so as not to be overlooked when the time comes for a closer scrutiny. The nine important Hamitic languages are:

"I. The Somáli, spoken by those wild and independent tribes who inhabit the Eastern horn of Africa, known to the ancients as Regio Aromatifera, from the Straits of Bab el Mandal round by Cape Guardafui. They are Mahometan Nomads. We have a very good Grammar of this language.

"II. Galla. This tribe calls itself Oromo, or 'Men,' and occupy a vast region behind the Somáli, from the Southern frontier of Abyssinia to the mouth of the River Dana, and extend far back to the Nile Valley. They are a fierce and restless Pagan race. There are five well-distinguished Dialects, and we have Vocabularies and Grammatical Notes, and Translations of portions of the Scripture, but much remains to be desired.

"III. Bishári. This language is of great historical interest, as it is the living representative of the language used in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in Nubia. The Nuba are a totally different tribe of another linguistic Group, brought down to the central valley of the Nile by the Emperor Diocletian for the purpose of ousting the Bishári. They occupy the vast region between the Nile and the Red Sea, divided into many tribes, and these are the people who fought against the English at Suákim, and have nothing whatever to do in language or race with the Arabs. The Hadendoa is one of their chief subdivisions. We have an excellent Grammar of their language.

"IV. Dankáli. This language is spoken in the narrow strip of land between the Red Sea and the Plateau of Abyssinia. One of their tribes is called Afar, which may possibly be connected with the uncertain locality of Ophir,

and the origin of the name "Africa," which was quite unknown to the Greeks. We have only a Vocabulary.

"V. Bilin is the language spoken by the Bogos tribe, who inhabit the low ranges North of the Plateau of Abyssinia, West of Massouwa: they are Mahometan and 10,000 in number, and are the bone of contention betwixt Egypt and the Ruler of Abyssinia. We have Grammar, Vocabulary, and translation of the Scriptures.

"VI. The Saho are Mahometan Nomads in the low land on the shore of the Red Sea, South of Arkiko. We have a Grammar and Vocabulary. One Section is called Irob-Saho, and the legend runs, that they are the remnants of the Greek Settlers in the palmy days of Adúlis. It is even hazarded that the word "Irob" is a corruption of "Europe." When the Semitic invasion took place, all the Arian Settlements were swept away, or trodden down, and it is possible that some miserable remnants may have been amalgamated among a friendly Hamitic tribe, as we have already seen in the case of the Kabail of the Aures Mountains. They have maintained their ancient, though debased, Christianity, and differ from the other Saho in that they have settled habitations. They speak a kindred but different language, of which we have a Grammar, but no facts corroborative of their Arian origin are derived from linguistic analysis.

"VII. The Agau is one of the most ancient languages of Abyssinia: the tribe has several subdivisions, as it has been broken up by Semitic invasions, if indeed the name does not include races and languages not kindred to each other. We have Vocabularies, and Grammatical Notes under different names, Waag, Lasta, and Hhamára. The most remarkable variety however is that of the Falásha or Abyssinian Jews, who are not Semites at all, and speak a Hamitic language. Their legend is that a Priest came with a copy of the Law in the train of the Queen of Sheba from Jerusalem. The old Ethiopic, or Gíz, is their sacred language. We have a Grammatical Note and Texts in this language.

"VIII. In the vast debateable region traversed by the Rivers Gask and Takazze, affluents of the Nile, lying betwixt

the Nile Valley and the Abyssinian Mountains, dwell the Kunáma tribe, who are Pagans. They must have been in their present position before the Semitic invasion of the Ethiopians. We have Grammars and Vocabularies. They are savage and untameable Mountaineers, harried both by Egyptians and Abyssinians. The language is called Bazéna.

"IX. The Bárea occupy an adjacent region, and are the same kind of people, fierce Pagan Savages. Their language is known as Nere, and we have a Vocabulary and Grammars. Doubts have been expressed whether it really is a Hamitic language, as it is entirely devoid of Grammatical Gender: the male and female cat, the bride and bridegroom, are expressed by the same word. Lepsius, who adheres to the strict test of the presence or absence of Gender, would exclude it; but Reinisch, who has local knowledge, and has made a careful study, considers that the Bárea and Kunáma belong to the oldest phase of the Hamitic Word-formation."

The Practical Study of Language. By Henry Sweet, M.A.

"It is remarkabl that the rize of modern scientific filology, and its rapid development during the prezent century, hav had but litl influence on the practical study of language; and it is a question whether the influence it *has* exercized has not been, on the hole, rather injurious than beneficial. I, for one, am strongly of the opinion that our prezent exaggeratedly analytical methods, which ar the fruit not only of scientific filology, but also of the elaboration of grammars and dictionaries, ar a failure compared with the synthetic methods of the Midl Ages, by which sentences wer graspt as holes, not analyzed and put together like pieces of mozaic work, and that any real reform wil involv, partialy at least, a return to theze older methods.

"But the question of such a reform has even now begun to engage the atention of filologists. I hav myself workt at it incessantly for the last fifteen years from every point of view, both practical and theoretical, and in 1876 I even

wrote a complete treatiz on the 'Practical Study of Language,' but on the maxim that exampl is better than precept, I thoght it better to rezerv its publication til I had broght out sum practical exemplification of the methods I advocate. This I am now doing: my *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* (Primer of Spoken English) is alredy half thru the press, and as soon as it is publisht I hope to bring out my treatiz in a thuroly revized and complete form. Meanwhile I may refer to such brief statements of my views as ar containd in my Prezidential Adresses[1] and other papers[2] red befor this Society, in the preface to my *Handbook of Phonetics* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1877), and in my review of Storm's *Englische Philologie* (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1881) in the *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen* (1881, Stück 44, p. 1398 foll.).

"But the main impulse has cum from the abuv-mentiond work of Storm, which is a guide to the scientific study of English, the first part (which is all that has apeard as yet) dealing with the living language. The two main features of Storm's method ar the prominence he givs to the living language, and his vindication of scientific fonetics as the indispensabl foundation of all study of language, whether practical or theoretical. He recomends the following order of the different branches: 'begin with the practical aquizition of the living language and extensiv reading, then obtain a knowledg of the older stages of the language thru the most important texts, and finaly study scientific grammar and the history and etymology of the language in their natural conection.' Storm rightly blames the older German gramarians for confuzing Tudor English, eighteenth, and nineteenth century English in one chaotic mass, which is made the foundation of the practical study of the living language. With equal justice he protests against the tendency of gramarians to regard the spoken language as a coruption

[1] See especialy Adress for 1876–7, p. 16 foll.

[2] Especialy *Words, Logic, and Grammar*, Trans. 1875-6, p. 470 foll. The same paper apeard also, with sum modifications, in the Journal of the *Anthropological Institute*, May, 1877, under the title of *Language and Thought*.

of the literary language; he maintains on the contrary, that the spoken language is always the real sourse of the literary language. Indeed (as I remarkt in my abuv-mentiond review) the spoken language is (with the exception of ocazional abnormal artificialities) the *only* sourse of the literary language: every literary language arizes from a mor or less arbitrary mixture of spoken languages of different periods; such forms, for instance, as *thou luvest, he luveth*, which now only ocur in the higher literature, wer ordinary coloquializms in Tudor English. Hense the general axiom —equaly important for the practical and the scientific study of language—that the living spoken form of every language should be made the foundation of its study. This holds good, even if the ultimate object is the mastery of the literary language only, for the spoken is the only form of the language which is regular and definitly limited in the range of its grammar and vocabulary.

"In speaking of the relation of the theoretical to the practical study of language, Storm cums to the concluzion that the former 'is practical in a higher sense, becauz it facilitates the comprehension and aquizition of the facts.' This view I criticized in my review as follows (translating from the German): 'It is true that a knowledg of such a language as Latin considerably facilitates the aquizition of Italian . . . , but where the conection between the two languages is self-evident, no scientific sign-post is required: every one sees at onse that *padre* is conected with *patrem*, *aimer* with *amare*; and when the relationship can be establisht only by means of numerous intermediate stages, and complicated laws of sound-change, it is a question whether it is realy practical to seek our object in such a roundabout way. . . We can explain the iregularities of a language by means of history, and even prove that they ar realy mor corect than the regular forms, but they stil continue to be iregularities, that is, they always cauz breaks and inequalities in the series of mental associations calld forth by the regular forms, which can only be smoothd over by strict atention and continued practice. Especialy instructiv in this respect

ar the numberless gramatical difficulties which do not require any historical illustration, simply becauz they ar in themselvs perfectly transparent, such as the perifrastic forms of the English verb. What can historical filology contribute to the analysis of *wil lur*, *shal lur*, *is luring*, etc.? And yet few foreiners succeed in mastering the delicate distinctions of the English verb. The constant aplication of historical and comparativ illustrations is often pozitivly injurious, from the disturbing influence it has on the purity and definitness of the groups of associations gaind by the practical study. One can imagin the confuzion and uncertainty which would rezult from an atempt to aquire a practical knowledg of English from Mätzner's grammar! The impossibility of a consistent aplication of the rezults of scientific filology to practical study is not generaly recognized, simply becauz such a consistent aplication is never atempted; but yet, happily, the practice of throwing crumbs of filology into practical grammars, etc., seems to be falling mor and mor into discredit, even when the language is to be studied solely for scientific purposes.[1] I believ the best way is to let each branch rest on its own merits: scientific filology should be studied for its own sake, not as an apendix to the practical study.' I would of course admit that wherever scientific etymology, etc., realy helps, it oght to be utilized, and that there may be cases in which the practical aplication of such a law as that ascribed to Grimm may be worth the effort of lerning it: but, unfortunately, it often hapns that a false etymology is of mor practical valu than the corect one: every beginner in Greek at onse remembers the meaning of *hólos* by its likeness to English *hole*, wheras its relation to Latin *salvus* can only be masterd by an effort. Such accidental likenesses, which ar not unfrequent between totaly unconected languages, where, of course, scientific comparizon is excluded, ar eagerly siezd on by the beginner as the natural foundation of his new vocabulary, especialy if they apeal to his sense of the ludicrous or paradoxical.[2]

[1] See W. Braune's remarks in the preface to his *Gotische Grammatik*.

[2] 'They call their mothers *mares*, and all their daughters *fillies*,' as Hood says

"In the last few years German filologists and teachers hav begun to agitate for a reform of their prezent system of practical instruction in language, which they themselvs almost unanimously condemn as unscientific as wel as unpractical. I would especialy call atention to the anonymous essay 'The teaching of languages must start afresh,' and Franke's 'Practical aquizition of language.'[1] The latter goes quite as far as I hav ever done in condemning the prezent system. His work is a brief skech, in which too much space is taken up by abstract generalizations, so that it is not eazy to form a clear idea of what the practical working of his method would be. He insists on a fonetic basis, and characterizes the older system as the 'translation-method.' There ar, besides, a number of essays and pamflets, sum publisht separately, sum in such periodicals as the *Anglia* and *Englische studien*. I may here quote from a review of *Karl Kühn: Zur methode des französischen unterrichts* by H. Klinghardt which has just apeard in the latter,[2] his summary of the three leading principls of reform which he says ar now generaly accepted in Germany: 1) forein languages ar to be lernt primarily by means of conected texts, the grammar being kept in the background; 2) the forein language should be lernt by imitation and thinking in it, not by translating; 3) living languages should be lernt befor ded ones—all views which I hav myself held for many years back. It is to be wisht, however, that the Germans would giv us fewer generalizations and mor facts about their own living speech, which they seem totaly to neglect.

"I wil now turn to the consideration of the different branches of practical linguistic study, beginning with *pronunciation*, which it is now generaly admitted can only be taught on the basis of scientific fonetics. The great interest

of the French. *lucus* a non lucendo. *garstig*: *nasty*. *mährchen*: *mare's nest*. *hasta*: *hasty*, becauz you must not be *hasty* with it. (This was actualy put in print onse.)

[1] Der sprachunterricht muss umkehren! von Quousque tandem (Henninger, 188–). Die praktische Spracherlernung, auf grund der psychologie und der physiologie der sprache dargestellt von F. Franke (Henninger, 1884).

[2] Englische studien, vii. 3, p. 491 foll.

this new science is exciting is suficiently atested by the fact that there ar at the prezent moment three ful treatizes on it passing thru the press, two in Germany by Vietor and Trautmann, one in Sweden by Wulff. The first atempt to aply fonetics in the teaching of English was made by Vietor in his *Englische Grammatik*, and then by Trautmann (*Anglia*, i. 592 foll.). Lastly, Schröer has broght out a treatiz on the method of teaching English pronunciation, based on the work of the English scool of fonetics,[1] and embodying the rezults of his own practical teaching experience. The Norwegian Western's *Engelsk Lydlære* also follows the English scool very closely.

"But the importance of fonetics in the practical teaching of language is stil very far from being recognized to its ful extent. The first great step wil be to discard the ordinary spelling entirely in teaching pronunciation, and substitute a purely fonetic one, giving a genuin and adequate reprezentation of the actual language, not, as is too often the case, of an imaginary language, spoken by imaginary 'corect speakers.' To teach the pronunciation of such a language as modern French by means of an orthografy which is realy a very corupt reprezentation of the sixteenth century pronunciation, is as absurd as it would be to teach Dutch with a German grammar, or to explain the anatomy of a horse by a picture of a zebra or an ichthyosaurus. When the language is firmly fixt in the memory in its fonetic form, it wil be time to study the older spelling in conection with the historical study of the older stages of the language. Of course, the difficulty of the transition from the spoken to the literary language can never be fully overcum, but it is far eazier than the unnatural process of basing the study of the spoken language on an imperfect mastery of the literary one. Experience has certainly shown that a class of children taught reading foneticaly wil master both fonetic and ordinary reading quicker than a class taught unfoneticaly wil master the

[1] Ueber den unterricht in der aussprache des Englischen, von Dr. A. Schröer (Berlin, 1884).

latter only. Similar rezults ar obtaind in muzic by the use of the Tonic Sol-fa method. The success of the fonetic method is largely dependant on the *notation* employd. It is a great step to discard the English values of the vowels, as is now done by nearly all English spelling-reformers, but it wil be a stil greater step when a universal fonetic shorthand cums into general use. Such a shorthand would serv as a stepping-stone from the ordinary Roman alfabet to such a one as Bell's Vizibl Speech, which is too cumbrous for popular use, and would at the same time giv what I believ to be the only real solution of the problem of spelling-reform.

"One very important rezult of basing the teaching of pronunciation on scientific fonetics is that we make ourselvs to a great extent independent of a rezidence abroad, and of forein teachers, for I fully agree with Schröer that for teaching Germans English, a foneticaly traind German is far superior to an untraind Englishman, the latter being quite unable to comunicate his knowledg; and this principl aplies, of course, with equal force to the teaching of forein languages in England. Again, a lerner who has been traind foneticaly wil understand the nativs, and be understood by them without difficulty, while experience shows that a bad pronunciation often makes the speaker unintelligibl (except to waiters at hotels who hav lernt to understand the jargon of foreiners by long practice), and also retards for a long time his comprehension of nativ speakers. Experience also shows that nearly all great linguists hav owd their success quite as much to their quickness in imitating sounds as to their powerful memories, and fonetics alone can suply the want of this natural quickness of imitation.

"But the gain of a fonetic grasp of language extends far beyond such special considerations. A secure grasp of the sounds of a language is a great strengthening of the general mastery of its forms and meanings, and a minute discrimination of the fonetic differences between closely alied languages (as when the French and Italian *a*, the Dutch *u* and German *ü* are kept apart) is the surest safegard against otherwize

inevitabl confuzions. Fonetics alone can breathe life into the ded mass of letters which constitute a writn language: it alone can bring the rustic dialogs of our novels befor every intelligent reader as living realities, and make us realize the living power and beuty of the ancient classical languages in proze and verse. Again, fonetics alone enables us to analyze and register the various fenomena of stress, intonation, and quantity, which ar the foundation of word-divizion, sentence-structure, elocution, metre, and, in fact, enter into all the higher problems of language: a psychological study of language without fonetics is an impossibility.

"*Grammar*, which is merely a commentary on the facts of language, must follow, not precede, the facts themselvs, as prezented in sentences and conected texts: each sentence should be analyzed and masterd foneticaly befor its gramatical analysis is atempted. A reference-grammar should contain all the rules; one to be gone thru and lernt systematicaly must be strictly limited, so as to include nothing that is not required for the explanation of the texts to be red. Every rule must hav its exampl, generaly an unambiguous sentence which wil bear separation from its context.[1] The greatest blunder that can be made is that of lerning bare lists of words by hart: *house: haus; table: tisch*, etc. But, of course, such a word as *haus* does not require a complete sentence: *das haus, häuser* givs all the information required by any lerner who has masterd the elements of the grammar. Accidence and syntax should be taught as far as possibl simultaneously, on the principl that it is absurd to teach the names of tools without explaining their use. As grammar deals with the general laws of language, it must include them all, giving as much prominence to derivation and compozition as to inflections, and including the laws of sentence-stress and intonation.

"The study of the *vocabulary* of a language may be carried on in two distinct ways. We may either lern the meanings

[1] Made-up sentences ar generaly bad, such as 'the happy children of our teacher sing sweetly enuf from their book of hymns,' which I quote from a forein grammar of English.

of separate words, or else lern the words for each meaning. Thus, we may take the word *good* and go thru its various meanings of 'plezant to the taste,' 'useful,' 'moraly good,' 'property,' etc., or else we may take, say, the idea of 'moraly good,' and enumerate the various words and frazes by which it is exprest, such as 'good,' 'virtue,' 'bad,' 'vice.' We may distinguish theze two processes as *analytic* and *synthetic* meaning-study.[1]

"It is evident that the latter presupozes the former. It is difficult to distinguish the mass of formaly unconected words and frazes by which a givn group of ideas is exprest without sum knowledg of the relation of the various meanings of the individual words. This preliminary study may be regarded as a sort of lexicografical syntax. It is, of course, only concernd with thoze words whoze variety of meanings cauzes real difficulty, such as particls and the mor primitiv verbs, such as *get* in English. The difficulty of drawing the line between this study and ordinary syntax is wel shown by the fact that the prepozitions ar treated of both in the grammar and the dictionary.

"The synthetic meaning-study, on the other hand, includes the hole vocabulary of the language. The foundation would be a vocabulary in which the commoner words of the language would be exemplified in sentences groupt under the different categories of space, time, etc., with as much logical continuity between them as possibl. As I hav said in my paper, *Language and Thought* (p. 12), the study of only 3000 words in any living language so aranged 'would enable any one to express himself on most of the ordinary topics of life with far greater accuracy than is now atainabl, even after years of floundering about in the pages of unwieldy and unpractical dictionaries and grammars.' A reference ideological dictionary with an alfabetical index would of course be required afterwards, but all looking up words in dictionaries would be excluded from the erlier stages. Such a complete dictionary would enable a foreiner to master the special

[1] The latter would, of course, include the gramatical forms as wel.

vocabulary of any new pursuit at a short notice, for it would giv all the technical terms required, in their natural conection. A special alfabetical dictionary containing only *rare* words (presupozing a mastery of the common ones) would also be very useful. Our existing dictionaries er in trying to satisfy too many requirements at onse.

"The sentences of which a language is compozed ar of two kinds. There ar sum which may be calld *general* sentences, which may be regarded as types from which a number of others may be formd by substituting new words for those they contain. Thus, *I hav a book* can be modified into *I hav a house*, etc. These sentences can be formd a-priori by combining their elements. *Special* sentences or *idioms* cannot be formd in this way, and such idioms as *how do you do? I can't help it, never mind*, ar realy on a level with simpl words, such as *salutation, inevitabl, indifference*, and, like them, hav to be lernt one by one, like the iregularities in the grammar. The fundamental error of the wel-known methods of Ollendorff and Ahn is that they tacitly assume that the natural sentences of languages can be constructed a-priori; as we see, it is precisely the most elementary, frequent, and necessary sentences which *cannot* be constructed in this way. The rezults of theze methods hav been wel parodied in Burnand's *New Sandford and Merton: The merchant is swimming with* (*avec*) *the gardener's sun, but* (*mais*) *the Dutchman has the gun*, and so on. Of course, at first only the *necessary* idioms should be taught. The line between necessary and unnecessary idioms is not of course absolute, but is in general eazy enuf to draw. All proverbial idioms, for instance, and most of those containing similes belong to the latter class. For conversational purpozes questions ar mor necessary than answers: the idioms uzed in questions must be masterd perfectly, while thoze uzed in answers require only to be understood. The distinction between the two classes is, of course, not absolute, and from a practical point of view, it is important to obzerv how much mor limited the natural and uzual combinations of most words ar than one would supoze: try, for instance, the com-

binations of the adjectivs *white, high, square, angry,* and the substantivs *man, coal, snow, word.*

"The want of fonetic notation is alone enuf to make our fraze-books useless, but they ar quite as defectiv in their idioms. Not only is ther an utter want of system in selecting the realy useful idioms, and subordinating or rejecting the others, but the idioms and frazes givn ar often absolutely incorect from the point of view of educated speech, being archaic, literary, or vulgar, or the rezult of mistranslation of sum forein idiom. Most frazebook-writers fail to reproduce the natural spoken language, partly from want of preparatory training, partly from a fear of being thoght vulgar, but mainly from overcleverness and conceit, which leads them into a spurious literary style,[1] so that their dialogs read like extracts from badly writn novels. The only exception I know of is Storm's edition of Bennett's Norwegian Frazebook. When I was with Storm in Norway last year, we surveyd nearly the hole field of frazebook literature in the chief European languages, and past a vote of sweeping condemnation on it all, cuming to the concluzion that the only way of mastering idioms was by reading novels and comedies, noting down the necessary ones and lerning them by hart. But this is, of course, a very slow and time-wasting process compared with that of studying an ideologicaly aranged colection such as I now make whenever I lern a new language, uzing my own classification of English idioms as a basis.

"When the sounds of a language hav onse been masterd, the main foundation of its study wil be conected *texts,* writn in the simplest and directest coloquial style, and containing as few rare words and frazes as possibl. The best texts to

[1] Franke remarks that German grammars for foreiners generaly giv *eilen Sie! —dieses is mein Bruder* insted of the coloquialy idiomatic *beeilen Sie sich* or *machen Sie schnell* (this is the idiom that is familiar to me)—*das* [*hier*] *is* [*t*] *mein Bruder.* I find in recently publisht English frazebooks such fossils as *may I hav the plezure of drinking wine with you, Miss?—Your helth, Sir!* together with dinner-table comments such as *this beef is delicious: it melts in the mouth—I luv fat.* In sum of theze books a man's wife is *his good lady.* On theze principls lerned Germans might stil adress an impudent cabman with *zounds sirrah!* or even *sdeth!*

begin with ar descriptions of nature and natural fenomena, of the different races of man, houzes, food, dress, etc., for such descriptions can eazily be made to include the hole of the elementary vocabulary of material things, fenomena, and actions. Narrativ pieces cum next, and, lastly, idiomatic dialogs, and longer pieces which combine all three elements.

"These texts should, of course, be made as interesting and amuzing as is consistent with the definit principls on which they ar framed. They correspond exactly to the 'studies' of the muzician, just as the latter's scales and exercizes correspond to the linguist's sound-exercizes and first sentences, and just as the muzician's studies serv as an introduction to the classical compozitions themselvs, so do our linguistic texts serv as an introduction to the literature of the language. 'The ordinary practice of not only introducing the lerner to the literature of a language befor he has masterd its grammar and vocabulary, but also of making its classics the vehicl of elementary gramatical instruction, is a most detestabl one. What should we say of a muzic-master who gave his pupils a sonata of Beethoven to lern the notes on, insted of beginning with scales? Yet this is precisely our prezent system of teaching languages.'[1] When the classics of a language ar ground into boys who ar utterly unabl to apreciate them, the rezult is often to create a disgust for literature generaly.

"At the end of this stage the lerner wil hav aquired a thuro comand of a limited number of words and frazes expressing the most necessary ideas. His vocabulary wil not be large, but he wil comand it with eaz and certainty. Those who lern a language thru its literature often hav almost as wide a vocabulary as the natives, but hav no real comand of the elementary idioms, being often quite unable to describe the simplest mechanical operations, such as 'tie in a knot,' 'turn down the gas.' The context of a word in literature is, besides, often so vague as to be litl help in defining its meaning. This is especialy shown in the epithets

[1] Adress, 1876-7, p. 16.

of poetry, as in the Homeric *méropes ánthrōpoi*, where *méropes* may mean any quality whatsoever that can be predicated of men generaly. So also in the Vēdas we get hole hymns, which, when boild down, leav not much mor than 'the bright shiner (=sun) shines brightly.' Now one of the most fundamental distinctions between literary and coloquial speech is the rigorously limited and definit use of adjectivs and other qualifiers in the latter: even so simpl a fraze as 'the sun shines brightly' has an uncoloquial ring about it. This, together with its preference for the simpl paratactic arangement of sentences, makes the coloquial language a far better medium of teaching word-meanings. Of course, all simpl sentences ar not equaly suited for this purpose. I onse saw an elementary French reading-book in which the furniture, etc., in the drawing-room, kichen, etc., was simply *enumerated:* 'in the kichen ar plates, dishes, saucepans, etc.,' the rezult being that there was nothing to corect the English lerner's natural assumption that *plat* means 'plate' insted of 'dish.' In such a sentence, on the other hand, as 'the sun rizes in the east and sets in the west,' a knowledg of the meaning of only one of the chief words is a clu to that of all the others.

"The further progress of the lerner wil be thru *condenst* treatizes on special subjects, such as history, geografy, natural science, the matter being strictly subordinated to the form.

"As he advances, he wil be able to chooz his texts with greater freedom, and with less subordination of matter to form, until at last he is able to read the actual literature itself, unmodified and uncurtaild, beginning, of course, with the ordinary proze, and proceeding gradualy to archaic proze and to poetry. Even at this advanced stage no dictionary is required, the necessary explanations being givn at the foot of the page in the form of parafrazes in the forein language itself, translation into the lerner's own language being only ocazionaly had recourse to.

"The systematic study of the grammar, idioms, and vocabulary on the lines alredy skecht must, of course, run paralel

with the reading of the texts. In this way the same combinations—with ocazional variations—wil be prezented over and over again to the lerner from different points of view, and in different contexts, and the fundamental principl of *repetition* wil thus hav ful justice done to it.

"We may now turn to the consideration of sum special points, of which one of the most important is, how to deal with the *iregularities* of a language. We hav already delt with the two fallacies: 1) that the practical difficulties cauzd by iregularities can be got rid of by explaining them historicaly or comparativly; and 2) that it is possibl to teach a language by means of a-priori constructions which ignore its iregularities. We now hav first of all to realize the dilemma that from a methodical point of view the iregularities oght to be ignord until the regular forms hav been masterd, while as a matter of fact they hav to be lernt at the very beginning, as being generaly the most frequent and necessary elements. The solution of the dilemma is that iregularities ar difficulties only from a psychological, not from a formal point of view, and should therefor be masterd during the purely formal, or fonetic, stage, that is, *befor* the study of the regular forms in the grammar, etc. To a lerner who as yet knows nothing of English, and has only just begun the sounds, the regular singular *feat* and the iregular plural *feet* ar exactly on a levl, and it is not til he has lernt the grammar that such a colocation as *hands and feet* cauzes a psychological break which can only be got over by repeated efforts; to a German beginner *hands* is infinitly mor difficult than *feet*. In fact, if the first fonetic exercizes ar realy made to include the commonest words systematicaly, the difficulty wil solv itself: most of the iregularities wil be masterd unconsciously, and even when the lerner has reacht the gramatical stage, he wil be able, in a great degree, to overcum cross-associations by concentrating his atention on the mere sounds of his word-group, and repeating it aloud til it runs glibly from his tung. The fact has to be acknowledgd that language is partly rational, partly irational, and that the irational element—that is, the iregularities—can

only be masterd formaly and mechanicaly. To argue that iregularities ar rational becauz there was onse a reazon for them, is like maintaining that it is rational of tailors to put buttons at the back of dress coats becauz in the older forms of dress coats such buttons wer uzed to fasten up the long coat-tails with which ar now shortnd.

"Every language has special difficulties of its own: words, inflections, etc., which ar liabl to be confuzed, such as the adjectivs *ingenious* and *ingenuous* in English, *amat*, *amet*, *monet*, *regit*, *regat* in Latin. Each form or word should be prezented separately in an unambiguous and unconfuzing context, and when they ar firmly fixt in this way, they should be confrunted with one another til all hezitation and confuzion disapear. There ar also special difficulties in passing from one language to another, which require a similar treatment. Thus Germans require to be specialy traind not to uze *seldom* as an adjectiv, and English peple require long training to enable them to grasp the conception of the acuzativ or the subjunctiv.

"Every language too has its defects: where one uzes a singl word, another wil hav only a perifrazis; where one has a definit idiom, another wil hav nothing but a variety of vaguer frazes; sum ar wanting in a general term, as in English there is no verb to express the 'running' of a horse, and in German no general word for 'handl.' All theze considerations point to the advizability of basing all study of forein languages on a thuro knowledg of our own in its relation to the laws of general grammar.

"Of course, any *direct* comparizon of a forein language with our own should be postponed til the forein language has been masterd as far as possibl on its own basis. Every sentence would at first hav to be acumpanied by a free translation into the nativ language, but theze cruches would be thrown away as soon as the lerner began to parz the sentence, and would afterwards be only employd when the context, and perifrazis in the forein language itself faild to explain any passage. When, however, the forein language has onse been masterd, translation to and fro between it and

the nativ language would be not only harmless but pozitivly useful, and would be a great safegard against the tendency to mix the two languages together.[1]

"It need hardly be said that the study of ded languages oght to be carried on as far as possibl exactly in the same way as that of living ones. The first and indispensabl condition of a rational study of a ded language is the adoption of an accurate and consistent pronunciation. The student whoze associations ar solely with the writn forms realy throws away an equaly important series of associations, namely those between the meanings and the sounds reprezented by the writn forms. The practical exigencies of teaching make the adoption of sum system or other of pronunciation absolutely necessary, and if, as is stil always the case, a pronunciation is adopted which contradicts or confuzes the distinctions of the writn forms, as when Greek *ei* and *ai* ar pronounced alike, or quantity- and accent-marks ar neglected, there is the aditional difficulty of cross-association to be overcum. This involvs, of course, a fonetic notation, which for ded languages naturaly takes the form of diacritic modification of the traditional letters. Quantity should be markt as strictly and invariably in Greek and Latin as in Sanskrit. The absurdity of continuing to print Greek in munkish letters which bear hardly any rezemblance to those uzed by the Old Greeks themselvs requires no comment. The evil efects of teaching languages thru their classical literatures ar even greater in ded than in living languages, for in ded languages every natural obscurity is increast tenfold, owing to our unfamiliarity with ancient circumstances and trains of thought. Such a language as Latin oght to be taught by means of the simplest possibl descriptions, narrativs, and dialogs, from which every literary complexity and artificiality has been carefuly weeded, and even after the lerner has begun the literature, he should not be alowd to look at such an author as Virgil til he is able to read simpl proze and poetry with perfect eaz, and is able to converse

[1] I do not, therefor, agree with Franke and other recent German writers in their sweeping condemnation of the 'translation-method.'

fluently on elementary subjects.[1] This would be, in the main, simply a return to the methods of the Midl Ages and Renascence, carried out, of course, in a far mor perfect way.

"Of course, the complete scheme here briefly skecht would require various modifications and curtailments in practice, but it is impossibl to go into such details now.

"The general rezult we hav arived at is the recognition of a science of *living*, as opozed to ded, or antiquarian filology, based on fonology and psychology. This science in its practical aplication is the indispensabl foundation of the study of our own and forein languages, of dialectology, and of historical and comparativ filology. It is of the greatest importance to England. Our dialects, in spite of the meritorious atempts of the Dialect Society to induce Englishmen to take up their serious study, and in spite of the good work done by individuals, ar perishing fast, leaving either no record at all behind them, or at best, very imperfect ones. Even our best dialectal work givs litl mor than a ruf discrimination of the elementary sounds; sentence-stress, intonation, and, generaly speaking, the higher fonetic analysis of our dialects ar almost ignord. Dialectology which is not based on systematic training is often wurse than useless, for its rezults ar not only inadequate but often pozitivly misleading. In future ages it wil seem incredibl that in the latter half of the nineteenth century there was not a singl authorized teacher of fonetics and practical filology at any of our universities. Such teachers ar urgently required, if only as adjuncts to the professors of historical and comparativ filology; and acordingly in Germany we find Sievers's *Phonetik* heding a series of Indogermanic grammars, and he himself lecturing on fonetics at his university, other German professors doing the same. But in England, which is lookt on abroad as, to a great extent at least, the natural home of fonetics, the science is left to a few enthuziasts, who hav, it is tru, the satisfaction of seeing their work eagerly taken up

[1] Viva-voce instruction is too much neglected in teaching languages. If it wer made mor general, short sight, that scourge of over-educated comunities, might be almost eradicated.

abroad, but naturaly regard this as but a poor compensation for the indifference of their 'practical' countrymen, who, from their neglect of practical filology, alow the teaching of forein languages to be engrost by swarms of foreiners, most of them very indifferently prepared for their task. It stirs my indignation to see Germans teaching French in English scools, when they ar quite incompetent to teach their own language. I constantly hav Americans, Germans, and other foreiners cuming to me, and expressing their disapointment and astonishment at the entire absence of any regular scientific teaching in English filology and fonetics. Several Americans hav said to me that they lookt on it as a disgrace to the brotherhood of English speakers that they had to go to Germany to lern the elements of English filology and fonetics from professors who sumtimes can hardly express themselvs intelligibly in the language they teach. English filology is certainly showing signs of wake-up, and in the last few years has obtaind such a hold of the popular mind that there can be no dout that in a few years our universities wil be obliged by mere force of popular opinion to provide eficient instruction in it. Meanwhile, Cambridge has made a good beginning by starting a tripos of mediaeval and modern languages, which wil certainly atract many students who feel the want (as most do) of sum definit external aim of study. But it is a litl dishartning to find a body of English professors drawing up a scheme of modern languages, and deliberately omitting from it all mention of fonetics, the very backbone of the study—and this three years after Storm's *English Filology* has been made generaly accessibl in the German edition! And all the while there is doutless enuf fonetic talent scatterd over the country to provide as many teachers as ar required, if only regular teaching and a career wer open to them. A few years ago I receivd a letter from a yung man of about twenty asking for help in his fonetic studies, and giving an acount of his own work, which showd remarkabl talent. I, of course, gave what help I coud, and had great hopes of him, but after a year he wrote to say that he must giv up fonetics,

and devote himself to the study of the law. This is a sampl of the way in which talent is wasted in this country, while the means of preventing such waste lie idle. The Taylor Institution for the study of modern languages at Oxford is an instance. When Max Müller faild to obtain the Boden professorship of Sanskrit, he was apointed professor of Modern languages in conection with this institution; when he was made professor of Comparativ filology, the professorship of Modern languages became vacant, and, as far as I know, has continued so ever sinse. And yet the study of Modern languages has not declined in public estimation of late years, but rather the reverse.

"It is evident that a real reform in our method of teaching languages wil not cum of itself. Teachers, as a body, ar very conservativ: their buziness is to make the best of the prezent books and methods, not to experiment with new ones. Reform must cum from abuv—from that scool of original investigation and experiment which can only be workt thru sum kind of university system. Such difficult subjects as the formation of speech-sounds, the classification of the ideas exprest by words, the relations of the literary to the spoken language—all of them absolutely essential for our purpose—cannot possibly be delt with satisfactorily except by traind scientific specialists. Almost every year we hav sum new system of lerning languages, but it nearly always turns out that the author has got sum one idea into his hed, often—perhaps oftenest—a perfectly sound one, which idea he hastens to embody in a book for beginners, but without properly considering its relation to the other sides of the question, and the consequent modifications of it that may be necessary, or else without carrying it out consistently. Thus many hav had the idea of basing instruction on the spoken language, but it never seems to ocur to them that the only way of getting at the spoken language is thru a system of notation which realy reprezents it, nl. a fonetic one. Again, I onse boght a frazebook which containd a large number of very wel selected frazes and idioms, but in an absolutely disconected succession, which made it almost

useless. It is eazy enuf to point out izolated principls of reform; the real difficulty is to combine them into a harmonious hole: the problem must be atackt from all sides at onse; and this cannot be done without long preparatory training. Even when a perfectly sound and complete theory is evolvd, its working out demands long toil. This is the reazon why so many of the books produced by practical teachers ar unsatisfactory, especialy as regards clearness of expozition: the writers simply hav not time adequately to work out the rezults of their theories and experience. Nor can the work be done by deputy, as is too often atempted.

"It is no wunder that peple often revolt openly against all system in lerning languages, and go in for what they call the 'natural method,' or 'lerning by ear,' 'picking it up by talking,' etc. The answer to this is that the lerning of a forein language is as unnatural a process as can be conceivd, and that to retain several languages perfectly at onse is not only unnatural, but impossibl—even (or rather, especialy) for the most gifted linguist. The genuin natural method followd by nurses and children, and continued thru life, is besides a very bad one, and by no means worthy of imitation, being unmethodical and wasteful. It is carried on under the most favorabl circumstances (which cannot be reproduced in the later study of forein languages), and yet is always mor or less of a failure, for the incessant changes that go on in languages ar nothing else than an acumulation of mistakes, or, in other words, imperfect masteries of details of the language taught by the older members of the comunity. Theze mistakes (which go on even after puberty) ar developt out of the language itself, and hense hav a certain uniformity, and ar thus eazily distinguisht from the mistakes of foreiners, which ar uniform only among foreiners of the same nationality, and ar due to the influence of the forein language. Indeed, so imperfect is our natural method, that even with the help of scool-training, the great majority of peple fail ever to atain a real mastery of their own language. Thoze few who succeed ar calld 'eloquent,' or ar said to hav

'a clear style,' to be 'good talkers,' or to be able to 'tel a story wel.'

"I, too, hav tried that negativly natural method which consists in discarding systematic study, and relying on conversation, and hav found the rezults very unsatisfactory. It sounds wel to talk of 'picking up a language by ear in the country itself,' but most of the good linguists I hav questiond hav confest that, especialy in the beginning of their study of a language, they lernt nearly everything from books, and but litl from conversation. In fact, a rezidence in the country befor the elements of the language hav been masterd at home is pozitivly injurious, for it forces the lerner to employ incorect frazes and constructions on the spur of the moment, which then becum stereotyped, and can hardly be got rid of. The rezults of picking up a language entirely by ear from the beginning may be seen in uneducated peple, who even after years of rezidence in a country ar often unable to utter anything but a few of the commonest words and frazes. The idea that grammar can be dispenst with is confuted by the fact that Mezzofanti himself used to lern paradigms by hart like any scoolboy. It is very difficult to get at the truth about theze 'born linguists,' most of whom ar surounded with a mist of exaggeration and fable,[1] and I am certainly mor inclined to believ the abuv statement about Mezzofanti than the contrary one which has been repeated in conection with other great linguists, that they wer *supra grammaticam*. To a certain extent we ar all *supra grammaticam*, for no one can lern a language only from grammar, and we all lern our own without it. The difference between a born linguist and an ordinary one is realy only

[1] The achievments of Mezzofanti himself hav been much exaggerated. I was told by Storm, who got his information from a Norwegian who had had an interview with the great man, that the current statements about his being able to distinguish the different Norwegian dialects wer pure fable, and that he kept his vizitor waiting a long time in the antechamber, while he primed himself with a selection of Norse frazes, which he utterd with considerabl hezitation. Nothing is eazier than to get the reputation of speaking a language perfectly. An Englishman traveling in the out-of-the-way parts of South Germany only has to speak Anglicized book German to be taken for a Prussian, and then to go home and tel peple that 'he was taken for a German everywhere.'

one of degree, not of kind, and any one who has the necessary enthuziazm and patience to master half a duzn distinct languages, wil find that he has aquired a practical insight into the general laws of language which wil enable him to master any other without much effort. It wil then be mainly a question of time, and this mainly of memory, which can be cultivated up to a certain extent. Of course such memories as thoze which can retain a folio page after a singl reading wil giv their owners a long start in the race, and, of course, such memories can dispense mor or less with systematic training, tho it wil always be a help even to them.

"National aptitude for languages seems not to be determind by natural quickness, but mor by external cauzes, for the Southern nations do not seem to show any superiority over the Northern. There ar few better linguists than among Norwegians,[1] and the French ar certainly not better than the English. The external cauzes ar, among others, the *necessity* of lerning forein languages, due to the smallness or barbarizm of the country, which cauzes also foster the natural talent for imitation dormant in all men. Thus, the hole tendency of an educated Russian is towards imitation, while an Englishman or a Frenchman expects other nations to imitate *him* and know *his* language. Another is *oportunity* of hearing forein languages. It is practicaly almost impossibl for an Englishman to lern educated German coloquialy, becauz all Germans want to practise their English on him, and besides he is generaly thrown excluzivly among English speakers in forein schools and boarding-houzes.[2] The character of the nativ language also has an influence, as we see in the bad efects of the imperfect sound-distinctions of Saxon Germans. Systematic training would soon compensate these differences, and enable the natural aptitude of each individual to develop itself freely. When this is done, I see no reazon to fear that the English wil prove in any way inferior to the other

[1] Witness Schröder in Natal, Skrefsrud, and Storm.

[2] I herd of one case in which an English boy was at scool at Bonn for a year; when he came home he said that he had not spoken *a singl word* of German the hole time, not even in the shops.

nations; in fact, the richness of our sound-system, both consonants and vowels, the delicacy of our intonation and stress distinctions, and the comparativly rational nature of our grammar oght to giv us great advantages."

Conclusion.

I have to express my very hearty thanks to the friends who have, some of them at very short notice, prepared these special reports, which have done so much to enrich this address. One valuable feature of these Presidential Addresses is that they form a ground and occasion for eliciting such articles, which might indeed well take rank as independent papers, and have each an evening devoted to its reading and consideration, but which probably, if not prepared for a special occasion and under special stimulus, would wait for that convenient season which seems still more remote in this busy nineteenth century than it was in the first, and never be brought before us at all. The eleven addresses already delivered from this chair contain a valuable series of these Reports and studies, to several of which I have often had occasion to turn as the most accessible articles on their several subjects known to me. They will be still more accessible when the General Index to the Society's Transactions, to which I have already referred, which has been so long in preparation, is completed and in our hands.

It only remains for me to thank the Society, not merely for the honour which they did me two years ago in re-electing me as their President, but for the kindness with which they have sustained me in my endeavours to discharge the duties of the office. I have also to bespeak the same kindness for the brother-scholar whom the Council have resolved to recommend as my successor, and whom I have no doubt the meeting will unanimously elect. Perhaps, in vacating the chair, I may add that one way by which, not the President merely, but the other office-bearers, and above all the Readers of Papers, can be practically sustained

and encouraged is by *a good attendance* at the Meetings, and *an animated debate* at the close. True, the papers, when of value, are published in the Transactions, and an interesting abstract not merely of them, but of whatever else takes place at each Meeting, appears in the Monthly Proceedings; but members who live in London and have the means of being present, hardly know how they neglect their own privileges when they do not personally appear around our table; and I am sure they do not realize how the Society as a whole would be invigorated, and the readers of papers in particular stimulated and encouraged by their presence. My own residence is not the nearest: it costs me from ten minutes to six P.M. to ten minutes to twelve P.M., to come here, but I believe I could count on the fingers of both hands all the meetings which I have missed since I became a member of the Society more than sixteen years ago; and I know that I have not missed one at which I could possibly have been present. And looking back over the long series of nearly 200, they rank among the most pleasant of my recollections; they recall the faces of a long series of men, many of them, alas! no longer with us, whom it was a privilege to know and a joy to work with. They have stimulated, refreshed, and strengthened me, and will I hope for years to come continue to afford the same help and refreshment.

LIST OF READERS

AND

BOOKS READ BY THEM FOR THE DICTIONARY,

1879–1884,

WITH APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF QUOTATIONS SUPPLIED.

Readers who had also assisted in earlier times are indicated by *.

[This List must be viewed as merely provisional, and preparatory to the complete Reference Index to Books read, to be issued as an Appendix to the Dictionary. It has been made as complete as our records permit; but from the unavoidable incompleteness of these, in some cases, it probably makes some omissions, notice of which will be gratefully received.]

Rev. C. Addison, Reddish Green, Stockport. [1400.]
The Directory 1644; Carlyle *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*; *Ordinances of Lords and Commons.*

W. R. D. Adkins [Mill Hill School], Northampton.
Ecce Homo.

G. R. Allardice [Mill Hill School], Liverpool. [350.]
Pope *Rape of the Lock*; Macaulay *Essays*; J. Wilson *Tales of Borders.*

Rev. E. Allen, Tiverton. [650.]
Coventry Mysteries; *Chester Plays.* (Miscellaneous.)

H. Allen, Church Square, Taunton. [250.]
Addison *Remarks on Italy.*

*J. Amphlett, M.A., Clent, Stourbridge. [900.]
Boutell *Heraldry Historical and Popular*; Cussans *Handbook of Heraldry*; Symonds *Record of the Rocks*; M. Collins *Thoughts in My Garden*; Browning *Ring and Book* (Desiderata.)

D. F. Ancona, Lancaster, Pa., U.S.A. [550.]
Pennsylvania Archives; L. Wallace *Ben-Hur.* (Miscellaneous.)

*W. J. Anderson, Markinch, Fife. [1950.]
William of Palerne (E.E.T.S.); Buckle *Civilization.*

A. E. Anscombe [Mill Hill School], Harpenden, St. Albans. [200.]
Macaulay *Warren Hastings, Lord Clive.*

G. L. Apperson, Wimbledon, S.W. [11,000.]
Sidney *Defence of Poetrie*; *Tottell's Miscellany*; *Return from Parnassus*; B. Googe *Works*; Dekker *Seven Sins*; W. Stafford *Examination of Complaints*; Tusser *Husbandry*; Wycherley *Plain Dealer*; Estcourt *Fair Example*; R. Simpson *School of Shakspere*; *Histriomastix* 1610; *Faire Em* 1585; *Warning to Faire Women* 1599; *Pasquil and Katherine* 1616; *Prodigal Son* 1593; *The Play of Stucley* 1605; *No-body and Some-body* 1592; Butler *Remains*; Leitch *Müller's Ancient Art*; *Original Letters* (Ellis); Rowlands *Doctor Merrie Man, A Whole Crewe, Diogenes, Humor's Looking Glass, Tis Merrie, Greene's Ghost, Betraying of Christ, Martin Markall, Knave of Harts, Knave of Clubbes, Fooles Bolt, Melancholie Knight, Terrible Battle, Hell's Broke Loose, More Knaves Yet, Look to it, Night Raven, Pair of Spy Knaves, Guy of Warwick, Sacred Memorie, Good Newes*; Boyle *Free Enquiry*; Laing and Huxley *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*; R. Mathew *Unlearned Alchemist*; *Paston Letters*; Thomson and Tait *Natural Philosophy*; Daubeny *Atomic Theory*; Digby *Real Property*; *Philosophical Transactions of Royal Society* (12 vols.).

E. Arblaster, M.A., Grammar School, Cork. [1200.]

De Foe *Robinson Crusoe*; Lilly *Grammar Astringe*; Sterne *Tristram Shandy*.

Col. R. D. Arbigh, 45, Lansdowne Road, Notting Hill, W. [8400.]

Guillim *Display of Heraldry*; Porny *Elements of Heraldry*; Raleigh *Maxims of State*, *Sceptic*, *Instructions to his Son*, *Advice to a Young Prince*, *Letter to his Father*, *History of the World*; W. Collins *Poems*; R. Stonehill *Farmer's Son*; T. Warstaffe *Vindiciae Carolinae*; M. Carter *Humor Sidiorum*; J. Warton *Essay on Pope*; Usher *Body of Divinity*, *Annals*, *Primer of Prayer*; Steele *Christian Hero*, *Tender Husband*, *Funeral*, *Lying Lover*; Churchill *Poems*; Yorke *Duke of Armour*; Goldsmith *Plays*; Wilkins *Real Character*; Heady *Suspicious Husband*; J. H. Browne *Poems*; Gay *Plays*; Waterhouse *Arms and Armours*; Garth *Dispensary*; Garrick *Three Plays of Lethe*, *Miss in her Teens*; Bird *Magazine of Humour*; Pomfret *Poems*; Prior *Poems*; Jortin *Erasmus*; Harris *Hermes*; J. Harrington *Poems*; *Political Tracts*; Sellingdeet *Origines Britannicae*, *Ireniicum*; May *Lucan*, *Henry III.*; *Philosophical Transactions of Royal Society* (5 vols.).

E. V. Arnold, Trinity College, Cambridge. [270.]

Milton *Chancerton*, *Tenure of Kings*; Locke *Education*; Mill *Analysis of Human Mind*.

C. R. Ashbee, Wellington College, Wokingham. [500.]

Hood *Poems*; W. Irving *Mahomed*.

H. S. Ashbee, 46, Upper Bedford Place, W.C. [400.]

Scott *Woodstock*; Bulwer *Asinoi metamorphosis*.

W. J. Ashley, 120, Alscot Road, S.E. [20.]

Miscellaneous.

Miss Atkin, Sheffield. [700.]

MacLear *Celts*; Hunt *Men, Women, etc.*

Dr. F. H. Atkins, Fort Gibson, Stanton, New Mexico, U.S.A. [900.]

Marcy *Prairie Traveler*; Coues *Fur-Bearing Animals*, *Birds of North-West*; W. Matthews *Hidatsa Indians*; J. Allen *American Bison*; W. Dall *Later Pre-historic Man*, *Tribes of extreme North-West*; Coues and Allen *N. American Rodentia*; G. Gibbs *Tribes of West Washington*.

*Rev. J. C. Atkinson, Danby, Grosmont, York. [200.]

North Riding Quarter Sessions Records.

Miss C. W. Atwood, San Francisco, U.S.A. [1200.]

Felton *Ancient and Modern Greece*, *Familiar Letters from Europe*; Boker *Poems*; T. B. Reed *Poems*; E. R. Sill *Poems*; E. S. Phelps *Hedged In*; Higginson *Oldport Days*.

Rev. R. C. Auchmuty, Lucton, Kingsland, Hereford. [500.]

Johnson *Lives of the Poets*.

Thomas Austin, jun. [123,000.]

Stubbs *Constitutional History*; Sir G. Scott *Westminster Abbey*; Thirlwall *History of Greece*; Grote *Greece*; Lindley *School Botany*; Woodward *Natural History of Earth*; Clarendon *History of Rebellion*; Ashmole *Theatrum Chemicum*; Beveridge *History of India*; Hickeringill *Vindication of Naked Truth*, *Jamaica*, *Priestcraft*; Butler *Analogy*; Bp. Hall *Poems*; Dana *Crustacea*, *Zoophytes*, *Geology*, *Flodden Field* 1804; *Vindication of the King* 1642; Cleveland *Poems*, *Character of London Diurnal*; *Civil War Tracts, etc.*; *Declarations of Lords and Commons* 1642; Rowlands *Letting of Humor's Blood*; *All the Year Round* 1859-60; Kingsley *Alton Locke*; Helps *Social Pressure*; *Good Words*; H. Caunter *Oriental Annual*; *Natural Philosophy* (Useful Knowledge S.); *Complete Family Piece* 1741; Cobbett *Weekly Political Register*; T. P. Jones *New Conversations on Chemistry*; *Westminster Magazine* 1774; Th. Ross *Humboldt's Travels*; *Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* 1851; *British Magazine* 1861-63; *Specimens of British Poets* 1809; Congreve *Love for Love*; Vanbrugh and Cibber *Provoked Husband*; Mrs. Centlivre *Busy Body*; Cibber *Love makes a Man*; Recorde *Pathway to Knowledge*; T. Maurice *History of Hindostan*; Moore *Poetical Works*; Digges *Geometrical Practise*; Blundevil *Exercises*; *News from France* 1682; Travestin *Siege of Newhausel*; Peter *Siege of Vienna*; Clifford *Notes on Dryden*; Hale *Primitive Origination of Mankind*; *Apology for Protestants of France* 1683; *Answer to Mr. Talon's Plea* 1688; Gataker *Discourse Apologetical*; *Trial of S. Colledge* 1681; Ansted and Latham *Channel Islands*; *Apology for Clergy of Scotland* 1693; Quarles *Solomon's Recantation*; N. O. *Boileau's Le Lutrin*; Dryden *Medall*, *Satyr to his Muse*, *Threnodia Augustalis*, *Hind and Panther*, *Eleonora*; J. B[rian] *Harvest Home*; G. Sandys *Paraphrase of Song of Solomon*; *Destruction of Troy* 1636; S. Pordage *Medal Reversed*; Shadwell *Medal of J. Bayes*; *Progress of Honesty*; Settle *Reflections on Dryden*; H. More *Song of the Soul*, *Divine Dialogues*, *Death's Vision*; Prynne *Tracts*; Falle

Jersey; Osborn *King James*; Dr. Wild *Letters*; 'A. Rivetus, jun.' *Mr. Smirke*; 'Quiz' *Grand Master*; *Address of Thanks to King, and other Tracts*; Singer *History of Playing Cards*; R. Lestrange *Answer to Dissenter*; Hickman *On Heylin's Quinquarticular History*; Hood *Works*; Raleigh *Works*; Bedford *Sailor's Pocket Book*; C. Smith *Dictionary of Synonyms and Antonyms*; Sandys *Europæ Speculum*; L. Owen *Speculum Jesuiticum*; Muirhead *Gaius and Ulpian*; Baxter *Tracts*; Milton *Tenure of Kings, Prelatical Episcopacy*; *Macmillan's Magazine*; Bonnycastle *Astronomy*; Poste *Gaius*; Allingham *Geometry Epitomized*; G. H. *History of Cardinals*; Maundrell *Journey to Jerusalem*; French *Yorkshire Spa, Distillation*; *Marbrelate Tracts*; Venner *Via Recta*; Hanway *Travels*; *Proceedings of Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*; Wadsworth *Spanish Pilgrim*; W. Thompson *Royal Navymen's Advocate*; Hart *Anatomy of Urine*; Bedell *Letters*; Bedwell *Mohammedis Impostura*; *Pasquil's Apology*; R. Harvey *Plain Percival*; J. Blake *Marine System*; *Parliamentary Speeches* 1659; Broughton *Letters*; *English Mechanic* 1869; *Answer to Cartwright*; *Right Religion*; J. Payne *Royal Exchange*; *Brief Examination*; Cockeram *Dictionary*; *Discolliminium*; R. C. *Table Alphabetical*; *Circle of Sciences*; *Harper's Magazine*; L. Harcourt *Diaries of Sir G. Rose*; *Mercantile Marine Magazine*; *Regulations for Instruction of Cavalry* 1833; *Rudiments of Navigation* (Weale); Hawes *Example of Virtue, etc.*; Ward *Simple Cobler*; F. Griffith *Artillery Manual*; Capt. Smith *Seaman's Grammar*; Fordyce *Sermons to Young Women*; *Sacheverell Tracts*; Du Chaillu *Equatorial Africa*; Moxon *Three Orders of Print Letters*; Sir E. Dering *Speeches on Religion*; Pagitt *Heresiography*; Sterne *Tristram Shandy*; Spenser *Shepherd's Calendar, Mother Hubberd, Minor Poems*; Byron *Childe Harold, Don Juan, and other works*; *Digby Mysteries*; *Casket of Literature* 1877; *National Encyclopedia*; *Contemporary Review* 1876; H. Stuart *Seaman's Catechism*; Risdon *Survey of Devon*; Torkington *Pilgrimage*; R. Blair *Grave*; Falconer *Shipwreck*; J. Heywood *Proverbs and Epigrams*; Sheridan *Plays*; *Examiner*; Miss Bridgman *Robert Lynne*; A. Duncan *Life of Nelson*; M. Collins *Marquis and Merchant*; Ramsay *Reminiscences*; Holcroft *Stolberg's Travels*; Orderson *Creolana*; Entick *London*; Young *Last Day*; J. Clarke *Education of Youth*; Prideaux *Directions to Churchwardens*; *Medical Communications*; Monro *Anatomy of Bones and Nerves*; A. Monro *Comparative Anatomy*; J. S. *Le Dran's Observations in Surgery*; *Many Volumes of Tracts in Dr. Williams's Library*; *London Gazette* 1665-1712; *Philosophical Transactions of Royal Society* (50 volumes).

A. R. Avery, 40, Belsize Park, N.W. [1000.]

Chester Plays; Dryden *Mac Flecknoe*; Markby *Elements of Law*; Wallace *Logic of Hegel*. (Miscellaneous.)

W. E. A. Axon, Manchester. [350.]

Cogan *Haven of Health*.

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(*The Works, chiefly Old and Middle English, read by Dr. Murray and his staff, at Mill Hill, are not here specified.*)

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XVIII.—THE SIMPLE TENSES IN MODERN BASQUE AND OLD BASQUE, ETC. By H.I.H. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte.

The Old Basque verb, as it appears in the translation of the N. T. by de Liçarrague, printed at La Rochelle in 1571, presents such peculiarities that, in the third part of my "Verbe Basque," I have been obliged to treat of it in a separate chapter. This third part is not yet published, but a published extract from it is to be seen from line 25 of page 4 to line 8 of page 13 of my "Remarques sur plusieurs assertions de M. Abel Hovelacque concernant la langue basque," Londres, 1876. In this extract, as well as in my "Tableau" following page xxxii of the first part of the "Verbe," published in 1869, every impartial reader will perceive that at this time I had adopted the division of the Basque verb by radicals, if not from a didactic, at least from a morphological point of view. Hence what M. van Eys has advanced in his writings, not excluding his last pamphlet "Le Tutoiement Basque," Paris, 1883, on the division of the Basque verb by radicals, coincides with what I had already said a long time before him, with the exception of course of those statements of his, which, to the satisfaction of the most competent judges of the Basque language, I have repeatedly proved in *The Academy* to be thoroughly erroneous and absurd, serving to display his perfect ignorance of a language which he has never been able either to understand practically or to enter upon theoretically.

Before explaining the two tables annexed to this paper, I wish to recapitulate the principal points mentioned in the above-named French extract, in which, besides the Basque modes and tenses, I mention some other characteristic features of the old as differing from the modern Basque language.

The Basque of the N.T. by Liçarrague does not differ only

"sensibly enough," as M. Hovelacque expresses it, from the present Basque, but it differs from it considerably. As I have nearly completed a grammar and a dictionary of this ancient dialect, I am in a position to state that its verb in particular presents such peculiarities that, as already mentioned, I have been obliged, in the third part of my "Verbe Basque" (not yet published), to devote a separate chapter to it; and it is possible that I may publish this chapter independently, on account of the great interest attaching to the primitive forms with which this valuable work abounds. The method I adopted, as most generally intelligible for the eight modern dialects, has had to give way to another in explaining the ancient Labourdin verb of the N.T. It would otherwise have been hardly possible for me to give a suitable classification of the modes, the tenses, and the verbal terminations of this dialect, which are not found in the Basque of our days. The term "ancient Labourdin" seems to me most suitable for this kind of Basque, which Larramendi calls "diestrísimo" or "very clever," not because I think it consists solely of the pure Labourdin of 1571, when this work was printed, nor because I do not think it to have been much more influenced by Souletin than by Low-Navarrese, but merely because the basis of this dialect is certainly the Labourdin, which we cannot suppose to have yet lost forms which at that time it might well have shared with Souletin, in the same way as it had not yet lost other forms which are no longer to be found in any Basque dialect. As regards the vocabulary of ancient Labourdin, it is astonishing that it does not reach the level of its grammar. Foreign words abound in it, without any justification for their use. Indeed, this dialect could not have been without a crowd of Basque words that still exist in modern Labourdin. Disregarding its vocabulary, ancient Labourdin is unquestionably the most important Basque dialect we are acquainted with, although modern Labourdin, as I have defined it in my "Verb," apparently contrary to M. Vinson's opinion, is, in my judgment, inferior to the Guipuscoan in richness of vocabulary, in the regular formation of verbal terminations, and in grammar generally.

I am willing, however, to admit that Labourdin and Souletin have preserved the Basque sounds better than Guipuscoan, and that Souletin, together with its sub-dialect Roncalese, presents some sounds peculiar to itself, not to be found in Spanish, in French, in Gascon, or in other Basque dialects. (*See* my "Verb," p. ii.) If, however, modern Labourdin cannot advantageously hold its own against the Guipuscoan, the case is different with Biscayan and Souletin, which are far from presenting those "more profound" alterations of which M. Hovelacque speaks. The grammar of these two dialects, though their vocabulary may be poorer than that of Guipuscoan, is certainly only second to that of the ancient Labourdin of Liçarrague. Guipuscoan, independently of its vocabulary and the regularity of its verb, is, from a practical point of view, the principal, the best known, and the widest spread dialect of Spanish Basque. In the same way modern Labourdin, notwithstanding its linguistical inferiority, is the best known dialect of French Basque. As, however, the Basque dialects in France are themselves originally merely dialects of Spain, it follows that Guipuscoan is also the first of the living Basque dialects. In fact, it must be regarded as the Tuscan or the Castilian of Basque; that is, the Basque language properly so called when not otherwise qualified. Humboldt, whose knowledge of Basque was incontestably superior to that of any other foreigner, also assigned the foremost place to Guipuscoan. In this very beautiful dialect, also, the most numerous and most voluminous Basque works are to be found. In this respect Labourdin occupies only the second place, although it took the first in the time of Larramendi. The minor poems of Dechepare, which were anterior to the N.T., are certainly interesting, but are far from presenting the archaic forms found in the latter; evidently because the Eastern Low Navarrese dialect in which they are written had already undergone sundry modifications that had not yet reached the Labourdin by 1571. The N.T. of Liçarrague, with its liturgy, its catechism, and the other very important documents which should be included in every complete copy, consequently presents the most ancient, although

not the most early printed Basque known. I believe there are more than thirteen known copies of this precious volume in Europe, including the incomplete ones, as M. Vinson does, but I think also that hardly any private individual possesses a complete copy. In this last condition indeed the book is almost undiscoverable; and yet, of the three copies, which, after endless inquiries and great pecuniary sacrifice, a succession of lucky chances has enabled me to secure, one is complete. The words cited by Marinæus Siculus have also a certain value on account of the date of the work wherein they are found correctly printed. But it is only with a smile and as a bibliographical curiosity that we can put the undecipherable fragment of Rabelais, indulgently called "the most ancient Basque text printed," by the side of the linguistic treasure of which I shall speak more fully presently. After all, that fragment may be only a mystification due to the facetious author himself, if indeed, as I suppose, in the state in which it has come down to us, it could be considered as offering Basque in any other way than the words which Molière puts into the mouth of M. Jourdain can be regarded as Turkish.

Before reviewing the archaisms of the N.T., I shall invite attention to the following statements (*see* Table II.): 1°. I distinguish between the auxiliary tenses based upon *izan* 'had' transitive; *iraun* 'endured, lasted'; *adi* 'to understand,' in the sense of Spanish 'entendérsele'; *ekin* 'gone on with ardour and assiduity,' and the tenses that may be also not auxiliary (including both the pure verbal terminations and those based on *izan* 'been,' intransitive). The latter are not called "auxiliary," although their verbal terminations are very often (but not necessarily) united to a verbal noun, which is never the radical. The verbal terminations of the auxiliary tenses, on the contrary, could not exist without the latter, whether in a proper form like *ikus* 'to see,' or in a form common both to the radical and to the verbal adjective, as *eman* 'to give' and 'given.' We may, therefore, conclude that the auxiliary verbal terminations reject union with the verbal adjective as such, because they themselves already con-

tain it; and we may, at the same time, admit in favour of my verbal theory, that the pure verbal terminations of the other tenses require such an adjective to agree with the demonstrative *au* 'this,' or one of its variations, which forms their basis. As to the intransitive verbal terminations based on *izan* 'been,' I think that the verbal adjective with which they unite represents a simple attribute, and that they would be found to contain *izan* shortened into *iz*, in the sense of 'existence.' This verbal noun, which signifies also 'had' and 'been' in five of the eight Basque dialects (in the same way that *ill* or *hil* signifies 'dead' and 'killed'), is an argument in favour of the two voices in the verb. Indeed, if the verbal termination *dezan* united to *ikus* may be rendered literally by 'that he had this see,' the intransitive verbal termination *naizan* united to *ethorri* may also be rendered literally by 'that I been come.' The change of the initial *i* of *izan* into *e* of *dezan* is, so to say, owing to the amalgamation of the demonstrative with the verbal adjective.

2°. It is evident that if *lu, liz; deza, dadi, dakio; leza, ledi, lekio* (*see* Table II.), could exist thus either without a suffix to reduce them to the relative form indispensable to every Basque subjunctive, or without a prefix to transform them into verbal terminations belonging to the dubitative, optative, causative, and adjurative modes, the tenses 21–30 would have no right to appear in Table I. In this case we should have to consider *luen, lizen; dezan, dadin; lezan, ledin, lekion* as simple relative forms of *lu, liz*, etc., just in the same way as *duen, dan* or *den, zayon*, etc., are simple relative forms of *du, da*, and *zayo;* and, similarly, *balu, baliz; badeza, badadi, badakio; baleza, baledi, balekio* would reduce to the dubitative forms of *lu, liz; deza, dadi, dakio; leza, ledi, lekio*, and *ailu, ailiz; aileza, ailedi, ailekio*, to their optative; *baiteza, baitadi, baitakio; baileza, bailedi, bailekio*, to their causative, and *albeileza, albeiledi, albeilekio*, to their adjurative forms, for the same reason that *badu, bada, bazuen, bazen; baitu, baita*, etc., are taken as the dubitative and causative forms of *du, da*; *zuen, zen*. The potential and conditional potential tenses are

almost always auxiliary, but the potential tenses, as well as the past and future past of the conditional potential, may also present themselves with their proper meaning of "he is able to have it, he is able to be; he will be able to have it, he will be able to be; he could have had it, he could have been." The present and the future of the conditional potential are always auxiliary.

Among the so-called "compound tenses" (these are not included in the two tables), the double future of the indicative is frequently used in the N.T. of Liçarrague; and, though it is not indicated in any grammatical work on the Basque language, I have ascertained its existence in modern Labourdin, which uses it sometimes in a conjectural sense. (*See* Note 9 of the VII. and Note 3 of the III. Preliminary Table of my "Verb.") The sense does not differ much from the future present of the same mode. It is thus that *ikusten duke* means 'he will see it, he has to see it,' and *ikusiren duke* 'he will see it, he will have to see it.'

The verbal adjective, in order to form compound tenses, hardly ever receives the suffix *ko*; it is almost always the suffix *en* or *ren* that Liçarrague makes use of; *ikusiren*, literally 'of seen,' *ethorriren* 'of come' (once or twice accidentally *ethorriko*), etc. The Salazarese and Roncalese subdialects, in this case, have only the suffix *en*, or even *ren*, the first according to a peculiar grammatical rule.

The Basque of Liçarrague, as I have been the first to prove, notwithstanding M. Van Eys's bold denial, is distinguished especially by the use of certain verbal terminations indicating a direct regimen of the first or second person, united to an indirect regimen of any other person. The following grammatical relations, which have not been previously observed, are to be found in the N.T.: 'thee to him, thee to me; you to him; me to him, me to thee, me to them; us to him; us to thee' (*see* p. 83 of my "Verb"). With such verbal terminations I have been able to reconstruct the complete conjugation, presenting sixteen new verbal relations, which, added to the twenty-four already known, raise their whole number to forty. This complete, though unpublished table

MOD	
I. Indic	*he ha*
	he ha
	id.
	he wi
II. Con	*he wo*
	he wo
III. Imp	*let hi*
	id.
	he sha
IV. Pot	*he is a*
	he will
V. Co Po	*he cou*
	id.
	he coul
	id.
VI. Su	*that he*
	id.
	that he
	id.
	id.
VII. D	*if he wo*
	if he ha
	id.
	if he ha
	id.
VIII. C	*would th*
	id.
IX. C	*because*
	because
X. A	*he shall*

of the ancient Labourdin conjugation, I have shown to M. A. d'Abbadie, Member of the French Institute.

The verbal terminations of the two potential modes *diro, diroke; liro, liroke; ziroen, zirokeen*, are much used in ancient Labourdin, and it is only after publishing my "Verb" that I had the satisfaction of discovering their nature. They consist in the verbification of *iraun*, either in the neuter sense of 'lasted,' or especially in the active one of 'endured.' I purposely say "especially," for these verbal terminations are always transitive in Basque. It is thus that *ikus diro*, which signifies 'he can see it,' is translated literally by 'he endures to see it.' What I said, in note 2 of p. xxv of my "Verb," of these verbal terminations, which I then considered "pure," must be corrected accordingly. This verbal noun *iraun*,[1] were it only on account of its meaning, is much more fitted to be assumed as a basis for a verbal theory, than the famous factitive *eroan*, absurdly considered by M. van Eys (as I have proved *ad satietatem* in the *Academy*) to be merely a contracted form of *erazo* (itself a factitive of *jazo*) united with *joan*!! The theory based on *iraun* does not however present all the advantages of that which accepts the demonstrative *au* 'this' as its basis, and which is the only theory that explains why the Basque language cannot express 'he has,' but has to replace it constantly by 'he has it' or 'this.' As to the *r* of certain verbal terminations, to which letter M. van Eys attaches so much importance, we have no necessity to look for it in his *erazo joan*, since *iraun* and *aur*, synonym of *au*, show it also. With regard to *joan* and its factitive *eroan*, forming the "*consuetudinario*" mode of Father Zavala,

[1] The verbal terminations *diro, ziroen*, etc., based on *iraun*, are also pronounced *dio, zion*, but these last ought not to be confounded with *dio, zion* meaning 'he says it, he said it.' I think, submitting my opinion however to all competent Basque grammarians and philologists, that, in this last case, *dio, zion*, have nothing to do with *iraun*, but that they have for their basis *jo* or *io*, which are verbified into *diot, zion*, in the same way as *ikusi* 'seen,' *jakin* 'known,' are verbified into *dakus, zekusan* 'he sees it, he saw it,' and *daki, zekien* 'he knows it, he knew it.' The transitive meanings of *jo* are multifarious in Basque, such as 'beaten, struck, played (*an instrument*), touched, hit,' sometimes in the proper and sometimes in the figurative sense, as 'hit, touched upon a point'; and, especially in this last case, it seems that such phrases as *dio S. Pablok* 'St. Paul says,' etc., may be literally rendered by 'St. Paul hits' or 'touches upon,' *viz.* 'says it.'

I have not inserted their verbal terminations in the tables of my "Verb," because, although I admit together with this very learned Basque grammarian (whatever M. van Eys may say to the contrary) that they are real auxiliary verbal terminations, I do not recognize in them indispensable elements of conjugation. It is thus that in Latin *agere gratias* 'to thank,' in French *je vais manger* 'I am going to eat,' in Spanish *dejo dicho, llevo dicho*, etc., 'I did say,' may be considered as auxiliaries (for we do not 'go' to eat as we 'go' to Rome); but no one dreams of including *agere, aller, dejar*, and *llevar* in the Latin, French, or Spanish conjugation. Yet these remarks have not prevented me from registering in the third inedited part of my "Verb" the verbal terminations based on *joan, eroan, egin, iraun, eman, ikusi*, etc.

The Basque of the N.T. is also distinguished by the rather frequent use of the demonstrative suffixes such as *ok, orrek*, derived the first from *hauk*, plural of *haur* 'this' (Spanish *este*, Italian *questo*, Latin *hic*), and the second from the active singular of *hori* 'this' (Spanish *ese*, Italian *cotesto*, Latin *iste*); just in the same way that *a*, which is nothing but the definite article, represents *hura* 'that,' *a* in the Biscayan dialect, *aquel* in Spanish, *quello* in Italian, and *ille* in Latin. Such words as *garatenok* 'we who shall be,' lit. 'these we who shall be,' Span. 'estos nosotros que seremos'; *gucion* 'of these all,' Span. 'de estos todos'; *anayeokin* 'with these brothers,' Span. 'con estos hermanos'; *duzuenoi* 'to you who have it,' lit. 'to these you who have it,' Span. 'á estos vosotros que lo teneis'; *edifikazaleoz* 'by these builders,' Span. 'por estos edificadores'; *guzioz, guziozaz* 'by all these,' Span. 'por todos estos'; *dugunotara* 'to us who have it,' lit. 'to these us who have it,' Span. 'á estos nosotros que lo tenemos'; *guziotarik* 'from all these,' Span. 'de todos estos'; *naizenor* 'I who am,' lit. 'this I who am,' Span. 'ese yo que soy'; *gazteorrek* 'this young man,' Span. 'ese jóven,' etc., show evidently that the Basque language did not formerly limit itself to the indefinite, to one singular, and to one plural, but that it possessed three forms of both singular and plural, so: *Guzi* 'all,' Span. 'todo,' indefinite. *Guzia* 'the all, that all,'

Span. 'el todo, aquel todo'; *guzior* (for *guzi haur*) 'this all,' Span. 'este todo'; *guziori* 'this all,' Span. 'ese todo,'—that is, a triform singular. *Guziak* 'the all, those all,' Span. 'los todos, aquellos todos'; *guziok* 'these all,' Span. 'estos todos'; *guzioriak* 'these all,' Span. 'esos todos,'—that is, a triform plural, all of them being capable of uniting with all the other case-suffixes, giving rise, for instance, not only to *guzion*, *guzioz* or *guziozaz*, *guziotarik*, already quoted, but also to *guzioi* 'to these all,' Span. 'á estos todos'; *guziotara* 'to these all,' Span. 'á estos todos' (indicating motion); *guziorrek* 'this all,' Span. 'ese todo' (active), etc.

Explanation of the two Tables.

My object in preparing these two tables has been to facilitate, as far as possible, the very difficult practical knowledge of the Basque verb, as regards both the signification and form of the verbal terminations, which are generally called "terminatifs" in French and *articulos* in Spanish. In the first Table the simple modes and tenses are arranged according to their meaning without taking their structure into consideration, while in the second Table the modes and tenses are shown according to their structure without taking their meaning into account. In this second table, however, each tense is followed by a figure referring to that preceding each tense in the other table, and this, as I have proved by my own experience (*experientia rerum magistra*), will wonderfully facilitate the learning of the Basque verb. With regard to the headings of this table, *au* means 'this,' *izan* (transitive) 'had,' *egin* 'done,' *iraun* 'endured,' *izan* (intransitive) 'been,' *adi* 'to understand,' *ekin* 'gone on'; while the letters and syllables D, *d*, *d-ke*, *d-te*, *d-te-ke*; B, *b*, *b-ke*, *b-te*; Z, *z*, *z-ke*, *z-te*, *z-te-ke*; L, *l*, *l-ke*, *l-te*, *l-te-ke*, occupying the columns of the modes and tenses, do not refer to their meaning, but simply to their structure. In fact, these letters or syllables characterize each of them.

The only tenses peculiar to the Basque of the N.T. are: 1°. The auxiliary past of the indicative (Table I., col. 2, tense 3); 2°. The transitive non-auxiliary present of the imperative

(*id.*, *id.*, tense 7); 3°. The non-auxiliary past of the subjunctive (*id.*, *id.*, tense 18); 4°. The auxiliary present of the causative (*id.*, *id.*, tense 28); 5°. The auxiliary past of the causative (*id.*, *id.*, tense 29); 6°. The adjurative (*id.*, *id.*, tense 30). I shall, therefore, speak of each in detail.

1°. The auxiliary past of the indicative (Table I., tense 3), represented by *zezan*, *zedin*, *zekion*, always unites to the radical and forms with it a compound tense which translates the French past perfect or aorist, as, for instance, *ikus zezan* 'il le vit' or 'he saw it,' but not in the sense of 'il l'a vu' (*ikusi du*), or in that of 'il l'avait vu (*ikusi zuen*, *ikusi ukan zuen*). It becomes relative without undergoing any change, and conjunctive by changing the final *n* into *la*.[1] It is susceptible of the other verbal forms and of the masculine

[1] This very easy way of transforming the relative form into the conjunctive, by substituting *la* for *n*, does not in any respect prove, as M. van Eys asserts, that the verbal terminations of the past tenses suppress that consonant in virtue of a phonetic law requiring that *n* should never be followed by *l* or *r*. The fact is that in *zuela* and in *nora* the suffixes *la* and *ra* are appended to *zue* and *no* only, just as the suffix *n* is appended to the same words in *zuen* and *non*. In the past tenses this final *n* is redundant, unless it indicates the relative form. Except in the latter case, it is not to be found either in the Southern High-Navarrese dialect in general, or in the Aezcoan (a subdialect of Western Low-Navarrese), as I have been the first to prove at p. xxiv of my "Verb," when speaking of redundant letters. In *non* we have only the inessive case-suffix of the pronoun *no*, synonym of *nor* 'who,' which exists in the Western Low-Navarrese dialect. Besides, one cannot be surprised if the theme *no*, which is always personal when employed with the non-local case-suffixes, may cease to be such and become adverbial or local when the latter affect it. It is then that *no* or *nor*, *nok* or *nork*, *noren*, *nori*, *norzaz* signify 'who, who (*active*), of whom, to whom, by whom,' while 1. *nongo* or *nonko*; 2. *non*; 3. *nora* or *norat*; 4. *nondik* or *nontik* express '1. of what place (Latin cujas); 2. where (ubi); 3. whither (quo); 4. whence (unde), by what place (qua).' As to *nongo* and *nondik*, they are certainly formed by *non* and not by *no*, in the same way as '*donde*,' which in Spanish signifies 'where' (ubi) is, as to its form, nothing but the Latin 'de unde,' and yet the proposition 'de' which it contains does not prevent its serving as a theme for receiving other prepositions, as in *de donde* 'of what place' (cujas), *adonde* 'whither' (quo), *por donde* 'by what place' (qua). The Ostiak language seems also to be able to add two case-suffixes, as in *xattiven* 'to-day,' formed of *xatt* 'sun,' *iwet* ablative suffix, and *na* (ne) inessive suffix.

As to *zuela*, etc., it is much more natural to admit that the suffix is simply added to the verbal terminations without the final *n*, such as are still found in a large part of the Basque country, than to imagine a law traversed by the most palpable facts. Indeed, it is not by suppressing the *n* that Basque finds means to unite *la* and *ra* to words ending with this nasal, but by inserting a euphonic vowel, as in *onera* 'to the good,' *Irunera* 'to Irun,' *lanera* 'to the work.' As to verbs, can it happen that M. van Eys is not aware that the numerous feminine verbal terminations, such as *dun*, *dezaken*, *naun*, *natzain*, etc., 'he has it, he will be able to have it, thou hast me, I am to thee,' have as conjunctive forms *dunala*, *dezakenala*, *naunala*, *natzainala*, and not *dula*, *dezakela*, *naula*, *natzaila* ?

and feminine allocutive treatment. This tense, which must be carefully distinguished from the auxiliary past of the subjunctive (Table I., tense 19), does not exist in modern Basque. In the Southern High-Navarrese dialect, and in some Biscayan varieties, it is confounded with this tense, but in High-Navarrese this only happens in the intransitive and with the indirect regimen. (*See* note 4 of the tenth Supplementary Table of my "Verb.") In the Basque of the N.T., the auxiliary past of the subjunctive (Table I., tense 19) is only distinguished from the auxiliary past of the indicative (*id.*, tense 3) in the third person of both numbers, which, in tense 19, always begins with *l*, and in tense 3 with *z*. *Lezan* and *zezan* are not, therefore, synonyms in ancient Labourdin as they are in Souletin. In the latter *jan lezan* or *zezan* signifies 'that he might eat it'; in the former this meaning belongs to *jan lezan* only, whereas by *jan zezan* is meant 'he ate it' and also 'which he ate, who ate it.' In the first and second persons of both numbers it is impossible to distinguish, even in ancient Basque, between the auxiliary past of the indicative, its relative form, and the auxiliary past of the subjunctive. Thus, *jan nezan* can be translated by 'I ate it, which I ate, that I might eat it.'

2°. The non-auxiliary imperative (Table I., tense 7) in the transitive gives *biu* (the *bu* of Oihenart) in the third person singular; *auk*, *aun*, *auzu*, in the second person singular; and *auzue* in the second person plural. These verbal terminations are unknown to the modern Basque. In the intransitive, although *biz* 'let him be' still exists, it is not the same with *bire* 'let them be,' which belongs only to the Basque of the N.T. I have a good argument in favour of my verbal theory in *auk*, *aun*, *auzu*, and *auzue*, since these verbal terminations consist only of the pure demonstrative followed by the pronoun or by its representative. And, indeed, *auk*, *aun*, *auzu*, *auzue*, are morphologically translated by 'this thou, this you,' bearing the meaning of 'thou hast it, you have it' (*Lat.* est tibi, est vobis), but without the verb appearing except ideologically.

3°. The non-auxiliary past of the subjunctive (Table I.,

tense 18) is another tense proper to the ancient Labourdin. It is represented by *luen*, *lizen* in Table I., and by *-lu-*, *-li-* in Table II., cols. 4 and 8. In the first and second persons this tense indicates the non-auxiliary past of the indicative (Table I., tense 2) and its relative form, as well as the non-auxiliary past of the subjunctive (*id.*, tense 18). Indeed, *nuen* is at the same time the first person singular of *zuen* and of *luen*, and may signify as well 'I had it, which I had, who had it,' as 'that I might have it.'

4°., 5°., 6°. (*See* what is said at p. 647, No. 2°.)

Notes to Table I.

(1) All the verbal terminations belonging to the third column of each Basque dialect contain a dative, represented by *o* and *ki*, based on *ekin* 'gone on.' (*See* p. 646, line 26.)

(2) The Souletin *badeza*, *badadi*, and *badakio* do not mean, as in the other dialects, 'if he have it, if he be, if he be to him,' but are synonyms of *badezake*, *badaite*, *baditakio* 'if he be able to have it, if he be able to be, if he be able to be to him.'

(3) The Souletin and Liçarrague's *den*, although used as synonym of *biz* 'let him be,' belongs properly to *da* 'he is' (Table I., tense 1), of which it is merely the relative form *den* or *dan*, according to dialects, meaning generally 'who is, which is, that is.'

(SECOND EDITION, WITH SEVERAL ADDITIONS, ETC.)

"RONCESVALLES" AND "JUNIPER"
IN
BASQUE, LATIN, AND NEO-LATIN,
AND
THE SUCCESSORS OF LATIN "J".

IN the curious Latin of the Cartularies, *Roncesvalles* is called "Roscida Vallis", meaning "dewy valley". The Ancient French *Rencesvals*, *Rencesval*, *Renceval*, *Roncisvals*, *Renchevax*, *Roncevax*, etc.; the Modern French *Roncevaux;* the Spanish *Roncesvalles;* the Portuguese *Roncesvalhes;* the Italian *Roncisvalle*, resemble one another in form and all convey the idea of "valley" or "valleys of brambles", and thus agree with the Basque name *Orreaga* applied to the same place. But they differ so materially in meaning from "Roscida Vallis" that it is impossible not to consider the latter as a Latin corruption of the old French word. The Basque *Orreaga*, which is composed of *orre* "juniper" and *aga*, a local suffix indicating plenty, means simply "a place full of junipers", just as *Roncesvalles* means "valleys of brambles, briers, blackberry-trees", or other prickly shrubs as junipers are.[1] The local suffixes *aga* and *eta* are very common in Basque, as in *arriaga*, *arrigorriaga*, *zuloaga*, *arrieta*, *zulueta*, from *arri* "stone", *arri gorri*, "red stone", *zulo* "hole", which mean "place full of stones, of red stones, of holes", exactly as *Orreaga*, a name very well suited to Roncesvalles, means "place full of junipers". Besides, in the Aezcoan dialect, *orrea* "the juniper", is the name given to *Roncesvalles*. The forms *Runcevallis*, *Roncevallis*, *Roncavallis*, *Roncavallus*, *Runciavallis*, *Runcievallis*, are also to be found in Latin.

With regard to the common juniper, its Latin name is "juniperus", pronounced (yunípérus). Low Latin names are: junipyrus, junipyrum, janiperus, janiperum, viniperus, vimpum (yunípirus, yunípirum, yaníperus, yaníperum, viníperus, vímpum), and the following belong to Neo-Latin dialects and are very important, as showing the multifarious successors of Latin "j", or rather initial "i" before a vowel, whatever its phonetic power, either of (y), which

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[1] From the Italian word *ginepro*, "juniper", by means of the terminations *aio*, *eto*, derive *ginepraio*, *ginepreto*, "place planted with junipers", which, because of the prickly nature of these shrubs, are also used metaphorically for "thing full of difficulties", as in *I' non vo' entrare in cotesto ginepraio* or *ginepreto*, "I don't choose to enter into this intrigue of yours", *quasi* "I don't choose to dance in this bramble-bush of yours".

seems very likely, or any other sound **may originally have been.** These successors are in chronological order: **(yy *and* y, gghj, jj *and* j,** ch, *dz*, ddz *and* dz, ts, zh, sh, *z*, z, th, γ, χ).[2] A. ITALIC or LEGITIMATE GROUP: I. ITALIAN: ginepro, ***ginebro, *ginevro (jjinépro,** jjinébro, jjinévro); *Roman:* ginepro (jjinèpro); ***Campagnino:* inibbolo** (iníbbolo); *Northern Corsican:* **ghinebaru (gghjinèbaru);** *Sardinian Tempiese:* niparu (nníparu); *Sicilian:* **juniparu (yyuníparu);** *Territory of Taranto:* frasciannipar**o (ffrasshaníparu);** ***Tarantino:*** frasciannipulo (ffrasshanníp'l); ***Abruzzese of Teramo:* jenibbele** (yy'nibb'l'), *jenibbulo (yy'nibbul'); ***Abruzzese:* jinibbre, jenibbre** (yy'níbbr'); id. of *Palena:* nibbele, (nnibb'l'); ***Aquilano:* jenepre (yyenè** pre); ***Neapolitan:*** junipero, jenipero, jeniparo **(yyuníperŏ, yyeníperŏ,** yyeníparŏ); *Venetian:* zinepro, busichio (dzinèpro, **buzícho);** ***Veronese:*** zinevro (dzinèvro); *Roveretano* and *Trentino Tyrolese:* **zinevro (dzi**nèvro).—II. SARDINIAN: *Logudorese:* zinibiri, zinibiru, **nibaru (ddzi**níbhiri, ddzinibhiru, nníbharu); *Cagliaritano:* zinibri **(ddzinibhri).**—III. SPANISH: enebro, *junípero, *zinebro, ***zimbro, *jinebro, *jinebre,** *jenebro (enêbhro, χunípero, thinêbhro, thímbro, **χinêbhro, χinêbhre,** χenêbhro).—IV. PORTUGUESE: zimbro, *junipero **(zĭbru, zhuníperu);** *Galician:* enebro (enébhro, enébhru).—V. GENOESE: **zeneivao (dze**néivau).——B. ROMANCE or BASTARD GROUP: VI. GALLO-ITALIC: *Piemontese:* gëneiver (j'néiver); *Milanese:* **zanever, zenever** (dzanéver, dzenéver); *Val Verzasca:* brinscèt (brĭshèt); ***Bergamasco:***

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[2] The greatest attention having been paid to the pronunciation of these Neo-Latin words, it is to be observed that the following symbols are admitted to represent the sounds of all words put in a parenthesis. All archaic, obsolete, or uncommon words are preceded by an asterisk. SYMBOLS: 1. a = *a* in *father;* 2. æ = *a* in *fat;* 3. b = *b* in *bee;* 4. bb = Italian *bb* in *gobba;* 5. bh = Spanish *b* in *lobo;* 6. ch = *ch* in *child;* 7. d = French *d* in *dé;* 8. dz = Italian *z* in *lo zelo;* 9. ddz = Italian *zz* in *razzo;* 10. *dz* = Bolognese voiced *z* in *zall;* 11. e = French *é* in *bonté;* 12. ê = *e* in *bed*, tonic; 13. ẽ = French *in* in *fin;* 14. è = French *e* in *mets*, tonic; ẽ = French atonic *e* in *merlan;* 15. ə = *u* in *but;* 16. ' = French *e* in *cheval;* 17. '' = the second Lower Valaisan over-dotted *e*, mentioned by Gillièron at page 15 of his "Patois de la Commune de Vionnaz. Paris, 1880."; 18. f = *f* in *foe;* 19. ff = Italian *ff* in *goffo;* 20. g = *g* in *go;* 21. gghj = Corsican *ghi* in *ghiace;* 22. γ = Modern Greek γ in γάλα; 23. i = *e* in *me;* 24. ĩ = Portuguese *im* in *martim;* 25. j = *j* in *jest;* 26. jj = Italian *gg* in *raggi;* 27. k = *k* in *cook;* 28. l = French *l* in *lit;* 29. m = *m* in *mad;* 30. n = French *n* in *nous;* 31. nn = Italian *nn* in *anno;* 32. *n* = *n* in *pink;* 33. ñ = French *gn* in *digne;* 34. o = *o* in *more;* 35. ŏ = Neapolitan final and atonic *o*, as in *ommo;* 36. œ = French *eu* in *peu;* 37. ö = German *ö* in *böcke*, tonic; 38. p = *p* in *pea;* 39. r = *r* in *marine;* 40. s = *s* in *so;* 41. sh = *sh* in *she;* 42. ssh = Italian *sc* in *pesce;* 43. t = French *t* in *tic;* 44. th = *th* in *think;* 45. ts = Italian *z* in *la zappa;* 46. u = *oo* in *fool;* 47. v = *v* in *vine;* 48. χ = German *ch* in *nacht;* 49. y = *y* in *yes;* 50. yy = Roman *jj* in *fijjo;* 51. z = *z* in *zeal;* 52. *z* = Bolognese voiced *s* in *casa;* 53. zh = *s* in *pleasure*. The tonic accent is indicated by ′, and ¯ shows long quantity together with tonic accent (′¯).

zöernec, zöernes (dzœèrnek, dzœèrnes); id. of *Upper Valle Brembana:* zenier (dzeníer); *Bresciano:* zeneer, zenever (dzenéer, dzenéver) *Cremasco:* zeneer (dzenéer); *Cremonese:* zenever (dzenéver); *Bolognese:* znaver (*dz*náver); *Modenese:* znever (dznèver); *Ferrarese, Mirandolano:* znevar (dznévar); *Mantovano:* id. (id., dznèvar); *Parmesan:* id. (dznèvær); *Piacentino:* id. (dznèvar); *Pavese:* snevar (znévær); *Romagnuolo:* 1. *Faentino:* zanevar (dzanêvar, dzanévar); 2. *Imolese:* zanever (dzanêver); 3. *of?*: zanever, sanever, zinever, baracoccul (dzanéver, zanéver, dzinéver, barakókul).—VII. Friulano: zanevre, zenevre, zinevre, zeneule, barankli, cornovitt, curnovitt (dzanèvre, dzenèvre, dzinèvre, dzenèule, barán*k*li, kornovít, kurnovít). —VIII. Romanese: *Oberländisch:* gianeiver (janêiver); *Oberhalbsteinisch:* genever (jenèver); *Unter* and *Oberengadinisch:* ginaiver (jináiver); *Upper and Middle Ladin Tyrolese:* gineor (zhinéor); *Lower Ladin Tyrolese:* id. (zhinèor); *Grödnerisch Tyrolese:* genöver (zh'nœv'r); *Livinal-lungo* and *Fassa Tyrolese:* geneiver (zh'néiv'r); *Ampezzo Tyrolese:* genoro (ts'nóro). — IX. Ancient Occitanian: genibre, genebre, juniperi, juniert (jenîbre, jenébre, juníperi, juniért). —X. Spanish Occitanian: *Catalonian:* ginebre (jinèbræ); id. of *the Sagarra:* id. (jinèbre); *Valencian:* id. (chinèbre); *Majorcan:* genibró, ginebró, ginibró (jenibró, jinebró, jinibró).—XI. Modern Occitanian: *Provençal:* genèbre, ginèbre, genibre, genibré, genièbre, genebrier, ginebrier, genibrier, genibreto (jenèbre, jinèbre, jenîbre, jenibré, jenièbre, jenebrié, jinebrié, jenibrié, jenibréto); id. according to the pronunciation of *Le Rhône:* (dzenèbre, dzinèbre, dzenîbre, dzenibré, dzenièbre, dzenebrié, dzinebrié, dzenibrié, dzenibréto); id. of *Arles:* id. (id., dzenibrétu); id. of *Nîmes:* id. (id., dzenibrétæ); id. of *Grasse:* genebré (jenebré); *High Provençal:* chai, cade (chái, káde); id. of the *Valley of Barcelonnette:* chai pougnent (chái puñéi*n*); *Provençal of?*: genebreto, genevrier, chaine pougnent; *Upper Dauphinois:* janoueire (dzanuéire); *Languedocien:* ginièbre (chinièbhre); id. of *Lunel:* id. (jinièbre); id. of the *Cévennes:* cade (káde); id. of *Béziers:* genibre (chenîbhre, jenîbhre); id. of *Carcassonne* and *Narbonne:* id. (zhenîbhre); id. of *Alby, Castres,* and *St. Pons:* id. (dzenîbhre); *Béarnese:* genièbre (yenièbhr'); *Upper Bearnese:* id. (zhenièbhrœ); *Gascon:* gimbre (zhímbhre); *Rouergois:* cade, ginèbre (káde, chinèbhre); *Southern Rouergois:* id. (dzinèbhre); *Northern Rouergois:* id. ginièbre (zhinièbhre); *Western Rouergois:* cadre (kádre). — XII. Franco-Occitanian: *Forézien:* janouère, janouérat (zanuèru, zanuerá); id. of *Luriecq:* janièvre (dzanièvru); *Génevois:* genèvre (zh'nèvre); *Lower Valaisan* of *Vionnaz:* genaivre (dz'naivr"); *Vaudois:* genèvri (dz'nèvri), genèivro (dz'nèivro); *Franc-Comtois* of

Plancher-les-Mines: genavre (zh'navr). — XIII. ANCIENT FRENCH: geneivre, genoivre, genourre, genevre, geneuevrier (j'nêivr', j'nuèvr, j'núr', j'nèvr', j'nœvrièr).[3]—XIV. FRENCH: genièvre, genévrier (zh'nièvr, zh'nevrié); *Berrichon:* genieuve, genieube, geniévre (zhniœv, zhniœb, zhniévr); *Angevin:* genèbre (zhnèbr); *Haut Manceau:* id. geniévre (zhnèbrē, zhnièvrē); *Champenois* of *Troyes:* genoivre (zhnuèvr); id. of *La Marne:* petreau (petreó); *Eastern Morvandeau:* genâbre, genâvre (zhnābr, zhnāvr); *Western Morvandeau:* genâbe (zhnāb); *Vosgien:* geneive (zhnev); *Jurassien Bernois:* grassi (grasí); *Wallon:* pèquet (pĕkè); *Ardennois:* pequet (p'kè); *Rouchi:* généfe, péqué, péquériau (zhenef, peké, pekerió); id., district of *Avesnes:* pétriau (petrió); *Lillois:* genèfe, péquet (zhnèf, pekè); *Boulonnais:* génoaf (zhenuáf); *Picard:* pertrieux (pĕrtriœ); *Brayon:* calièvre (kalièvr); *Normand:* genieuvre, genivre (zh'niœvr, zh'nīvr); id. *Polletais:* id. (z'niœvr, z'nīvr); *Saintongeais:* genevrier (γ'nevrié).——C. HYBRID or DACIAN GROUP: XV. WALLACHIAN: ienuper, iuniper, inupĕr, shneapan, brădishor, archit (yenúper, yuníper, inúpor, shneapón, brədishór, arkít).

The Basque names for this shrub, which I have heard from the Basque peasant's mouth, are: 1. *orre*, Southern and Eastern Navarrese; 2. *orhe*, Western Navarrese; 3. *ipuru*, Southern Navarrese, subdialectally; 4. *umpuru*, Roncalese; 5., 6. *jenebretze*, *hagintz*, Soulctin. Other names are given or used by Authors, but I have not ascertained their dialect. Those I know are: 7., 8. *likabra*, *ipurka*, both given by Larramendi; 9., 10. *iñibre*, *agintze*, by Duvoisin; 11. *larra ona*, by Zavala; 12., 13. *aginteka*, *agiñteka*, by Favre. Of these thirteen words, *orre*, *orhe*, *hagintz*, *agintze*, *larra ona* "good pasturage", and *aginteka* or *agiñteka*, are really Basque, but the others are corruptions, sometimes strange ones, of "juniperus". *Hagintz* points to *agin*, Biscayan, for "tooth", or, in other dialects, "molar tooth"; and *orre*, as we have seen, is the root of *Orreaga*, the Basque name of Roncesvalles.

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[3] Littré gives *geneivre* as belonging to the xiii^th^ century; *genoivre*, to the xiii^th^; *genourre*, to the xiv^th^; *genevre*, to the xvi^th^. The fact however is, that *genoivre* belongs also to the xv^th^ century, as it is clearly shown at p. 40, col. 2, of Scheler's "Glossaire Roman-Latin du xve Siècle, MS. de la Bibliothèque de Lille." Anvers, 1865. Now, there is no doubt that the dialect of this Glossary is rather the Picard than any other, this being confirmed by certain words, such as *vacque*, *quièvre*, etc., "cow, goat", instead of *vache*, *chièvre*, etc., which occur in the dialect of "Les Quatre Livres des Rois", belonging to the xii^th^ century. If it be true, as stated by Littré, that *genoivre* has preceded *genourre* in the xiii^th^ century, it is not less true that it has followed it in the xv^th^; and this proves that difference of time and diversity of dialect ought not to be confounded, as is sadly done, and too often indeed, by some modern Etymologists.

London, 3 *July*, 1882. L. L. BONAPARTE.

APPENDIX II.

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ON THE DELIMITATION OF THE ENGLISH AND WELSH LANGUAGES.

BY ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S.

[Read before the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 24th May 1882, and in abstract before the Philological Society, 2nd June 1882.]

FOR the last ten or twelve years I have been engaged in the laborious and difficult investigation of the pronunciation of English dialects throughout Great Britain. But it is notorious that all Great Britain does not speak English. A large portion of Scotland speaks Gaelic, and most of the principality of Wales still speaks Welsh. It was, therefore, a necessary point of my inquiry to determine how far the English language extended. Some years ago, Dr. Murray, the present (1882) President of the Philological Society, and editor of its forthcoming great English Dictionary, in his excellent little work on the *Dialects of the South of Scotland* (1873), determined with great accuracy the boundary of Gaelic and English (in the form of Lowland Scotch, which is, however, a true English dialect), and showed, by reference to an older determination, that it had receded westward during the present century.

This is indeed the lot of Celtic as against English. Its boundary is continually receding westwards. After the Romans left Great Britain in A.D. 400 the island was all Celtic, but it was not peaceful; and, in their quarrels, the Celts called in aid from the Lowlands of Germany. This brought English into Britain in the form of Lowland Teuton, of which Platt Deutsch (its popular) and Dutch (its literary form) are the modern representatives on the continent. Whatever the British language was like at that time, it was

as unlike Lowland Teuton as it was unlike Roman. B these Teutons, who are known as Angles, Saxons, a Friesians, treated Britain very differently from the Roma The Romans merely governed. The Teutons conquered a exterminated, that is, killed off, or drove beyond th borders, all who opposed. They began on the south and ea and they gradually drove the British north and west. Th were also continually fighting each other, and they h themselves in turn to succumb to two invasions, first, of t Danes, and, secondly, long afterwards, of the Norma These conquests, in the course of time, converted their vario forms of Lowland Teuton into dialects of English, as th themselves called their language. But they did not conqu Britain suddenly. Long and vigorous resistance was offere For a long while a Celtic kingdom, that of Strathclyde, r down from Scotland to the south of England, and to t east of the present Wales; and, in Devonshire and Cornwa there were other Celtic elements. It was in the days of e termination that the Mercians (that is, the various Teut tribes who infested the middle of England, beyond the "mar or border of the Saxons) broke through the Strathcly kingdom in the modern Cheshire and Lancashire, and est blished there their own language almost without any inte mixture.[1] A few Welsh words can still be traced in South La cashire, but, practically, it is a pure Midland English diale

[1] It was in A.D. 613, about 170 years after the first landing of t Lower Teutons, that Ethelfrith gained the victory of Chester, whi separated Wales from Cumbria and Strathclyde. As Ethelfrith w King of Northumbria, Mr. J. R. Green, in his interesting work on t *Making of England* (Macmillan, 1881), concludes that Cheshire a South Lancashire came under the Northumbrian supremacy, whi previously ranged on the East of Britain from the Firth of Forth Lincolnshire. And as he has been unable to find any further reco of the government of Cheshire and South Lancashire till the revolt the Mercians, which wrested the supremacy from Northumbria in A 659, he concludes that till that time Cheshire remained under Northu

It was different with the parts of Strathclyde below Cheshire. In Shropshire, and, at least, Western Herefordshire, we have still marks of a dialect descended mainly from Welsh people on whom English had been forced. That is, we detect in them still habits of speech which point to a Celtic rather than a Saxon origin. I may mention the conspicuous trilling of *r* when not before a vowel, which marks Shropshire, and, I believe, West Herefordshire; while the *r* in such positions is very inconspicuous among the Midlanders, and has a totally different character in the neighbouring southern counties, as Gloucester, Wiltshire, etc. In these counties, then, as also in Devonshire and Cornwall (which will not otherwise enter into consideration here), we have English modified by being grafted on a Welsh or Celtic population. But in all these counties the change happened so long ago, so many generations have been transmitting their speech naturally from parent to child, that true English dialects have been formed, which do not betray to the ordinary observer any mark of being English spoken by foreigners. We have similar results in the Lowland Scotch of the old conquests as contrasted with the Lowland Scotch which has more recently supplanted Gaelic.

Let me begin by mentioning two cases in Wales itself, where Welsh was simply driven out, and where we have a West-Saxon dialect, certainly much worn out under the influ-

brian government. And even then, and subsequently, he makes South Lancashire Northumbrian. (See his maps on pp. 244, 260, 273, 292, 305, and 329.) Now this distribution of English rule is directly opposed to the present phenomena of English dialects. South Lancashire and Cheshire have not only no signs of Northumbrian influence, but they furnish the purest and best marked specimens of Mercian or Midland English. Hence, it is quite clear that the settlement of these districts must have been Mercian, although the conquest was Northumbrian. North Lancashire, on the contrary, shows that it was conquered by Northumbrians, and is entirely different in dialect from South Lancashire.

ence of education, but still purely English without any Welsh influence. These are the peninsula of Gowerland, in the south of Glamorganshire, west of Swansea, and the south-west corner of Pembrokeshire, about Tenby, Pembroke, and Haverfordwest. They are merely English settlements of the twelfth century. It is indeed stated that Flemings were among the English, but Flemish of that period was so little different from West Saxon that, even if the statements are correct, we must not be surprised at finding no mark of Flemish in the present dialect.[1] There was a third of these

[1] The statements are made by chroniclers, and are, of course, the best written evidence we have, but the chroniclers tell so many tales which are clearly mere traditions that their statements require corroboration. In this case, the present state of the languages does not furnish any. The following are the exact words of the chroniclers, whom I have consulted for the purpose :—

1. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis* Monachi Gesta regum anglorum, ed. T. Duffus Hardy. Historical Society, ed. 1840. (William of Malmesbury was born about 1095, and died 1143.)

Lib. iv, § 311, p. 493 [A.D. 1091]. "Statimque contra Wallenses, post in Scottos, expeditionem movens, nihil magnificentia sua dignum exhibuit ; militibus multis desideratis, jumentis interceptis. Nec tum solum, sed multotiens parva illi in Walenses fortuna fuit ; quod cuivis mirum videatur, cum ei alias semper alea bellorum felicissime arriserit. Sed ego intelligo pro soli inæqualitate et cœli inclementia, sicut rebellionem eorum adjutum, ita ejus virtutem expeditum. Porro rex Henricus, excellentis ingenii vir, qui modo regnat, invenit qua commenta illorum labefactaret arte, Flandritis in patria illorum collocatis, qui eis pro claustro sint et eos perpetuo coerceant."

Lib. v, § 401, p. 628 : "Wallenses rex Henricus, semper in rebellionem surgentes, crebris expeditionibus in deditionem premebat, consilioque salubri nixus, ut eorum tumorem extenuaret, Flandrenses omnes Angliæ accolas eo traduxit. Plures enim qui tempore patris pro materna cognatione confluxerant, occultabat Anglia, adeo ut ipsi regno pro multitudine onerosi viderentur : quapropter cum substantiis et necessitudinibus apud Ros, provinciam Wallorum, velut in sentinam congessit, ut et regnum defæcaret, et hostium brutam temeritatem retunderet," etc.

2. Polychronicon *Ranulphi Higdeni* Chestrensis de rebus Britannicis

settlements in the extreme south-east of Ireland, occupying the baronies of Forth and Bargy, in the county of Wexford, and this settlement kept up its language, quite distinct from its Celtic

et Hibernicis usque ad conquestum. Ed. Th. Gale, Oxford, 1691. (Higden died A.D. 1367).

Page 210, l. 5: "*A quot, quando, et quibus hæc terra sit inhabitata gentibus.* Sed et Flandrenses tempore Regis Henrici primi [A.D. 1100-35], in magna copia juxta Mailros [Melrose in Roxburghshire, Scotland] ad Orientalem Angliæ plagam habitationem pro tempore accipientes, septimam in Insula gentem fecerunt [1. Britones; 2. Picti; 3. Scoti; 4. Saxones; 5. Dani; 6. Normanni; 7. Flandrenses] jubente tamen eodem Rege ad Occidentalem Walliæ partem apud Hauerford, sunt translati. Sicque Britannia modo deficientibus omnino Danis et Pictis, his quinque nationibus habitatur in præsenti, viz. Scotis in Albania, Britonibus in Cambria, Flandrensibus in Westwallia, Normannis et Anglis permixtim in tota Insula."

Page 210: "*De Incolarum Linguis.* Flandrenses vero qui occidua Walliæ incolunt, dimissa jam barbaria, Saxonice satis proloquuntur."

Or, as Trevisa (A.D. 1387) translates these last lines: "Bote *the* Flemynges *th*at wone*th* in *the* west syde of Wales habbe*th* yleft here straunge speeche and speke*th* Saxonlych ynow."

For the three next citations with the observations in [ ], I am indebted to Henry Jenner, Esq., of the British Museum.

3. *Geraldus Cambrensis* [born 1147 in Pembrokeshire]. *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, lib. i, ch. xi, De Haverfordia et Ros:

"Erat autem gens hæc originem a Flandria ducens, ab Anglorum rege Henrico primo ad hos fines inhabitandum transmissa." [And the author then proceeds to describe the character of the people.]

4. *Brut y Tywysogion* [under the year 1105, translation sent by Mr. Jenner]. "The year after that a certain nation ..... was sent by King Henry into the land of Dyfed; and that nation seized the whole cantred of Rhos ..... having driven off the people completely. [The chronicle then states that they left their own country because the sea and sand encroached.] That nation, according to the report, was derived from 'Fflandrys', the country nearest to the sea of the Britons." [In several of the following years there are frequent mentions of the "Flemisswyr" and "Flemisseit" as fighting with the Welsh. The *Brut y Tywysogion* goes down to 1280, and the early part is probably of earlier date.]

5. *Annales Cambriæ* [under the year 1107, Florence of Worcester makes the date 1111]. "Flandrenses ad Ros venerunt." [The *Annales*

surroundings, for many hundred years, though, in later times, it received Celtic additions. It is now merged into the Cromwellian Irish English, by which it is surrounded. But a hundred years ago it was sufficiently distinct to have specimens of it collected, and these betray one of the oldest forms of English dialect. All these three settlements were nearly in a line proceeding down the Bristol Channel and crossing to Ireland, and they evidently consisted of Southern English, or Wessex people. The two settlements in Wales must be regarded as part of England. The presence of Welsh people is a mere accident of immigration, as insignificant in respect to nationality as the presence of Welsh people in London. In these cases the delimitation is comparatively easy, and the information I have received (I have in no case visited the spot or perambulated the boundary myself) is as follows:—

are known now from a thirteenth century MS. at the British Museum, but they are evidently translated from Welsh of an earlier date.]

These citations show that there is thorough agreement among the ancient chroniclers as to the nationality of the Lowland Teutons who occupied the south-west of Pembrokeshire. Their accounts are probably all derived from the same source. But Geraldus Cambrensis, as a native of Pembrokeshire, born about forty years after the reported Flemish settlement, shows probably the belief of the Pembroke people themselves. If we took the chroniclers literally, these Flemish were sent to Wales to get rid of them, and "cleanse England of their filthy presence" (as William of Malmesbury puts it, in even stronger terms), and then, unaccompanied by Saxon or Norman guards or rulers, were left to fight the Welsh in the interests of England. Yet, about 250 years later, Higden finds them speaking sufficiently good Saxon. This, and the modern state of the language, shows that the chroniclers were at any rate not acquainted with the whole story, and that the Saxons must have certainly preponderated. Again, the chroniclers do not refer to Gowerland, which is in precisely the same condition as to language, nor to Wexford. The evidence, then, in favour of the Flemish settlement breaks down linguistically. At most there could only have been a subordinate Flemish element, which soon lost all traces of its original and but slightly different dialect, while the principal element must have been Saxon as in Gower and Wexford.

GLAMORGANSHIRE, informant, Rev. J. D. Davies, Llanmadoc Rectory, at the N.W. extremity of Gower. The boundary is along the present line of railway from Penclawdd Station, on the Burry River, to Mumbles Road Station on Swansea Bay. It comprises the following seventeen parishes, all of which have spoken English for centuries:—1, Cheriton; 2, Llanmadoc; 3, Llangenydd; 4, Rhos-sili; 5, Llanddewi; 6, Knelston; 7, Reynoldston; 8, Port Eynon; 9, Penrice; 10, Oxwich; 11, Nicholaston; 12, Penmaen; 13, Llanrhidian (lower division; the upper division does not speak English); 14, Ilston; 15, Penard; 16, Bishopston; 17, Oystermouth. The first thirteen parishes belong to the West, and the last four to the East, Rural Deanery of Gower. There are still to be seen the ruins of an old castle, once the *Caput Baroniæ* of this extensive ancient lordship west of Swansea. "In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," Mr. Davies says, "we frequently meet in old documents with the expressions '*Gower Wallica*' and '*Gower Anglica*'". The terms are, however, greatly mixed up.

As there are no printed specimens of this dialect, I mention the following words from an example translated for me by Mr. Davies, the italics showing Mr. Davies's orthography: *zo*, so; *zay*, say; *ze*, see; *zide*, side; *she's gwain*, she is going; *drough* (rhymes *plough*), through; *defe*, deaf; *we know-n*, we know him; *auld*, old; *beant*, isn't; *dœur* (rhymes French *sœur*), door; *mabby*, may be, perhaps; *lil*, little; *teach er*, teach her; *agen*, again. Of these, the use of initial *z* for *s* in *zo*, *zay*, *ze*, *zide*, and of initial *dr* for *thr* in *drough*, the use of *gwain* for *going*, of *beant* for isn't, and especially of *-n* in *know-n* for *know him*, are distinctive marks of the strongest Southern English, which is situated on the other side of the Channel not nearer than Somersetshire. This shows that the English is ancient and not acquired in modern times. I may add that the *Archæologia Cambrensis*,

1861, pp. 356-362, speaking of the ethnology of Gower, gives Dr. Latham's opinion that the people are English, and not Flemish, and says Dr. Williams had glossed 150 words, and found them like Somerset, as *delve*, dig, *told we*, told us (which is always used by a Gower man), the use of *z* for *s*, and *v* for *f*, which was formerly universal over the South of England), and *hold un*, hold him or it.

PEMBROKESHIRE, hundreds of Rhôs and Daugleddy, informant, Rev. J. Tombs, Rector of Burton, 3 miles N. of Pembroke and 7 miles S.S.W. of Haverfordwest. He says that "the probable boundary of the original or very early colony was from Newgale Bridge, near the N.E. corner of St. Bride's Bay, to the village of Ambleston (7 miles N.N.E. of Haverfordwest and a mile and a half N. of Trefgarn), thence to Lawhadon and Narberth, and from there by Ludchurch to Amroth or Cronwear in the Bay of Carmarthen. No line can now be drawn between Anglicised Welsh and the early colonists. About one hundred years ago something approaching to such a line might have been drawn, but even the Anglicised Welsh were interspersed with the stranger, and, from the very first, some, by intermarriages or other means, kept their ground in many parts under same conditions." From a printed lecture on Pembrokeshire delivered by the same gentleman at Milford on 20 March 1863, of which he obligingly lent me the only remaining copy which he had, I take the following notes. Henry I (says Fenton in his *History of Pembrokeshire*, p. 201) having admitted, out of respect to Queen Maud (daughter of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders), a great number of Flemings into England, driven out by inundations, removed them from the north to part of Pembrokeshire (already taken possession of by Normans under Arnulph de Montgomery) about Pembroke, Tenby, and Roos.[1] A Welsh chronicle insinuates that

[1] See the citations from the ancient chroniclers in the note on p. 8*.

fifty years later Henry II introduced a fresh colony "to supply his new garrisons, raised and fortified by Strongbow, Haverfordwest and Tenby." Strongbow was Richard, Count of Eu, who, in 1110, conquered Welsh Divet or Pembroke, which was called "Little England beyond Wales". In 1401 Owen Glendowr is said to have defeated "the English militia of Herefordshire and the Flemings of Rhôs and Pembroke." Rhôs is spelled Roos, Roose, Rouse by English writers. Thierry quotes from the *Cambrian Register*: "They affect not to know the name of a single individual inhabiting the part in which Welsh is spoken. To the inquiries of strangers they will answer, 'I donna knaw, a lives somewhere i' the Welshery.'" This representation of the dialect is, of course, not to be trusted. Mr. Tombs also notes the following Welsh names which remain in an Anglicised form:

Pembroke = Penfro or -bro, that is, "head of the maritime land or promontory". Tenby = Din-bych, that is, "little hill port". Hakin, one mile west of Milford (also Hagin), which he conjectures to be the same as *-hagen* in Copenhagen, that is "port", saying that the Danes have left some traces. This is very doubtful. Pill = Pwll; and numerous Welsh surnames.

Mr. Tombs also notes the report that another colony, under Martin de Tours, landed northwards of the Precelly range of mountains (*Mynydd Preseley*, six or seven miles south-east of Fishguard on the north coast), and says that, of course, they had connection with the southern colonies; but they have become inextricably mixed up with the Welsh.

As regards the language, Mr. Tombs says "there is nothing like the Devonshire or French *u* here, and our (Pembroke) mode of pronouncing is very different from West Somerset; and our *r* is nothing like the subdued English London *r*, and not so very noticeably different from the Welsh *r*." On the other hand, Mr. Elworthy of Wellington, West Somerset,

author of a grammar of that dialect, who has a very keen appreciation of the pronunciation of his district, told me (11th October 1878), after a visit to Tenby, that the language was "most like a book version of West Somerset, with a little of the Devonshire *u* and the peculiar Southern *r*." The Devonshire *u* is clearly a modernism, and probably very partially introduced. The Southern *r* is the mark of the Southern dialect from Cornwall to Kent and Dorset to Worcestershire. It is made by pointing the tongue to the throat or else retracting it very much, and is very easily seized by those who have once heard it, but strangers overlook it generally, and Londoners confuse it with their own vocal *r*. All the dialectal peculiarities are, however, fast dying out under the influence of education.

At the Swansea meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Society, 1861, the following was given as a genuine bit of Pembrokeshire English: "I'ze a gwaaing to zell zum vish to buy zum vlesh vor that blezzed day Zoonday." This could not be genuine: *ze* in *I'ze*, *oo* in *Zoonday*, and *ng* in *gwaaing* are quite impossible; hence, the observer was not to be trusted, but the fact that *z*, *v* are used for *s*, *f*, may, perhaps, remain. The rest is picturesque. Mr. Tombs thinks, however, that it is unmistakably Flemish.[1] It is really a bad representation of Southern English, such as may still be heard. But Mr. Tombs says he has himself heard a Pembrokewoman say, "I'll put out the kive to vang the wāter." Halliwell and Wright spell the word *keeve*, and say it is a Western (that is South-Western) term for a brewing-tub; it is Anglo-Saxon *cyf*; German, *kufe*. To *vang* for to *fang* or catch (compare the snake's *fangs* or catching teeth) is a regular Southern term. He has also heard *vank* for a spark;

[1] Possibly the initial *z*'s and *v*'s which are used in Flemish and Dutch writing, may have misled him. Initial *f* and *s* in Anglo-Saxon were also undoubtedly pronounced as *v* and *z*. Initial *s* is still pronounced as *z* in High German.

compare middle high German, *vunke, vanke,* modern *funke;* Dutch, *vonk* (see Dieffenbach's *Gothic Dictionary,* i, 413, No. 62); but I cannot find it as an English dialect word, though our word *funk* belongs to it. He has also heard *misken* for *mixen,* a dung-heap, which is similar to the Southern transpositions *waps, haps* for *wasp, hasp.* Also *drang,* a narrow passage, a regular Southern word; and "*rāthe, rāther, rāthest*" for quick or early, earlier, earliest, the first of which is a very old English word.

In the example which Mr. Tombs translated for me occur the following Southernisms: *zo, zay, zee, zide* = so, say, see, side; *vrom* = from (he has heard *throm,* but only from families of Welsh blood; it is an impossible combination to a south-western English peasant); *dreow,* through (the regular change of *thr* initial); *maayd, waey agwaayin,* maid way a-going; *she ool,* she will; *we knaows ihn,* we know him; *rho-ad,* road (the aspirated *r* is pure Southern, as well as the division of the digraph); with others, which will mark the real English which exists here.

After this account of "Little England beyond Wales", I will proceed at once to speak of greater England in its immediate pressure on Wales from the East. But, first, let me recall to your mind that there are two classes of languages in England proper, the received or literary, and the dialectal. The first, as these names imply, is twofold, and the second is manifold. The received speech is that ordinarily spoken in familiar conversation by the governing, the wealthy, the highly educated classes of society. It is by no means uniform either in pronunciation or construction, and many slight varieties are "received", that is, their use is not considered to be a mark of lower rank, deficient education, vulgarity, or provincialism. There is also a middle-class English pronunciation, construction, and vocabulary, which aspires to be received, but is not. This, however, stands

much higher than the purely vulgar. The "literary" is quite different. In construction, it is essentially the language of books, as distinct from conversation, and in pronunciation, it is the language of orthoepists and purists. This I term generally "book English". It is supposed to be taught in schools, and wherever the "art of delivery or elocution" is inculcated. It is the language of literature when read aloud, of oratory, of the pulpit and the stage (two words by-the-bye of originally the same meaning, that is, platform), but it is not the language of native conversation, it is not what we learn from our fathers and mothers, our school and college-companions, the men and women with whom we daily consort. Foreigners, by which I shall understand, as in the provinces, persons who by birth speak a different language, and not give it any invidious political signification—foreigners who learn a language by book and by orthoepical instruction, naturally acquire the book language, tinctured, however, essentially by their own nationality. We have numerous instances of such English speech in Wales. Such book-language is considered "purer" than the received. This is a mere assumption. It is another language, more wholly artificial than the received, which has itself arisen from a semi-artificial paring down of a particular (East Midland) form of speech, to suit the habits and prejudices of the so-called "upper" classes.

But real natural English, hereditarily transmitted from father to son, is dialectal. The Greek word διάλεκτος of course meant "conversation", from the deponent form διαλέγομαι, "I converse", the active form διαλέγω meaning "I discriminate or pick out one from another". In conversation there are, of course, at least two distinct speakers. A dialect now merely means a "local speech", when numerous local speeches do not differ greatly from each other or from the received language of a country. But the limits of language

and dialect are hard to find. At present I wish to consider dialect as simple local speech, learned without book, essentially a spoken and not a written dialect. The dialects of England are practically unwritten at the present day, the attempts at writing a few of them, being rather caricatures than representations. I speak after more than ten years' special attention to the subject. But the local speech, to be local, requires some fixation of locality. A hundred years ago it was not easy for the poor to change their domicile, communication was difficult, and "certificated teachers" as yet were not. Hence the local form of speech remained, with only its internal capacity of change, which, though not great in itself, in time produced great results. Every century made a perceptible change, even in the most out of the way districts, and it is now very hard to find an ancient form of pronunciation. Still local forms exist, decidedly different from received speech, such as those which I have just adduced from Glamorganshire and Pembrokeshire, and these are entirely different from the book English taught in schools.

Now I have quite recently found it possible to divide English dialects into four regions, dependent upon their treatment of the short and long Anglo-Saxon *u*, as in the words, *some house*. The Southern and Eastern dialects pronounce words of this class practically in the received fashion; the Midland dialects say *sööm*, with curious varieties of *house*. The Northern dialects say *sööm hōōse;* and the Scotch Lowland dialects practically pronounce *some* as in received speech, but retain the *hōōse* of the northern English dialects. Now, the only part of this curious division which concerns us this evening is the southern boundary between the Southern and Midland dialects, or between *some* and *sööm*, and only a small part of this, though I may say in passing that all three boundaries have been determined right

across the country. The boundary in question beginning in N.W. Shropshire, between Ellesmere, which has *sŏŏm*, and Oswestry which has *sŭm*; sloping down to S.E., and running W. of Hordley (*sŏŏm*), E. of Whittington (*sŭm*), S. of Wem and Yorton (both *sŏŏm*), and just S. of Hadnall, or about four miles N. of Shrewsbury when it turns S., and passes just W. of Upton Magna at a distance of about two miles E. from Shrewsbury, near which place it reaches the river Severn, and it pursues the course of that river throughout the rest of Shropshire.[1] Its subsequent course does not concern our present inquiry. All W. and S. of this line says (*sŭm*), all N. and E. of it says (*sŏŏm*), and belongs to the Midland dialects, which have altogether a different character. Miss Jackson's excellent *Glossary of Shropshire* refers to the first (*sŭm*) portion almost exclusively. In this northern part of Shropshire, wedged between it and Cheshire, lies a detached part of Flintshire, separated from the main county by part of Denbighshire, and practically forming part of England, as its Welsh name *Maelor Saesnaeg* implies.

Now, of the parts of England adjoining Wales, this southern (or *sŭm*) part of Shropshire was a Welsh speaking country, on which English was forced hundreds of years ago. It is therefore an old English speaking region, but the English was always a Welsh English, and although years sufficient have since passed to allow of its forming an independent English dialect, it has traces of its origin in the intonation of speakers, and the well trilled *r* occurring without a subsequent vowel. It has also not quite lost its Welsh speakers. I am told that in Oswestry more Welsh is spoken than in Montgomery, and the region from Chirk to Llan-y-

[1] Since this paper was read on 24 May 1882, this part of the line has been re-examined and verified for me by Mr. Thomas Hallam of Manchester, to whose observations on the whole of the boundary between *sŭm* and *sŏŏm* I am greatly indebted.

mynech is practically Welsh to this day, speaking English as a foreign language. The English of Shropshire has received much from the Midland counties, among which must be reckoned the verbal plural in *-n*. This is as distinctly marked in the whole of the Southern (or *sŭm*) region as in the Northern. It has also borrowed from the southern dialects both in pronunciation and in the use of the verb *I be* in place of *I am*, which is singularly combined with the Midland plural in *-n* in *we bin, they bin*, that is, *be-n* = "we are." This must be distinguished from the use of *we bin* for *we have been*, a mere ellipsis which may be heard all over England.

South of Shropshire we have another English-speaking Welsh region, Herefordshire, which was joined to Mercia, or the Midland kingdom, about the same time as Shropshire. It has, however, no Midland pronunciations left, and at least the S.E. part, including Ross, Ledbury, and Much Cowarne has as much a Southern dialect as Gloucestershire. The rest of the county, including possibly a peninsula of Worcestershire about Tenbury, has as much of an English dialect as Shropshire, and it is southern in its general character, but the peculiar southern *r*, already described, cannot be traced with much certainty.

South of Herefordshire we have Monmouthshire, which was so recently (only in 1535) incorporated with England, that many enthusiastic Welsh people refuse to acknowledge the Act of Parliament, and consider it still Gwent and Morganwg. It is certainly more recent in its English than either Hereford or Shropshire, and a portion of it still speaks Welsh. Its English is decidedly Welsh in tone, and sometimes in words, but, at least on the eastern part, it has strong marks of the southern dialect.

Going north to Flint (detached), Denbigh, and Flint (mainland), we have strong marks of Midland influence, which

altogether a from those just considered. But these ri f re l parts of Wales. On the south of the proje ng w rt of Shropshire, we have a strip of Mo omery nost the whole of Radnorshire, and a strip of I shire, together with Monmouthshire already menti ich all speak English of a more recent character.

Now, I have found it ex nt to distinguish all this region linguistically as Camb , including those parts of both English and Welsh coun s already named, and to divide them into three districts, t North Cambrian (or N.C.), to the north of Shropshire; the Mid-Cambrian (or M.C.), including the south-western part of Shropshire and portion of Montgomeryshire; and the South Cambrian (or S.C.), taking in the rest. The eastern boundary of the N.C. district is not well defined or at all accurately known, but it possibly lies on a line connecting Whitchurch, Whixall, Wem, and Yorton, in Shropshire, following the Shrewsbury and Crewe Railway. Its southern boundary is that of *sŭm* and *sŏŏm* already described, as far as Yorton; and the northern and north-eastern boundary, is that of Cheshire. The western, or Welsh boundary, will be considered presently. From the M.C. district I exclude the parts west of Oswestry and Llany-mynech, and I make it extend, so far as my information at present serves, to a line drawn nearly due east and west just north of Bewdley, in Worcestershire, just north of Ludlow, and through Bromfield, in Shropshire, and then by the north boundary of Radnorshire. The western, or Welsh boundary, will be considered hereafter. The eastern boundary of the S.C. district is completely determined as a line from a little west of Ross to Much Cowarne, as already mentioned, which may extend northwards to about Bewdley, and it passes southwards by the border of Monmouthshire and the river Wye to the Bristol Channel. The western, or Welsh, boundary has to be considered hereafter.

In considering the western or Welsh boundary of the Cambrian region, which, in fact, delimitates the English and Welsh languages, and is the proper subject of this paper, it is necessary to determine what shall be considered an English and what a Welsh speaking place. Now I consider an English speaking place to be one in which the uneducated, or, at least, merely the elementarily-educated population, speak with each other exclusively in English. Even English peasantry, in general, speak two languages, the 'broad' to one another, the 'fine' to superiors; but both are English, and they understand received English when the words are not too high-flown. There are many places in Wales where both languages are spoken, and even others, where the speakers do not understand Welsh without special instruction. But it is necessary to divide these places into at least two classes—those in which a more or less dialectal form of English is used, and those where 'book English', as I have explained the term, is spoken, that is, those in which English has been learned by instruction and not by communication,[1] or is else

[1] Dr. Isambard Owen has furnished me with the following extract, which explains precisely what I mean by the above phrases. None of the children mentioned in it should be classed as English-speakers, although they may have become speakers of book-English—a very different thing. The "Welsh lump" mentioned at the end of the citation, is Mr. Powell's "Welsh Note", *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. v. p. 28, line 2 from bottom, as Dr. Isambard Owen pointed out to me, and its use is a complete proof that the children were natural Welsh-speakers. The peculiar intonation or rising inflexion spoken of at the end of the extract, is a very trustworthy mark of a Welshman speaking English. It is sometimes very pretty,—especially in a pretty girl,—but it is decidedly un-English at all times. The children of the boys mentioned in this extract may now be English-speakers, but they will most probably not be dialectal speakers.

From *A Second Walk through Wales, by the Rev. Richard Warner, of Bath, in August and September* 1798. Second Edition. Bath, 1800. Pages 262, 263. "During our former, as well as present progress through Flintshire, we have had occasion to observe that English is very generally spoken by all classes of society; in so much, as nearly to super-

spoken by the children, perhaps even the grandchildren, of those who have thus learned it. Then comes the more recent English, where parents speak to each other in Welsh and to their children in English. These places I call semi-bilingual, because, although the parents know two languages, the children may know only one. Should these be classed as English speakers? Hardly in this generation, though in the next they will become so. Next we have a large class, comprising perhaps most Welshmen who have been at school at all, who prefer to talk Welsh, but who can talk English more or less perfectly. I can no more reckon these as English speakers, than I can call educated English people who can read, write, and speak French, French speakers. They are merely foreign speakers of English and French respectively. There is another test. In places of worship does the minister find it necessary or advisable to have regular or occasional Welsh services, for native inhabitants, excluding immigrants? Of course there are services in Welsh and many other languages in London, but these are entirely for immigrants, and London remains a perfectly English speaking city. I cer-

sede the use of the national tongue. We were unable to account for this circumstance till to-day, when our landlady's sprightly son acquainted us with the cause of it. One great object of education, it seems, in the schools (both of boys and girls) of North Wales, is to give the children a perfect knowledge of the *English* tongue; the masters not only having the exercises performed in this language, but obliging the children to *converse* in it also. In order to effect this, some *coercion* is necessary, as the *little Britons* have a considerable aversion to the Saxon vocabulary; if, therefore, in the colloquial intercourse of the scholars, one of them be detected in speaking a Welsh word, he is immediately degraded with *the Welsh lump*, a large piece of lead fastened to a string, and suspended round the neck of the offender. This mark of ignominy has had the desired effect; all the children of Flintshire speak English very well, and were it not for a little curl, or elevation of the voice, at the conclusion of the sentence (which has a pleasing effect), one should perceive no difference in this respect between the North Wallians and the natives of England."

tainly exclude those places which have one Welsh service a week from being English. But I have not received sufficient information here. I only inquired about services in South Wales, and only from beneficed clergymen, whereas it is the Nonconformists, who form the bulk of the artisan and labouring class, that would be most important in this respect. I hope that hereafter, with the help perhaps of this Society, a more accurate delimitation will be attempted, in which one of the chief elements should be, the preaching in Welsh in Nonconformist chapels. If the minister finds that he can only reach the hearts of his congregation by addressing them in Welsh, then Welsh is their language, however much they may speak English.

Now I will draw the line which seems to me to mark the present boundary of English and Welsh, so that you may have a general view of the state of the case, and I will afterwards furnish the details, with the authorities on which I rely. I draw the line from the north to south.

Western or Welsh Boundary of English.

Flintshire.—The line commences between Flint and Connah's Quay, or New Quay, on the river Dee. It runs southwards, leaving Northop and Mold on the west, and Hope on the east.

Denbighshire.—The line deflects slightly to the south-east, passing through Wrexham, to the east of Ruabon (Rhiwabon) and west of Chirk.

Shropshire.—The line possibly continues through Oswestry and Llan-y-mynech.

Montgomeryshire.—The line enters this county east of Llansantffraid, and west of Llandysilio, and, taking an undulating south-westerly direction, passes west of Guilsfield and Welshpool, west of Berriew (Aber Rhiw), north of Tregynon, west of Penstrowel and Mochtre, and possibly east of Llanidloes.

Radnorshire.—The line runs almost directly south to the Wye, passing east of St. Harmon's and Rhayader Gwy (Rhaiadr Gwy), and follows the Wye, to within 2 or 3 miles of Builth (Buallt), when it enters

Brecknockshire, and passes in a south-easterly direction just west of Builth and east of Llangynog, and then, probably, (but my information is here deficient), runs parallel to the Radnorshire border to Talgarth and the Black Forest, whence it turns southwards, and leaves Llanfihangel-cwm-du on the west, and Crickhowel (Crughywel) on the east.

Monmouthshire.—The line seems to enter this county east of Brynmawr, and probably follows the valley of the lesser Ebbw or Ebwy to its junction with the greater, and keeps east of the united Ebbw, west of Pontypool and east of Risca, but west of Newport, to the junction of the Ebbw and Usk rivers on the Bristol Channel. I understand that most of the Welsh speakers in Western Monmouthshire are immigrants and not natives.

This completes the line from sea to sea, and it is sufficiently exact for my own purposes, but after it has been thus sketched out, it would be a holiday task for an English speaking Welsh tourist, to go from town to town, and by questioning the Nonconformist ministers and intelligent people correct the line where in error. To determine it even to this extent without actual perambulation, to which I could not give up sufficient time, I addressed a large number of letters to clergymen near to what I merely conjectured was the line, and inclosed a post card with 3 questions for North and 4 for South Wales, issued subsequently. I am glad to say that in general I received most courteous replies, and from some writers, especially the rector of Montgomery, I obtained a great deal of valuable information. I do not think I can do better than first give the questions, and then the several

answers I received, because I regard these as documents to be preserved, while what I have deduced from them is of course liable to a good deal of doubt, as the record was necessarily imperfect.

Questions asked in North Wales, April 1879.

1. Is Welsh or English generally spoken by the peasantry about —— [place addressed] to one another?

2. If Welsh, where is the nearest English speaking place to the east?

3. If English, does it resemble in pronunciation the English of —— [the neighbouring English county]? Or is it simply book English?

Answers.

FLINTSHIRE.

Flint, from Rev. E. Jenkins, vicar. "1. Not in the town generally, but generally in some parts of the parish. 2. Connah's Quay. 3. Book English in the town. The English of the district of *Pentre* is somewhat like that used in Cheshire, and Hawarden parish, in Flintshire."

Northop (3 m. S. of Flint), from Rev. Thomas Williams, vicar. "1. English. 3. Book English. In a little hamlet at one extreme of the parish called *Pentremoch*, the dialect spoken is very like that spoken in Hawarden, which parish it joins."[1]

Hawarden (6 m. E.S.E. of Flint), from Rev. Stephen E. Gladstone, rector. "1. Almost exclusively English. 3. I should say it was rather more Lancashire than Cheshire English. But it is rather peculiar, especially about Buckley [6 m. S.S.E. of Flint], and Ewloe [5 m. E.S.E. of Flint]."

Mr. S. E. Gladstone was good enough to have a translation

[1] It must be to this western portion of Flintshire that the citation from Mr. Warner refers, in the foot-note on p. 21*, which shows a true Welsh-speaking population.

of my *Dialect Test* made for me by the schoolmaster, Mr. Spencer. It is chiefly in ordinary spelling, which should imply ordinary received pronunciation, but I notice the following words: *see* say, *metes* mates, *gete* gate, *strect* straight, *neeme* name, these are all distinctly Cheshire and not Lancashire pronunciations; the following are not decisive: *rect* right, *scu'* school, *roud* road, *wey* way, *dooer* door, *deef* deaf, *oud* old, *agen* again, *aint* is'nt; *we know 'im* shews that the verbal plural in *-n*, common in Lancashire and Cheshire, is not employed; *I are* for I am (which, if correct, is remarkable in this region), *her's* she is, *her'll* she will, (the two last are common in the Midlands where the Lancashire and Cheshire *hoo* is not used for 'she'). The specimen wants further inquiry, which it will receive, but these suffice to shew that Cheshire is the main source of the English, especially quite the South of Cheshire.

Mold, from Rev. Rowland Ellis, vicar. "1. Welsh and English, I should think in about equal proportions. 2. Buckley and Hawarden. 3. The English spoken in this neighbourhood is not at all like that of Cheshire, more like book English."

Hope (5 m. S.E. of Mold), from the Rev. J. Rowlands, vicar. "1. About one-third of Welsh. 2. All English to the east. 3. The Cheshire dialect with sometimes a Welsh accent or twang."

Hence I have drawn the line east of Flint, and Mold, which I consider bi-lingual, and I think that probably Northop with its book English, is so also. Pentre, the hamlet of Northop spoken of, lies east of this line.

DENBIGHSHIRE.

Holt (5 m. N.E. Wrexham), from Rev. Henry Wray, vicar. "1. English entirely. 3. Cheshire."

Mr. Edw. French, of Hull, a native of Farndon, Cheshire,

which is only separated from Holt by the bridge over the Dee, writing to me in 1879, says: "The pronunciation of Farndon prevails along the southern border of the county [of Cheshire] and into the detached part of Flint,[1] which latter is thoroughly English, although the old Welsh names of the farms and villages still remain. I feel that I cannot guard you too strongly against thinking that the pronunciation of Farndon and the adjacent district is in the slightest degree affected by the adjoining Denbighshire district. The exact opposite is the case, for the Cheshire pronunciation penetrates several miles into Denbighshire; and yet, immediately the Dee is crossed, the fields, farms, etc., are found to have the ancient Welsh names still unchanged. I have paid particular attention to this point, and when living for several years in the bi-lingual district on the west side of Wrexham—eight miles from Farndon—I could always detect a Farndon, Holt, or south Cheshire man immediately he opened his mouth. The first effect that the Welsh influence has on English is to destroy all provincial pronunciation. It always seemed to me that the English work-people in the bi-lingual districts of Wales shrink from contracting a Welsh pronunciation. The complete absence of Welsh influence on the southern Cheshire border seems to me marvellous."

Wrexham, from Rev. D. Howell, vicar, "1. English exclusively to the east, Welsh and English mixed to the west of Wrexham, for about 3 miles; then Welsh exclusively. 2. The town of Wrexham practically divides the two. 3. About Wrexham the English is "book English", but eastward it becomes more like Cheshire and Shropshire."

[1] The pronunciation which I have received from this detached part of Flint differs considerably from that given me by Mr. French from Farndon, but it evidently requires further investigation, and hence I do not give it here.

Ruabon (5 m. S.W. of Wrexham), from Rev. M. Edwards, vicar. "1. Both. 3. Not provincial."

Chirk (9 m. S.S.W. Wrexham), from Rev. T. H. Lompson, vicar. "1. English in Chirk, Welsh upon the western border, *i.e.* in the parish of Llangollen. 3. We join the county of Salop, and there is no difference in the pronunciation and phraseology."

SHROPSHIRE.

Oswestry. The Rev. F. W. Parker, rector of Montgomery, writes, "The Shropshire town of Oswestry is said to have more Welsh than either Newtown or Welshpool [see Montgomeryshire]. I dare say in many of the Shropshire parishes you would find some Welsh, they are inclined to migrate." I have been also told, but I cannot recover the authority, that several shops in Oswestry are obliged in consequence to keep Welsh speaking assistants.

Llan-y-mynech, from Rev. W. E. Price, rector. "1. English. 3. I think it better than Shropshire English generally, and more like Montgomeryshire English, and which has been mostly learned from educated people and is hence purer."

From this information I have made the line to run through Oswestry and Llan-y-mynech, which forms a good junction to the lines through Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

Llandrinio (8 m. N.N.E. of Welshpool), from Rev. Edward B. Smith, rector. "1. English entirely. 3. It is generally good English with little provincialism, and I trace several quaint (old English ?) expressions."

Guilsfield (2 m. N. of Welshpool), from Rev. D. Phillips Lewis, vicar. 1. "Both Welsh and English. By far the greater number speak English. 3. It resembles the English of Shropshire but with local peculiarities."

Buttington (2 m. N.E. of Welshpool), from Rev. J. Lewis, vicar. "1. English. 2. Good English, but Welsh accent is common; nothing of English Shropshire along the Severn valley."

At the suggestion of the Rector of Montgomery, who thought the last answer inaccurate, I wrote again to Rev. D. P. Lewis, vicar of Guilsfield, who had been formerly vicar of Buttington, and he replied 4th April 1879, "The information about Buttington surprises me. When I left that parish in 1863, it was to all intents a Shropshire parish. The workmen coming and going in that most especially Saxon district, between Severn and Church Stretton [Shropshire, 12 m. S.S.W. of Shrewsbury], where you may hear of 'housen, mousen and treesen'[1] and even the termination of *-en* of the third person plural is not unknown, as *I went, they wenten*, [regular in Shropshire]. No doubt local dialects are weakening before National and British Schools. But as any one with an ear for dialects would detect Cheshire in the Vale of Clwyd [from Ruthin, Denbighshire, to Rhyl, Flintshire, far west of the boundary line I have drawn through those counties], so would he perceive Shropshire in east Montgomeryshire. It used to be said that three languages were spoken in Flintshire, English, Welsh, and Buckley Mountain, which was in fact a very rough Cheshire, mixed with Welsh, but Cheshire was the foundation."

[1] The plurals of the Anglo-Saxon words *hús*, *mús*, *treow* are *hús*, *mýs*, *treowu*, hence *housen*, *mousen*, *treesen* are not Saxon forms. Miss Jackson admits the first, but not the two last in her glossary. In *treesen* = *tree-s-en* we have a double plural, as in the usual *child-r-en*. This *-en* termination is, however, early English; and numerous examples are collected by Dr. Morris in the Grammatical Introduction to his edition of Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, pp. xi-xxv; but they do not include *housen* (now so common in English dialects), *mousen*, (which I never heard of before, indeed even *mouses* is rare, though *meece* is occasionally heard), nor *treesen*, but only *tren*, *treon*.

On farther communicating with Rev. J. Lewis, he said, "I have certainly observed this use [of the verbal plural in *-en*] in this neighbourhood more than in Shropshire. I lived 11 years in Shrewsbury, where, however, such peculiarities may not be as common as among the country people." In county towns the language is always refined.

Welshpool, from Rev. J. S. Hill, vicar. "1. English. 3. It is good English. There are Shropshire provincialisms in words and idioms, but the pronunciation is particularly pure."

Forden (3 m. N. of Montgomery), from Rev. John E. Vise, vicar. "1. Not one word of Welsh. 3. It is Shropshire, which county is the edge of my parish."

Berriew (? Aber Rhiw) (3 m. N.W. of Montgomery), from Rev. Joseph Baines, vicar. "1. English. 3. Book English, *i.e.*, it has not anything approaching dialect or any corruption."

Snead (5 m. S.E. of Montgomery) from Rev. G. O. Pardoe, rector. "1. English entirely. 3. The English of Shropshire."

Kerry (2 m. S.E. of Newtown), from Rev. W. Morgan, B.D., vicar. "1. English exclusively. 3. Book English."

Montgomery, from Rev. F. W. Parker, rector. "1. English entirely. No Welsh speaking parishes south of the Severn [this does not refer to the parts of the Severn valley west of Llanidloes]. 2. Welsh language gradually, steadily, receding. 3. Certainly in a great measure resembling Shropshire in pronunciation, though not in all respects. Many Shropshire words in use. Manner of speaking good. Names of places Welsh."

Mr. Parker also sent me two long letters on 3rd and 7th April 1879, from which I will make some extracts, and give an arrangement of the lists of places which he furnished. "Though an Englishman myself", he says, "I have been living in this district for upwards of 30 years, first as curate of Welshpool, secondly, as vicar of Mochtre or Moughtrey

near [3 m. S.W. of] Newtown, and now as Rector of Montgomery. Having thus been living in different parts of this district, I ought to have a tolerably accurate knowledge of the Severn Valley from Llanidloes [11 m. S.W. of Newtown] to the Breidden Hill [Craig-ap-Wridden, 5 m. N.E. of Welshpool, on the borders of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire]. No doubt there was a time when the Welsh language was spoken in all these parishes, and the names of places, houses, etc., still survive, but English has gradually taken the place of Welsh, and is gradually encroaching upon it. Were it not that there is a constant migration of Welsh speaking people from the hill country to the north into the more fertile valley lands, the Welsh language would have died out much faster. In most of these border parishes there are to be found a certain number of people of Welsh extraction, who have come down and taken farms or cottages and still retain their knowledge of Welsh, but their children in many cases have no knowledge of the language. Naturally there is a certain amount of Welsh accent in many of these people who are emerging from Welsh, and with it an admixture of Shropshire twang, but as compared with most parts of the country, the lower orders speak very good English. I should say this remark applies to all the border land between Montgomeryshire and Shropshire. This parish, though the old capital of the county, quite belongs to England, and before the days of railways there was a good deal of direct intercourse with Shrewsbury, through Cherbury, which is in Shropshire [14 m. S.W. of Shrewsbury]. In all this Severn Valley district, the English is better than you find in most places, and the pronunciation remarkably good. To get purely book English you must go . . . . to places where Welsh is the language of the fireside and play ground."[1]

[1] See the extract from Mr. Warner, foot-note, p. 21*.

The following is a classified arrangement of the list of towns and places, furnished me in Mr. Parker's first letter.

Thoroughly English.

Welshpool.			
Criggion,	7 m. N.N.E.	of	Welshpool.
Buttington,	2 m. N.E.	„	„
Trelyston,	3 m. S.E.	„	„
Montgomery.			
Forden,	3 m. N.	of	Montgomery.
Llandyssil,	2 m. S.	„	„
Church Stoke,	3 m. E.S.E.	„	„
Snead,	5 m. S.E.	„	„
Llanmerewig	5 m. S.W.	„	„
Newtown.			
Kerry,	2 m. S.E.	of	Newtown.
Penstrowel,	2 m. W.	„	„
Mochtre or Moughtre,	3 m. S.W.	„	„

No Welsh services, but probably Book English.

Llandysilio,	7 m. N.	of	Welshpool.
Llandrinio,	8 m. N.N.E.	„	
Guilsfield,	2 m. N.	„	„
Tregynon,	8 m. W.N.W.	of	Montgomery.
Bettws,	6 m. W.	„	„
Berriew,*	3 m. N.W.	„	„
Aberhavesp	2 m. W.	of	Newtown.
Llanllwchaiarn,	1 m. N.	„	„

* "Berriew is a large parish and runs up into the hill country, and some parts of it bordering on Manafon and Castell Caer Einion [see next list] would have an affinity to the Welsh, a good deal of Welsh accent; and possibly in this parish many children of Welsh parents may have learned their English from books or mixing with the children at the school, and this process may have been going on for many

years. This parish would have less in common with Shropshire than most enumerated by me." (Mr. Parker's remark.)

Bilingual with more or less strong admixture of Welsh.

*Llansantffraid,	8 m. N.	of Welshpool.
Meifod,	6 m. N.W.	„ „
*Castell Caer Einion,	4 m. W.S.W.	„ „
Llanllwgan,	11 m. W.N.W.	of Montgomery.
*Manafon,	8 m. N.W.	„ „
Llanwyddelan,	9 m. W.N.W.	„ „
Llanidloes,	11 m. S.W.	of Newtown.
Llandinam,	6 m. W.S.W.	„

* "Probably in the next generation the three places marked * will be classed as English." (Mr. Parker's remark.)

Thoroughly Welsh.

Llanfyllin,	9 m. N.W.	of Welshpool.
Llanfair,	8 m. W.	„ „

and places further west.

Questions asked in South Wales, Oct. 1880.

1. Is Welsh or English generally spoken by the peasantry of —— [the place addressed] to one another?

2. If Welsh, where is the nearest English speaking place, East or West.

3. If English, where is the nearest Welsh speaking place? and is it book English, or like Hereford and Gloucester?

4. If mixed, how often have you Welsh Services or Sermons?

RADNORSHIRE.

Llanddewi Ystradenney (11 m. W.S.W. of Knighton), from Rev. L. A. Smith, vicar. "1. English. 3. In Breconshire, Welsh is heard in the district of St. Harmon's [18 m. W. of Knighton] and at Rhayader [20 m. W.S.W. Knighton],

Builth [see Brecknockshire], and Newtown [see Montgomeryshire], not nearer. The English is poor and scanty, and of the mongrel order. 4. None."

New Radnor (7 m. S.W. of Presteign), from Rev. John Gillam, rector. "1. English entirely. 3. As a rule the river Wye divides the two languages between Radnorshire and Breconshire; in the latter county Welsh is understood and generally spoken by the peasantry. The only parish in Radnorshire where Welsh is understood and spoken is in Cwmtoydwr [or Cwm-y-ddau-ddwr, adjoining Rhayader-gwy, at the spot where the Elan joins the Wye], which adjoins Breconshire, Cardiganshire, and Montgomeryshire. In this parish many of the young people (I am told), having learned English in the National School, speak English more correctly than is usual."

Boughrood (18 m. S.W. Presteign, in the extreme S. of the connty) from the Rev. Henry de Winton, vicar of Boughrood, and Archdeacon of Brecon. "1. English only. 3. No Welsh is spoken in Radnorshire now by natives to the left or east bank of the Wye. The English language occupies the ground up to the river Wye, which is, in fact, the boundary of the languages from Boughrood upwards (*i.e.* northwards). Directly you cross that river into Breconshire (above Boughrood) you enter a Welsh speaking district. The English spoken being an acquired language, is more free from provincialisms and purer than that of the neighbouring English counties. It has occurred to me to add that above the junction with the river Elan, that river and not the Wye separates Radnorshire from Breconshire. In the district between the two rivers, which is called Cwm-dau-ddwr[1]

[1] [Rather "Cwmmwd Deuddwr", or, according to colloquial pronunciation, "Cwmmwd Douddwr", the commote of the two waters, the *t* arising from the combination of the two *d*s. It is a principle of *cynghanedd* that two sonants coming together may answer a surd, as in "Eu *t*ra hynod *d*irionwch", where T-*r*-*n* are answered by D,D-*r*-*n*.—ED. Y. C.]

years. This parish would have less in common with Shropshire than most enumerated by me." (Mr. Parker's remark.)

Bilingual with more or less strong admixture of Welsh.

*Llansantffraid,	8 m. N.	of Welshpool.
Meifod,	6 m. N.W.	„ „
*Castell Caer Einion,	4 m. W.S.W.	„ „
Llanllwgan,	11 m. W.N.W.	of Montgomery.
*Manafon,	8 m. N.W.	„ „
Llanwyddelan,	9 m. W.N.W.	„ „
Llanidloes,	11 m. S.W.	of Newtown.
Llandinam,	6 m. W.S.W.	„

* "Probably in the next generation the three places marked * will be classed as English." (Mr. Parker's remark.)

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4. If mixed, how often have you Welsh Services or Sermons?

RADNORSHIRE.

Llanddewi Ystradenney (11 m. W.S.W. of Knighton), from Rev. L. A. Smith, vicar. "1. English. 3. In Breconshire, Welsh is heard in the district of St. Harmon's [18 m. W. of Knighton] and at Rhayader [20 m. W.S.W. Knighton],

Brecon, from Rev. D. Griffith for the vicar. "1. Mixed. Old people (peasants) speak Welsh. Younger ones English. 2. In Breconshire it would be difficult to say where the Welsh ended and English began. There is less Welsh to the East of Brecon than to the West. 3. Our English is not book English, but it has not many provincialisms. 4. One Welsh service on Sunday evenings. All others are English."

Crickhowel (12 m. E.S.E. of Brecon), from Rev. B. Somerset, rector. "1. In Crickhowel itself English is generally spoken. In the Welsh parishes about it, Welsh by the peasantry among themselves, English to their children—and cattle. 3. The nearest Welsh speaking place is [Llanfihangel] Cwmdu, 3 miles [north] west. The English much more approaches book English than that of Hereford or Gloucester. 4. Welsh services would be unintelligible to three-quarters of my congregation and I never have them."

The English spoken in Brecknockshire, and even by speakers of English in Brecon, has some marked Southern features, as I have been informed by Mr. R. Stead, now head master of Folkestone Grammar School, Kent, but for more than six years one of the masters at Christ's College, Brecon. Words like *load, road,* with Anglo-Saxon long *á*, are "fractured", that is broken into two very short sounds, the first resembling the *u* in f*u*ll and the second *a* in ide*a*. In Southern speech the *u* is usually a little longer. Words like *tale, lame,* which had a short Anglo-Saxon *a* ending a syllable, and others like *tail, snail,* which have *æg* in Anglo-Saxon, have also fractured vowels, the first element being a very short *a*, as in ch*a*otic, shorter than in ch*a*os, but bearing the accent, and the second as before *a* in ide*a*. The diphthongs *i, ow,* in *i*ce, w*i*re; n*ow*, c*ow* have their first element the same as *o* in w*o*rk and the second is *i* of b*i*ll and *u* of b*u*ll. This gives a peculiar character to the sounds,

which I have heard with the first element much lengthened, from the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, but with first element short, as here, it is common to all the neighbouring Southern dialects. The reverted *r*, of which I have spoken above (p. 182) as a strong mark of Southern speech, is quite common on the Herefordshire border, and Mr. Stead thinks he detected decided cases of this peculiarity in the immediate neighbourhood of Brecon, a bilingual district, while to the west and south west of the town, as in Llandovery, Carmarthenshire (24 m. N.E. of Carmarthen), it seems to all but die out.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

Merthyr-Tydvil, from Rev. John Griffith, rector. "1. Welsh principally, but there is English intermixed. It is difficult to answer your questions, as they do not apply to a district like this. 2. Welsh and English all round, even to Pontypool and Newport, Monmouthshire. Most, or a very large portion, speak both languages. You will find it very difficult to trace a boundary in towns. The English is peculiarly 'Welsh English', neither like Hereford nor Gloucester, in fact English in a Welsh idiom. 4. We have special churches for English and Welsh."

Llantrissant (10 m. N.W. of Cardiff), from Rev. J. Powell Jones, vicar. "1. Welsh is generally spoken by the natives, but on account of the large influx of English people, English is much spoken in the town and its vicinity. 2. Welsh is spoken by the natives in all the parishes surrounding Llantrissant Parish. 3. I can name no particular place within many miles of this place, where the natives speak English; but English is gaining ground among the natives through contact with English residents. Welsh children mixing with English children talk English. 4. Five services on Sunday in all the Parish schoolrooms as well as the Church."

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Pontypool (8 m. N.N.W. of Newport), from Rev. John C. Llewellin, vicar. "1. English. 3. Brynmawr [Brecknockshire, 14 m. S.E. of Brecon] or Ebbw Vale. Like Hereford, although Monmouth has a kind of dialect. 4. No Welsh services."

Caerleon in *Llangattock Parish* (3 m. N.E. of Newport), from Rev. H. Powell Edwards, vicar. "1. English only. 3. No Welsh spoken to the Chepstow and Hereford sides of Caerleon, and none within some miles on the other side. Book English, by which I take you to mean English spoken by well-educated people, and not corrupted by long use among the vulgar, and in this sense I use it. In Monmouth and Wales the language has been acquired from superiors, and has not been debased to any great extent. 4. None ever for the last 25 years. The youngest Welsh speaking *native* of Caerleon is above fifty years of age."

Such is the history, so far as I can tell it, of the modern incursion of English into Wales. It is no longer a case of fire and sword, or of expulsion if not destruction, and it is no longer a case of conquest where the natives are forced to learn the hated idiom. It is purely a voluntary assumption of a new language. And the motives are not far to seek. The English language opens up wide fields of employment, from which the little known Welsh language shuts out a candidate. There is, in fact, more chance of earning money by the English than by the purely Welsh speaker. Then there is the enormous advantage of English literature over Welsh, I don't mean in poetry, essays and fiction, but in every branch of knowledge, in history, in arts, and manufactures, in commerce, as well as in philosophy and science.[1]

[1] All this is very clearly and forcibly put in the Rev. D. J. Davies's

Perhaps in poetry, also, even a determined stickler for bardic supremacy might allow that English has some names to show which are worthy of attention. In fact, if a young man would "rise", he must learn English, and he does so; and however much he may love the reminiscence of his native Welsh, and it is linguistically well worth a reminis cence, in a generation or two it slips out of his family. His very children are not taught it, as we have seen from several of the above answers. And thus Welsh is evidently destined to become a dead language, and the boundary between the English and Welsh languages will reach St. George's Channel at some future day. But with these speculations I have nothing to do. My duty has been merely to trace as accurate a line as I could, where purely English native speech ceases, and bilingual speech commences. There is very little of real mixture; but naturally Welshmen use Welsh idioms at times and even Welsh words.[1] Their children do not, and the transition is complete. There is a considerable space westward of the line I have drawn where bilingual speech prevails. In all this modern region, and in some of the old, the English is literary, the artificial product of books and schools. In the oldest form, as in Shropshire and Herefordshire, Welsh-English is dialectal, and this extends to those few Welsh places that have learned English by contact with natives. But we see that, at least in what I have termed the Middle and Southern Cambrian English, two forms, an eastern and a western, must be distinguished as dialectal, and a third or literary form as English without being dialectal; and this third form may be perhaps subdivided into inchoate and complete English. But it is clearly impossi-

article "On the Necessity of Teaching English through the Medium of Welsh", at the beginning of vol. v of *Y Cymmrodor*.

[1] Of course I leave out of consideration the numerous English words, which, as their sounds show, have existed in colloquial (as distinguished from literary) Welsh for hundreds of years.

ble to draw boundaries which should mark off these divisions; they would, in fact, descend to the classification of individuals. And the population is not stationary, there being much immigration both from the east and the west.

In conclusion, I would only express a hope that the Cymmrodorion Society may take up this subject, and conduct it to a better and more perfect result than I have been, or ever shall be, able to do. Such points as the following admit of accurate determination: 1. Names of all places where no inhabitant can speak Welsh. 2. Where every inhabitant can speak English. 3. Where every inhabitant can speak Welsh. 4. Where every inhabitant can speak both Welsh and English. 5. Where no Welsh services are held in churches or chapels. 6. Where no English services are held. 7. Where the services are in both languages, and in different ratios. 8. Where English is exclusively the language by which instruction is given in schools.[1] 9. Where Welsh is the exclusive language of instruction, distinguishing those in which (*a*) English is taught, and (*b*) where it is not taught, and (*c*) where Welsh is used for teaching the younger and English for teaching the elder. There is such a marked and decisive difference between the two languages, that it would be comparatively easy to obtain these results by a series of returns, but it is obviously impossible for a private individual to undertake the task in its entirety. What I have endeavoured to do in this paper, is to show you how far I have succeeded in obtaining returns by my own importunity and the great politeness of those I addressed, to whom I feel sure that you, as well as myself, will feel grateful for the information they have so kindly furnished.

[1] After reading the excellent article by the Rev. D. J. Davies, referred to on p. 38*, note, I fear that this test may be very fallacious, unless it is accompanied by an enumeration of those who habitually speak Welsh to one another in the playground, and at home to their parents.

APPENDIX III.

NEO-LATIN NAMES FOR "ARTICHOKE."

By H.I.H. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte.

The following list of Neo-Latin names for the Artichoke, similar to those which have already appeared in the "Philological Transactions" on the names of the Vine, Reptiles, and Juniper (1882–3–4, pp. 251, 312, and App. I.), originally appeared in the *Academy* for 15 March, 1884, but has been subsequently revised, corrected and augmented.

The Italian *carciofo*, pronounced[1] (kkartchó*fo*) and the French *artichaut* (artishó) may be considered, with very few exceptions,[2] as the two representatives of all the Neo-Latin names of the present list. *Carciofo*, as is generally admitted, is derived from the Arabic *harshaf*; while the Spanish *alcachofa* (alkachó*fa*) and other words analogous to it are derived from *al-harshaf*, or the same Arabic word preceded by the article. *Artichaut*, on the contrary, is derived from the Neo-Latin *articoctus*; while another Arabic synonym, *ardishauki*, is quite analogous to a second Low-Latin form, *articoccus*, to the Venetian *articioco* (artichó*ko*), the Milanese *articioch* (artichók), the Frioulan *ardiçhocc* (ardiçhók), and the Lower Engadine Romanese *artischoc* (artishók). I have said "Venetian" and not "Italian" *articioco*, because this word or *articiocco* (arttichó*ko*, arttichókk*o*), like *arciocco* (artchókk*o*), or Florio's *arciciocco* and *arcicioffo* (artchichókk*o*, artchichóff*o*), certainly does not belong to the Italian language, which only admits, contrary to the assertions of some lexicographers, *carciofo*, or the rural *carciofano* (kkartchó*fano*).

The Venetian *articioco* and all the words in which the first *c* (k) in *articoccus* is changed either into (sh) or (ch) must have come from France to Italy, and not *vice versa*, as the

[1] The notes 1, 2, 3, 4, being referred to in several places, are put together at the end.

Latin (k) would not have been changed, but must have remained under the forms (artikóko, artikók) in genuine Venetian and Milanese words, as happens in *ca* (ka) 'house,' *cossa* (kósa) 'thing,' from the Latin *cāsa* 'cottage,' *causa* 'cause.' (Artichóko), on the contrary, follows the French changes of *chez* (she) 'in' or 'to the house of,' and *chose* (shōz) 'thing,' also from the Latin *cāsa* and *causa*. The second *c* (k), however, in *articioco*, etc., is derived directly from the Low-Latin *cc* in *articoccus*; while the French, Niçard, and Mentonese second *t* in *artichaut* and *arcicotare* is derived from the *ct* of the previous *articoctus*, and this, as I think, from a still older *articactus*, three forms to be found in Du Cange as Low-Latin words, together with *articoccalus*, their synonym. Now, (1) although *cĭnāra* is the usual Latin word for 'artichoke,' yet the term *cactus* or *cactos* is also used by Pliny either in the sense of 'artichoke' or 'cardoon,' just the same as the Greek κάκτος of Theocritus, etc.; and (2) ἄρτι, when prefixed, very often means 'newly, just now, lately, new, recent,' etc., as in ἀρτιζυγία 'recent union,' from ἄρτι and ζεύγνυμι 'to couple,' ἀρτίζωος 'who has come into life but recently,' from ἄρτι and ζωή 'life,' etc., etc. Taking these points into consideration, we are induced to think that *articactus* may be explained by ἄρτι and *cactus*, quasi 'new' or 'recently evolved head of artichoke,' a meaning which the French *artichaut* possesses very often in its more limited acceptation, as a perfect synonym of *tête d'artichaut*.

Derivatives from *articoccus* or *articoctus* will be recognized generally by the change of the first *c* (k) into (sh, ch). Such words are followed by the figure 1. Derivatives from *harshaf* will present the change of (h) into (k), while (f) is generally permanent. The words of this group are followed by the figure 2. Derivatives from *al-harshaf* undergo the same changes as the preceding in their second element, while their first element, or the Arabic article *al*, is generally permanent, but is sometimes replaced by (es, ɔs, is, s). The words of this third group are followed by the figure 3. Here it ought to be remembered (1) that in Majorcan, *es* (ɔs) is one

of the masculine definite articles, and so is *es* (es) in the Ariégeois Gascon dialect; (2) that final (n*o*, n*ə*, n*a*, en) seem to point to an adjectival termination, as in the Italian *carciofano*, quasi 'cinara carciofina,' while final (l*o*, la, l*a*, l*e*, el, ul, ru) seem to be diminutive suffixes, as in the Roman *carciofolo*, the Mentonese *arcicotaro*, formed by metathesis, as well as the Niçard *arcicoto*, from (arkichó*t*aru, arkichó*t*o), etc., and analogous to *articoccalus*.

List of Names.

I. Italian, carciofo (kkartchófo) 2, *carciofano (kkartchófan*o*) 2; *Roman*, carciofolo (kkartchófo*l*o) 2; *Sassarese*, iscarzoffa (iχχarttsóffa) 3; *Neapolitan*, carcioffola (kkartchóffə*l*a) 2; *Abruzzese Ulteriore Primo*, carciofono (kkartchófən*ə*) 2; *Abruzzese Citeriore*, scarciofona (skartchofən*a*) 3; *Tarantino*, scarcioppola (skartchoppól) 3; *Sicilian*, cacocciula[3] (kkakótchula) 1; *Venetian*, articioco (artichóko) 1; *Veronese*, arzicioco (artsichóko) 1; *Bellunese*, articioch (artichók) 1, arzicioch (artsichók) 1; *Lingua Franca of Algiers*, carchouf (karshúf) 2.

II. Sardinian: *Logudorese*, iscarzoffa (iskarttsóffa) 3; *Cagliaritan*, canciofa (kkantchófa) 2.

III. Spanish, alcachofa (alkachófa) 3, *alcarchofa (alkarchófa) 3; *Murcian*,[2] alcaucil (alkauthíl), *alcaucí (alkauthí), *alcacil (alkathíl), *alcací (alkathí); *Andalusian*,[2] alcarcil (alkarthíl).

IV. Portuguese, alcachofra ('ə*l*kəshófrə) 3, *alcachofa ('ə*l*kəshófə) 3, *alcachofre ('ə*l*kəshófrə) 3.

V. Genoese, articiocca (artichókka) 1; *Mentonese*, arcicotaro (archikótaru) 1.

VI. Gallo-Italic, *generally*, articioch (artichók) 1; *Piedmontese of Piazza Armerina in Sicily*, caccociula[3] (kkakkóchula) 1; *Bresciano*, *artigioch (artijók) 1; *Bolognese*, carciofel (karchófel) 2; *Modenese*, carciofen (karchófen) 2, *scarciof (skarchóf) 3; *Reggiano*,[4] carcioffen (karchóffen) 2, articioch (artichók) 1; *Romagnuolo Faentino*, carciof (karchóf) 2, carcioful (karchóful) 2; *Romagnuolo Imolese*, scarciofel (skarchófel) 3; *Parmesan*, articioch (artichók) 1.

VII. FRIOULAN, ardiçhocc (ardiçhók) 1, artiçhocc (artiçhók) 1.

VIII. ROMANESE: *Oberland*, artitschoc (artichók) 1; *Lower Engadine*, artischoc (artishók) 1.

IX. OCCITANIAN, ?

X. CATALONIAN, carxofa (kərshófə) 2, *carchofa (kərchófə) 2, escarxofa (əskərshófə) 3; *Valencian*, carchofa (karchófa) 2; *Majorcan*, carxofa (kərshôfə) 2.

XI. MODERN OCCITANIAN: *Provençal*,[4] artichaou (artichâu, artitsâu) 1, arquichaou (arkichâu) 1, cachoflo (kachóflo) 2, cachofle (kachófle) 2, cachofe (kachófe) 2, carchofo (karchófo) 2, carchofe (karchófe) 2, carchocle (karchókle) 2; *Niçard*, arcicoto (archikóto) 1; *Languedocien*,[4] carchoflo (karchóflo) 2, carchofle (karchófle) 2, archichaou (archichâu) 1, escarchofo (eskarchófo) 3, escarchoflo (eskarchóflo) 3, escarjofo (eskarzhófo) 3, *escarjoso (eskarzhóso) 3; *Gascon*, artichaou (artishâu) 1; *Rouergois*, orchichaou (orchichâu) 1, ortichaou (ortichâu) 1, richichaou (richichâu) 1; *Limousin*, artijaou (artijau) 1.

XII. FRANCO-OCCITANIAN: artichaut (artishó, artichó, artitsó) 1.

XIII. ANCIENT FRENCH, ?

XIV. FRENCH, artichaut (artishó) 1; *Walloon*, articho (ārtishó) 1; *Rouchi*, artissiau (artisió) 1.

XV. WALLACHIAN,[2] anghinară (anginárə).

Two divisions of the above list of words are derived from the Arabic. It would appear, as I remarked in the *Academy* of 23 February, 1884, that *antimony* may also be derived from an Arabic source. The Arabic name for the sulphuret of antimony is, with the article, *al-ithmid*. If we suppose a metathesis of the vowel, it would become *al-thimid*, and thus be readily confused with another old Spanish alchemical word *alcimod*, also meaning 'antimony,' pronounced (althimód) with voiceless (th). The change of *d* into *n*, both alveolar sounds, particularly in such an un-Spanish termination as *-od*, is not surprising. The *th* might remain in (althimód) and become a *t* in *antimonio*, just as the *th* of another Arabic word *thagri* remains in Spanish *zegri*, pronounced (thégri), and becomes *t* in Spanish *tagarino*, meaning

"a Moor who lived among Christians, and by speaking their language well could scarcely be recognized." Even the confusion of the last *i* in *al-ithmid* with *ó* has an analogue in the Spanish *almohada* 'pillow,' from the Arabic *al-mikhadda*. The unfamiliar initial *alti-* would readily give place to the familiar *anti*, and this might have assisted the nasalization of *d* into *n*. Another Spanish synonym for antimony is *alcohol*, Arabic *al-kohl*, either the same mineral, or sulphuret of lead (Dozy), and never meaning 'rectified spirit of wine.' Antiquated Spanish forms of this word are *alcofol* (in Catalonian *alcofoll*), *cohol*, *coholl*. This change of *h* into *f* is noteworthy in reference to the modern Spanish change of *f* into *h*, as *hijo*, *hierro*, from *filius*, *ferrum*.

[1] Words between brackets are written phonetically according to the following conventional symbols, and only words so written are to be taken into consideration in all I have said about their changes, derivations, etc. SYMBOLS: 1, a = *a* in *father*; 2, *a* = *a* in *fat*; 3, A = *a* in *all*; 4, e = *e* in *bed*; 5, *é* = French *é*; 6, ə = *u* in *but*; 7, *ə* = French *e* in *cheval* 'horse'; 8, 'ə = guttural Portuguese *a* in *mal* 'evil'; 9, i = *e* in *me*; 10, o = French *o* in *or* 'gold'; 11, *o* = French *o* in *mot* 'word'; 12, u = *oo* in *fool*; 13, ch = Italian *ci* in *cacio* 'cheese'; 14, tch = Italian *cci* in *caccio* 'I drive away'; 15, çh = Romanese *tg* in *tgi* 'who'; 16, d = French *d*; 17, f = *f* in *foe*; 18, ff = Italian *ff*; 19, g = *g* in *go*; 20 h = *h* in *horse*; 21, j = Italian *gi* in *agio* 'ease'; 22, k = *k* in *cook*; 23, kk = Italian *cc* in *bocca* 'mouth'; 24, χ = German *ch* in *nacht* 'night;' 25, χχ = the same, but stronger; 26, l = French *l*; 27, *l* = Portuguese *l* in *alma* 'soul'; 28, n = French *n* in *nez* 'nose'; 29, *n* = *ng* in *singer*; 30, p = *p* in *pea*; 31, pp = Italian *pp*; 32, r = *r* in *marine*; 33, s = *s* in *so*; 34, sh = *sh* in *she*; 35, t = French *t*; 36, tt = Italian *tt*; 37, th = *th* in *think*; 38, *th* = *th* in *the*; 39, ts = Italian *z* in *la zappa* 'the mattock'; 40, tts = Italian *zz* in *pazzo* 'mad'; 41, z = *z* in *zeal*; 42, zh = *s* in *pleasure*.——(') = accent; (¯) = long quantity; (˘) = *id.* with accent.——(*) precedes archaic, obsolete, or uncommon words.

[2] The Murcian and Andalusian names for 'artichoke' are derived from the Arabic *al-cabcíl* 'chard good to eat' according to P. de Alcala (*see* Dozy's *Glossaire*, etc., p. 89 of the second edition); and the Wallachian name is nothing else than the Modern-Greek ἀγγινάρα (anginára), derived from the Greek κινάρα, Latin *cĭnăra*, Tosk Albanian χινάρδ (hinárth), but *articioc* (artichók) 1 in the Albanian of Scutari.

[3] *Cacocciula* and *caccociula*, both used in Sicily, seem to be nothing else than the diminutive forms of κάκτος, an original Greek word of Sicily as well. Compare Italian *figlia* 'daughter,' *figlioccia* 'god-daughter;' *goccia* 'drop,' *gocciola* 'small drop,' etc.; and, for the change of κτ of κάκτος into *tt* of Sicilian *cattu* 'cactus' (English), and of *tt* of *cattu*, or of the guttural into the dental, compare also *ghiaccio* and *diaccio* 'ice,' *schiavo* and *stiavo* 'slave,' *mosto* and *mos'o* (Mirandolese) 'must.'

[4] The words of this List which are in use in Italy on the north of Reggio of Modena, and in France on the north of the Cevennes, are all derived from the Low-Latin *articoccus* or *articoctus*, although derivatives from the Arabic *harshaf* or *al-harshaf* may also occur in the Reggiano, Provençal, and Languedocien dialects together with the Low-Latin derivatives. On the south of Reggio, on the contrary, with the exception of *cacocciula* and *caccociula*, as well as on the south of Bayonne and in the whole Spanish peninsula, all the names for 'artichoke' show an Arabic origin.

APPENDIX IV.

A WORD-LIST ILLUSTRATING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF MODERN ENGLISH WITH ANGLO-FRENCH VOWEL-SOUNDS.

By B. M. SKEAT.[1]

THE following lists of words are taken from a collection made by my father under the title of "English Words found in Anglo-French." In his preface to this work, it is stated that the modern spelling of English words, whether of native origin, or borrowed from the French, is mainly due to French usage. The lists given below are an attempt to show that the modern pronunciation of the vowels in English words borrowed from the French has a certain correspondence with that of the Norman French, and, with few exceptions, follows regular laws. Even with regard to these exceptions, it is possible that one who had studied Phonology carefully might find them due to certain influences, such as a nasal or liquid following, which have modified the original pronunciation. To show how the Old French vowel has passed into the modern English sound, I have given side by side the Anglo-French word, the Middle English form, and the Modern English, together with the *approximate* pronunciation of the latter. The Phonetic notation is that employed by Mr. Sweet in his "History of English Sounds." The lists are arranged as far as possible in the order of the French vowel and the consonant following it. The lines mark off a difference in the English pronunciation. The Alphabetical Index at the end has been added to facilitate reference to the tables. The greater part of this was written out for me by a friend.

[1] This paper has also been published by the English Dialect Society.

Summary of Results.—Vowels.

The following is a summary of the results obtained from the examples given in this collection.

1. **a** (short). The French ă corresponds to the English ă (æ) as:

F. abbeie, M.E. abbeie, E. abbey (æbi): *except* when followed by l, m, n, r, s.

al. These follow the above rule, except:

F. alblastre, M.E. alblast, E. arblast (aarblast), and 3 others (p. 61*).

F. alter, M.E. alter, E. altar (òòltər) and 5 others.

F. malencolye, M.E. malencolie, E. melancholy (melən-coli). This word has been purposely altered in consequence of a knowledge of the Greek spelling.

am. These follow the above rule, except:

F. ensample, M.E. ensample, E. sample (saampəl).

an. These follow the above rule, except:

F. avancer, M.E. avancen,[1] E. advance (ædvaans), and 10 others (p. 62*).

F. danter, M.E. danten, E. daunt (dòònt), and 2 others.

F. manace, M.E. manace, E. menace (menes). The same change took place in French, even in the 12th century (Littré).

ar. These follow the above rule, except:

F. apparaill, M.E. aparail, E. apparel (æpærel), and 14 others (p. 63*).

F. agard, M.E. agard, E. award (əwòòd)[2] and 4 others (p. 64*).

F. garenne, M.E. warenne, E. warren (wòren),[2] and 2 others.

F. desclarer, M.E. declaren, E. declare (dicléər), and 3 others.

F. darce, M.E. darce, E. dace (déis).

[1] As it is hardly possible to give all the variations of the M.E. spelling, a typical form, resembling the French, has been chosen. But the spelling *aun* for *an* is extremely common, both in French and English.—W.W.S.

[2] The sound of ò or òò is due to the preceding *w*; see p. 49*, note 2.—W.W.S.

as. These follow the above rule, except:

F. basme, M.E. basme, E. balm (baam), and 5 others.

2. a (long). The French ā corresponds to the English ā (éi), as:

F. fable, M.E. fable, E. fable (féibl), p. 65*.

3. e (short). The French ĕ usually corresponds to the English ĕ (e), as:

F. treble, M.E. treble, E. treble (trebl), p. 67*.

er will be treated of separately below.

Exceptions: (a) The French ĕ sometimes becomes the English ĭ.

F. abregger, M.E. abreggen, E. abridge (əbrij), p. 67*.

F. pelerin, M.E. pilgrim, E. pilgrim (pilgrim).

F. amenuser, M.E. amenusen, E. minish (minish) and 3 others, p. 69*.

F. trepet, M.E. trevet, E. trivet (trivet).

F. descord, M.E. discord, E. discord (discòòd), and 5 others, p. 70*.

(b) The French ĕ sometimes (before *m* and *n*) becomes the English ă (æ).

F. emboscher, M.E. enbuschen, E. ambush (æmbush), p. 68*.

F. estendard, M.E. standard, E. standard (stændəəd).

F. renc, M.E. renk, E. rank (rænk).

(c) Note also French ĕ becoming Eng. ee (ii) and ā (éi).

F. appel, M.E. apel, apeel, E. appeal (əpiil), p. 67*.[1]

F. nette, M.E. net (?), E. neat (niit), p. 70*.

F. arenger, M.E. arengen, E. arrange (əréinj), p. 69*.

F. abesser, M.E. abessen, E. abase (əbéis), p. 70*.

4. e (long). The French ē corresponds to the English ē (ii), as:

F. decre, M.E. decree, E. decree (decrii), p. 71*.

Except F. arrener, M.E. arenen, arainen, E. arraign (əréin), and 5 others, p. 72*.

F. leonesse, M.E. leonesse, E. lioness (laiənes), and 2 others.

[1] This is the clue to the etymology of E. *peel*, a small castle. Just as E. *appeal* answers to F. *appel*, so E. *peel* is from O.F. *pel*, a castle.—W.W.S.

5. **er.** The French **er** corresponds to the English er (əə), as:

F. herbe, M.E. herbe, E. herb (həəb), p. 72*.

Exceptions. F. clerk, M.E. clerk, E. clerk (claac), and 8 others, p. 73*.[1]

F. arere, M.E. arere, E. arrear (əriir), and 7 others.

F. beril, M.E. beril, E. beryl (beril), and 4 others.

(Note that in these 5 examples r is *followed* by short i.)

F. ferrour, M.E. ferrour, E. farrier (færiər).

F. querele, M.E. querele, E. quarrel (quorəl).[2]

F. frere, M.E. frere, E. friar (fraiər).

6. **i** (short). The French ĭ corresponds to the English ĭ (i), as:

F. tribute, M.E. tribute, E. tribute (tribyut), p. 74*.

Exceptions. F. tricherye, M.E. tricherie, E. treachery (trechəri).

F. cimitere, M.E. cimitere, E. cemetery (semetəri).

F. virgine, M.E. virgine, E. virgin (vərjin).

7. **i** (long). The French ī corresponds to the English ī (ai), as:

F. affiaunce, M.E. affiaunce, E. affiance (əfaiəns), p. 75*.

Exceptions. F. fige, M.E. fige, E. fig (fig), p. 76*.

F. chemise, M.E. chemise, E. chemise (shemiiz, shimiiz), and 2 others, p. 77*.

8. **o** (short). The French ŏ corresponds to the English ŏ (o), as:

F. obsequies, M.E. obsequies, E. obsequies (obsequiz), p. 77*.

or will be treated of separately below.

Exceptions. In several cases the French o becomes Eng. u (ə).

F. robous, M.E. robous, E. rubbish (rəbish), and 27 others, p. 79*.

F. bocher, M.E. bocher, E. butcher (buchər).

[1] See my article on the pronunciation of *er* as *ar* in N. & Q. 6 S. iii. 4.—W.W.S.

[2] The vowel-change in this word is due to the *w*-sound in the preceding *qu*. Similarly, *war*, *warble*, *warm*, *warn*, *warp* are pronounced (wor, worbl, worm, worn, worp). Similarly, *wo* is sounded as *wu*; as in *word*, *work*, *worm*, *worse*, *wort*.—W.W.S.

Note also F. conseil, M.E. conseil,[1] E. counsel (caunsel), and 6 others.

F. acoster, M.E. acosten, E. accost (æcòòst), p. 80*.

6. or. The French or corresponds to the English or (òò), as:

F. divorce, M.E. divorce, E. divorce (divòòs), p. 78*.

Exceptions. F. coruner, M.E. coroner, E. coroner (coroner), and 2 others.

F. ajorner, M.E. ajornen, E. adjourn (ædjeen), and 8 others.

F. morine, M.E. moraine, E. murrain (meren).

7. o (long). The French ō corresponds to the English o (ou), as:

F. noble, M.E. noble, E. noble (nóubl), p. 80*.

Exceptions. F. bote, M.E. bote, E. boot (buut), and 6 others.

F. clostre, M.E. cloistre, E. cloister (cloister).

F. trofle, M.E. trofle, trufle, E. trifle (traifl).

8. u (short). The French ŭ corresponds to the English ŭ (ə), as:

F. subgit, M.E. subget, E. subject (səbject), p. 81*.

Exceptions. F. zucre, M.E. sucre, E. sugar (shugər), and 4 others.

F. blund, M.E. blond, E. blonde (blond), and 2 others.

F. cust, coust, M.E. cost, E. cost (còòst).

F. rubain, M.E. ruban, riban, E. ribbon (ribən), and F. butor, M.E. bitoure, E. bittern (bitəən).

9. u (long). The French ū corresponds to the English ū (uu), as:

F. acru, M.E. acrue, E. accrued (æcruud), p. 83*.

In many cases the French u becomes the English ou, ow, as:

F. cuard, M.E. couard, E. coward (cauərd), and 22 others.

Exception. F. ruele, M.E. rouel, E. rowel (róuel).

[1] As the M.E. *an* often appears as *aun* (p. 47*, note 1), so M.E. *on* often appears as *oun*. This is particularly common in the suffix *-ion*, which is commonly spelt *-ioun*.—W.W.S.

Diphthongs.

13. **ai, ay; ae, ao.** The French ai, ay, ae, ao, correspond to the English ai or ay, ao, as:
F. arayer, M.E. arayen, E. array (əréi), p. 84*.
Exceptions. F. alaye, M.E. alaye, E. alloy (əloi), p. 84*; and E. exploit, p. 85*.
F. kaie, M.E. quay, E. quay (kii), and 2 others.
F. paisant, E. peasant (pesənt).
F. taille, M.E. taille, E. tally (tæli); and 1 other.

14. **au.** The French au corresponds to the English au (òò), as:
F. auditor, M.E. auditour, E. auditor (òòditər), p. 85*.
Exceptions. F. lavender, M.E. lavender, E. laundress[1] (laandress).
F. gaugeour, M.E. gaugeour, E. gauger (géijer), and 4 others, p. 86*.
F. raumper, M.E. rampen, E. ramp (ræmp), and 5 others.
F. aunte, M.E. aunte, E. aunt (aant), and 7 others.

15. **ea.** The French ea corresponds to the English ea (ii), as:
F. seal, M.E. seel, E. seal (siil), and 4 others, p. 86*.
Exception. F. realme, M.E. realme, E. realm (relm).

16. **ee.** The French ee corresponds to the English ee (ii), as:
F. degree, M.E. degree, E. degree (degrii), p. 86*.

17. **ei, ey.** The French ei, ey, correspond to the English ai or ay (éi), as:
F. affrei, M.E. afray, E. affray (əfréi), p. 87*.
Exceptions. F. eise, M.E. eise, E. ease[3] (iis).
F. meynour, E. mainour, *later* manner (in law); pronounced (mænər), p. 87*.
F. deceit, M.E. deceit, E. deceit[3] (desiit), and 4 others.
F. leisir, M.E. leisir, E. leisure[3] (lezhər), and 1 other, viz. E. pleasure, p. 88*.
F. cheys, M.E. chois, E. choice (chois), and 2 others.

[1] This sound is clearly due to the loss of *v*.—W.W.S.
[2] See p. 47*, note 1.
[3] *Ease* and *deceit* were formerly (and are still provincially) pron unced (éiz, diséit), uniformly with *affray*. For (lezhər), the pronunciation (liizhər) is sometimes heard.—W.W.S.

F. people, M.E. people, peple, E. people[1] (piipl).
The French eir corresponds to the English air (eir), as:
F. despeir, M.E. despeir, E. despair (despeir), p. 87*.
Exception. F. veirdit, M.E. verdit, E. verdict (vərdict), p. 88*.

18. eu. The French eu corresponds to the English eu, ew (iu), as:
F. ewere, M.E. ewere, E. ewer (iuer), p. 88*.
Exception. F. feun,[2] M.E. fawn, E. fawn (fòòn).
The French eur corresponds to the English ur (uur), as:
F. seurte, M.E. seurte, E. surety (shuurti), and 1 other.

19. ie. The French ie corresponds to the English ie (ii), as:
F. niece, M.E. nece, neice, E. niece (niis), p. 88*.

20. iew. The French iew corresponds to the English iew, as:
F. view, M.E. vew, E. view (viuu), p. 88*.

oe. The French oe corresponds to the E. u in the word *utas* (iuutæs). For other examples, see p. 89*.

21. oi, oy. The French oi, oy, correspond to the English oi, oy (oi), as:
F. coy, M.E. coy, E. coy (coi), p. 89*.
Exceptions. F. joial, juel, M.E. jowel, E. jewel (jiuel).
F. coilte, cuilte, M.E. quilt, E. quilt (cwilt).
F. coiller, M.E. cullen, E. cull (cəl).
F. oynoun, M.E. oinoun, E. onion (əniən).

22. ou, ow. The French ou, ow, correspond to the English ou, ow (au), as:
F. alower, M.E. alouen, E. allow (əlau), p. 90*.
Exceptions. F. toumbe, M.E. toumbe, E. tomb (tuum).
F. double, M.E. double, E. double (dəbl), and 4 others.
F. cours, M.E. cours, E. course (còòrs), and 3 others (though *enfourmer* should rather be *enformer*).
F. cloue, M.E. cloue, clowe, E. clove (clóuv),[3] and 3 others.

[1] This curious word retains the spelling with *eo*, which was meant to indicate the sound of F. *eu* in the Mod. F. *peuple*. This sound was lost and supplanted by long *e*, formerly pronounced (ëi), but now (ii).—W.W.S.

[2] But the better O.F. spelling is *faon*, which becomes E. *fawn* regularly.—W.W.S.

[3] In this difficult word it would appear that the *u*, being written between two

23. **ua.** The French ua corresponds to the English ua (wéi), as:

F. assuager, M.E. assuagen, E. assuage (æswéij), p. 90*.

In this, the sole example, it seems that the *u* has become *w*, and the *a* has become (éi) regularly, as *age*, p. 65*.

24. **ui.** The French ui corresponds to the English oi, oy (oi), as:

F. destruire, M.E. destruien, E. destroy (destroi), p. 91*.

Exception. F. pui, M.E. pew, E. pew (piu).

There is an interesting article on French Phonology by Mr. Nicol, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, pages 629-636, under the heading *France*. As the information there given is very valuable in connection with this subject, I give the following epitome, beginning from page 632.

Old French orthography was phonetic; writers aimed at representing the sounds they used, not at using a fixed combination of letters for each word.

French and Provençal of the tenth century *agree* in treatment of Latin final consonants and the vowels preceding them. They agree in changing the Latin *ū* from a labio-guttural to a labio-palatal vowel. Compare the *French* lune, *Provençal* luna, with *Italian* luna.

French of this period *differs* from Provençal—

(1) In absorbing, rejecting or consonantizing the unaccented vowel of the last syllable but one. *F.* esclandre, *Prov.* escandol, from *L.* scandalum.

(2) It changes an accented *a*, not in position, into *ai* before nasals and gutturals, and not after a palatal, and elsewhere into *é* (*West F.*) or *ei* (*East F.*), which developes an *i* before it when preceded by a palatal. *F.* main (manum), *Prov.* man; ele (alam), *East F.* eile, *Prov.* ala; *O.F.* meitié (*L.* medietatem), *Prov.* meitat.

(3) It changes the unaccented *a* in a final syllable into *ə*, usually written *e*. *F.* aime (amā), *Prov.* ama.

vowels, was actually mistaken for *v* and so pronounced. Conversely, M.E. *pouer* (really *porer*) was read with *u*, and has become *poor*, though *poverty* is preserved.—W.W.S.

(4) It changes an original *au* into *ò*. *F.* or (aurum), *Prov.* aur; *F.* rober (*O.H.G.* raubón), *Prov.* rauber (*E.* rob).

(5) It changes the general Romanic *é* into *ei*. *F.* veine (venam), *Prov.* vena; *F.* peil (pilum), *Prov.* pel.

SOUND-CHANGES.

Latin **c**. *Northern French* often has *tsh* (written *ch*) for *Parisian c*, and conversely *c* for *Parisian ch*. Hence *E.* chisel (*F.* ciseau, *Lat.* cæsellum?); and *E.* catch, *Northern F.* cachier (captiare), *Parisian* chacier. The last of these gave *E.* chase.

Teut. **w**. *The initial Teutonic w* is retained in the north-east and along the north coast; elsewhere *g* is prefixed. *Picard* warde, werre. *Parisian* guarde, guerre. *English* shows both forms, ward and guard.

In the twelfth century the *u* of *gu* dropped, giving *Mod. French* garde, guerre (with *gu*=*g*).

Lat. **a**. For the *Latin accented a not in position*, West French has *é*, East French *ei*, both taking *i* before them when a palatal precedes. *Norman* and *Parisian* per (parem), oiez (audiatis), *Lorraine* peir, oieis. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the close *é* changed to the open *è*, except when final, or before a silent consonant; *F.* amer (amarum) now having *è*, aimer (amare) retaining *é*.

English shows the Western close *é*; as: peer, *Mod. F.* pair, *Old F.* per; chief, *Mod. F.* chef, *Lat.* caput.

Lat. **e**. *Latin accented e*, not in position, when it came to be followed in Old French by *i*, unites with this to form *i* in the Western dialects, while the Eastern have *ei*.

Picard, *Norman*, *Parisian* pire (pejor), piz (pectus); *Burgundian* peire, peiz. This distinction is still preserved.

English words show always *i*; price (prix, pretium), spite (dépit, despectum).

NASALIZATION of vowels followed by a nasal consonant did not take place simultaneously with all vowels. *A* and *e* before *m* or *n*, or a guttural and palatal *n*, were nasal in the eleventh century. The nasalization of *i* and *u* (*Modern F.* u) did not take place till the sixteenth century. In all cases, the loss of the following nasal consonant is quite modern. It took place whether the nasal consonant was or was not followed by a vowel, *femme* and *honneur* being pronounced with nasal vowels in the first syllable till after the sixteenth century.

English generally has *au* (now often reduced to *a*) for the Old French *â*—vaunt (vanter, vanitare), tawny (tanné, *of Celtic origin.*

F. e. ASSIMILATION OF THE NASAL *e* TO NASAL *a* did not begin till the middle of the eleventh century, and is not yet universal in France, though it became general a century later. In the Roland there are several cases of mixture in the assonances *ant* and *ent*.

English has several words with *a* for *e* before nasals—rank (rang, *Old F.* renc, *Teut.* hringa); pansy (pensée, pensatum); but the majority show *e*—enter (entrer, intrare), fleam (flamme, *Old F.* fleme, phlebotomum). This distinction is still preserved in the Norman of Guernsey, where *an* and *en*, though both nasal, have different sounds.

F. ai. CHANGE OF THE DIPHTHONG *ai* TO *èi* and afterwards to *èè* (the doubling indicates length) had not taken place in the earliest French documents, the words with *ai* assonating only on words with *a*. Before nasals (as in laine, lanam) and *ie* (as in payé, pacatum), *ai* remained a diphthong up to the 16th century, being apparently *ei*, whose fate in this situation it has followed. *English* shows *ai* regularly before nasals and when final, and in a few other words—vain (vain, vanum), pay (payer, pacare), wait (guetter, *Teut.* wahten); but before most consonants it has usually *èè*—peace (pais, pacem), feat (fait, factum).

F. i. LOSS OR TRANSPOSITION OF *i* (=y-consonant) following

the consonant ending an accented syllable begins in the twelfth century. *Early Old F.* glorie (gloriam), estudie (studium), olie (oleum), *Mod. F.* gloire, étude, huile. *English* sometimes shows the earlier form—glory, study; sometimes the later—dower (douaire, *Early Old F.* doarie, dotarium), oil (huile, oleum).

l. THE VOCALIZATION OF *l* preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant becomes frequent at the end of the twelfth century. When preceded by open *è*, an *a* is developed before *l* while yet a consonant: eleventh century salse (salsa), beltet (bellitatem), solder (solidare); *Mod. F.* sauce, beauté, souder. In Parisian, the final *el* followed the fate of *el* before a consonant, becoming the triphthong *eau;* but in Norman the vocalization did not take place, and *l* was afterwards rejected. *Mod. F.* ruisseau, *Guernsey* russé (rivicellum).

English words of French origin sometimes show *l* before a consonant, but the general form is *u*; scald (échauder, excalidare); Walter (Gautier, *Teut.* Waldhari); sauce, beauty, soder (usually written solder).

The final *el* is kept; veal (veau, *O.F.* veel, vitellum), seal (sceau, *O.F.* seel, sigillum).

F. ei. In the East and Centre, *ei* changes to *oi*, while the older sound is retained in the North-West and West. *Norman* estreit (étroit, strictum), preie (proie, praedam); twelfth century *Picard* and *Parisian* estroit, proie.

The Parisian *oi*, whether from *ei* or the *Old F. oi*, became in the fifteenth century *ue* (mirouer=miroir, miratorium), and in the sixteenth, in certain words, *e*, now written *ai*; français, connaître, from francois (franceis, franciscum), conoistre (conuistre, cognoscere).

Where it did not undergo the latter change, it is now *ua* or *wa*—roi (rei, regem), croix (cruis, crucem). Before nasals and palatal *l*, *ei* was kept—veine (vena), veille (vigila), and everywhere survives unlabialized in Mod. Norman: *Guernsey* ételle (étoile, stella).

English shows generally *ei* or *ai* for original *ei*—strait (estreit), prey (preie): but in several words has the

later Parisian *oi* — coy (coi, quietum), loyal (loyal, legalem).

Lat. o or u. THE SPLITTING OF THE VOWEL-SOUND from an accented Latin *o* or *u* not in position (reproduced in Old French by *o* and *u* indifferently), into *u*, *o* (before nasals) and *eu* (the latter first a diphthong, now=G. ö), is unknown to Western French till the twelfth century, and not general in Eastern.

The sound in the eleventh century Norman was nearer *u* (F. *ou*) than *o* (F. *ó*), as words borrowed by English show *uu* (at first *u*, then *ou* or *ow*), never *óó*; but was probably not quite *u*, as Mod. Norman shows the same splitting of sound as Parisian. *Old F.* espose, espuse (sponsam), nom, num (nomen), flor, flur (florem), *F.* épouse, nom, fleur. *English* shows almost always *uu*; spouse, noun, flower (*Early Mid. Eng.* spuse, nun, flur): but nephew with *eu* (neveu, nepotem).

F. qu. LOSS OF *u* OR *w* FROM *qu* dates from the end of the twelfth century. *Old F.* quart (quartum), quitier (quietare), with *qu=kw*. *Mod. F.* quart, quitter, with *qu=k*. In *Walloon*, the *w* is preserved, couâr, cuitter; as is the case in the *English* quart, quit.

F. gu. The *w* of *gw* seems to have been lost earlier, *English* having simple *g*—gage (gage, *older* guage, *Teut.* wadi), guise (guise, *Teut.* wisa).

F. ou. THE CHANGE OF THE DIPHTHONG *òu* TO *uu* did not take place till after the twelfth century, and did not occur in Picardy, where *òu* became *au*,—caus, from the older cous, cols (cous, collos).

English keeps *òu* distinct from *uu*; vault, for vaut (*F.* voûte, volvitam), soder (souder, solidare).

F. ie. THE CHANGE OF THE DIPHTHONG *ié* TO SIMPLE *é* is specially Anglo-Norman. In Old French of the Continent these sounds never rhyme, in English they constantly do; and *English* shows, with rare exceptions, the simple vowel—fierce (*Old F.* fiers, ferus), chief (chief, caput), with *ie=ee*; but pannier (panier, panarium).

At the beginning of the modern period, Parisian

dropped the *i* of *ie*, when preceded by *ch* or *j*—chef, abréger (*Old F.* abregier, abbreviare); elsewhere, except in verbs, *ie* is retained—fier (ferum), pitié (pietatem).

F. au. In the sixteenth century, *au* changed to *ao*, then to *ó*, its present sound, rendering maux (*Old F.* mals, malos), identical with mots (muttos).

au of *eau* underwent the same change, but its *e* was still sounded as *ə* (e in que); in the next century this was dropped, making veaux (*Old F.* vëels, vitellos), identical with vaux (vals, valles).

A still later change is the GENERAL LOSS OF THE VOWEL (written *e*) OF UNACCENTED FINAL SYLLABLES. This vowel preserved in the sixteenth century the sound *ə*, which it appears to have had in Early Old French. In later Anglo-Norman, the final *ə* (like every other sound) was treated exactly as the same sound in Middle English, *i.e.* it came to be omitted or retained at pleasure, and in the fifteenth century disappeared. In Old French the loss of the final *ə* was confined to a *few* words and forms. In the fifteenth century *ə* before a vowel *generally* disappears; and in the sixteenth century, *ə* after an unaccented vowel and in the syllable *ent* after a vowel, does the same. Avoient had two syllables, as now (avaient), but in Old French three syllables (as *L.* habebant). These phenomena occur much earlier in the Anglicized French of England—fourteenth century aveynt (*Old F.* aveient). But the *universal* loss of the final *e* did not take place in French till the eighteenth century, after the general loss of final consonants.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

All combinations of vowel-letters represented diphthongs. Thus *ai*=*a* followed by *i*; *ou*=*óu* or *òu*; *ui*=either *ói* (Anglo-Norman *ui*), or *yi*; and similarly with the others—*ei*, *eu*, *oi*, *iu*, *ie*, *ue*, (*œ*), and the triphthong *ieu*.

The dropping of silent *s*, the distinction of close and open *e* by acute and grave accents, and the restriction of *i* and *u* to vowel-sounds, and of *j* and *v* to consonant-sounds, are due to the sixteenth century.

The replacement of *oi*, where it had assumed the value *è*, by *ai*, did not begin till the last century, and was not the rule till the present one.

Since the sixteenth century, changes in French spelling have been very small. Modern French is as unphonetic as English, and has even lost some characteristics of the old language which English has preserved. Indeed, English preserves many features of French orthography, such as the use of *c* for the sound of *s*, of *j* (*i*) for the sound *dzh*, of *v* (*u*) for *v* (which was written *f* in A.S.), of *ch* for *tsh*, *w* for the runic letter having the same value, and of *qu* for *cw*.

In Norman, the Old French *ó* had become very like *u*, and in *English* went entirely into it; *o*, which was one of its French signs, then came to be often used for *u* in English—(come for cume).

U having often in Old French its Modern French value, was so used in *English*, and replaced the Old English (A. S.) *y* (busy for bysi, M. E. brud for brȳd); and *y* was often used for *i* (day for dai).

In the thirteenth century, when *ou* had come to represent *u* in France, it was borrowed by *English*, and used for the long sound of that vowel (sour for sūr); and *gu*, which had come to mean simply *g* hard, was occasionally used to represent the sound *g* before *i* and *e* (guess for gesse).

Some of the early modern etymological spellings were imitated in English, as in the words phlegm, author.

Mr. Nicol has also contributed the following valuable articles to the Philological Society's Transactions. On the diphthong *au*, Transactions for 1877–9, p. 562; on some points in Early English pronunciation, p. vi (of the same volume); on some English derivations, p. xii (of the same); on Middle-English Orthography, p. ix; on Old French Labial Vowels, Transactions for 1873–4, p. 77.

There is an article by Mr. J. Payne, on The Norman Element in the spoken and written English of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and in our Provincial Dialects, in the Transactions for 1868–9, pp. 352—449.

Some remarks upon this article will be found in Mr. A. J. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, p. 438. Mr. Ellis has also investigated the pronunciation of the Norman-French *ai* and *ei* in the same work, pp. 450—459; with some remarks upon Norman and English rhymes, pp. 460—466.

For frequent aid throughout this little work I am especially indebted to my father, at whose suggestion I first undertook it, and without whose aid I could not have completed it.

Anglo-French Vowels.

ab—ak.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
abbeie	abbeie	*abbey*	æbi	
abbesse	abbesse	*abbess*	æbes	
gaber	gabben	*gab*	gæb	
habit	habit	*habit*	hæbit	4
action	action	*action*	æcshən	
detractiun	detraction	*detraction*	ditræcshən	
sac	sak	*sack*	sæc	
sacrifise	sacrifise	*sacrifice*	sæcrifais	8
attacher	attachen	*attach*	ætæch	
bacheler	bacheler	*bachelor*	bæchilər	
adamant	adamant	*adamant*	ædəmænt	
advent	advent	*advent*	ædvənt	12
adversarie	adversarie	*adversary*	ædvərsəri	
saffran	saffran	*saffron*	sæfrən	
agates	agate	*agate*	æget	
dragun	dragoun	*dragon*	drægən	16
majeste	majeste	*majesty*	mæjesti	
hakeney	hakeney	*hackney*	hæcni	
makerel	makerel	*mackerel*	mæcərəl	

al.

allegorie	allegorie	*allegory*	ælegori	20
alom	alom	*alum*	æləm	
balaunce	balaunce	*balance*	bæləns	
chalenge	chalenge	*challenge*	chælenj	
chalice	chalice	*chalice*	chælis	24
galie	galie	*galley*	gæli	
galoper	galopen	*gallop*	gæləp	
galoun	galoun	*gallon*	gælən	
maladie	maladie	*malady*	mælədi	28
malice	malice	*malice*	mælis	
mallard	mallard	*mallard*	mælərd	
paleis	paleis	*palace*	pæles	
talent	talent	*talent*	tælənt	32
taloun	taloun	*talon*	tælən	

al (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
vallee	valeie	*valley*	væli	
valour	valour	*valour*	vælər	
value	value	*value*	vælyu	36
alblastre	alblast	*arblast*	aarblast	
alemaunde	alemaunde	*almond*	aaməmd	
palme	palme	*palm*	paam	
palmer	palmer	*palmer*	paamər	40
alter	alter	*altar*	òòltər	
assalt	assalt	*assault*	əsòòlt	
defalte	defalte	*default*	defòòlt	
falcoun	faucoun	*falcon*	fòòcən	44
fals	fals	*false*	fòòls	
palfrey	palfrey	*palfrey*	pòòlfri	
malencolye	malencolie	*melancholy*	meləncoli	

am.

champion	champion	*champion*	chæmpiən	48
clamour	clamour	*clamour*	clæmər	
damage	damage	*damage*	dæmej	
damoysele	damoisel	*damsel*	dæmzəl	
examiner	examinen	*examine*	exæmin	52
gramaire	gramaire	*grammar*	græmər	
hamelet	hamelet	*hamlet*	hæmlet	
lampe	lampe	*lamp*	læmp	
lamprey	lamprey	*lamprey*	læmpri	56
ensample	ensample	*sample*	saampəl	

an.

abandoner	abandonen	*abandon*	əbændən	
ancestre	ancestre	*ancestor*	ænsestər	
anguisse	anguise	*anguish*	æŋgwish	60
anys	anis	*anise*	ænis	
ban	ban	*ban*	bæn	
banere	banere	*banner*	bænər	
bani (*pp.*)	banishen	*banish*	bænish	64
blanc	blank	*blank*	blænc	
blandir	blandisen	*blandish*	blændish	
blanket	blanket	*blanket*	blæncet	
brand	brand	*brand* (sword)	brænd	68
canevace	canevas	*canvas*	cænvəs	
chanel	chanel	*channel*	chænəl	

an (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
franchise	franchise	*franchise*	frænchaiz	
gangle (*s.*)	jangle	*jangle*	jængl	72
langage	langage	*language*	længwij	
langour	langour	*languor*	længer	
manere	manere	*manner*	mænər	
mansion	mansion	*mansion*	mænshən	76
mantel	mantel	*mantle*	mæntl	
pan	pan	*pan*	pæn	
panetrie	panetrie	*pantry*	pæntri	
planete	planete	*planet*	plænet	80
rancler (*v.*)	ranclen	*rankle*	rænel	
tannour	tannour	*tanner*	tænər	
vanite	vanite	*vanity*	væniti	
avancer	avancen	*advance*	ædvaans	84
avantage	avantage	*advantage*	ædvaantej	
chancerie	chancerie	*chancery*	chaanseri	
comand (*s.*)	comand	*command*	cəmaand	
dance (*s.*)	dance, daunce	*dance*	daans	88
demand (*s.*)	demand	*demand*	demaand	
enchantier	enchanten	*enchant*	enchaant	
enhancer	enhancen	*enhance*	enhaans	
grant (*s.*)	grant	*grant*	graant	92
lance	lance	*lance*	laans	
transe	transe	*trance*	traans	
danter	danten, daunten	*daunt*	dòònt	
espandre	spaunen	*spawn*	spòòn	96
vanter	(a)vaunten	*vaunt*	vòònt	
manace	manace	*menace*	menəs	

ap.

baptesme	baptem	*baptism*	bæptizm	
cappe	cappe	*cap*	cæp	100
chapele	chapele	*chapel*	chæpl	
chapelein	chapelein	*chaplain*	chæplen	
chapitre	chapitre	*chapter*	chæptər	

ar.

arc	arc	*arc*	aac	104
archer	archer	*archer*	aachər	
armer (*v.*)	armen	*arm*	aam	
armour	armour	*armour*	aamər	
arsun	arsun	*arson*	aasən	108

ar (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
art	art	*art*	aat	
barbour	barbour	*barber*	baabər	
barre	barre	*bar*	baa	
bargaine	bargain	*bargain*	baagen	112
barge	barge	*barge*	baaj	
carcas	carcas	*carcase*	caacəs	
carfeux	carfourkes	*carfax*	caafæx	
carpenter	carpenter	*carpenter*	caapentər	116
carte	carte	*card*	caad	
char	char	*car*	caa	
charge	charge	*charge*	chaaj	
charme (*s.*)	charme	*charm*	chaam	120
chartre	chartre	*charter*	chaatər	
dart	dart	*dart*	daat	
departir	departen	*depart*	dipaat	
garde	garde	*guard*	gaad	124
gardin	gardin	*garden*	gaadən	
garnement	garnement	*garment*	gaamənt	
garter	garter	*garter*	gaatər	
hardi	hardy	*hardy*	haadi	128
larder	larder	*larder*	laadər	
large	large	*large*	laaj	
marbre	marbre	*marble*	maabl	
marche	marche	*march (boundary)*	maach	132
marchis	markis	*marquis*	maacwis	
mareschal	mareschal	*marshal*	maashəl	
mareys	mareys	*marsh*	maash	
martir (*s.*)	martir	*martyr*	maatər	136
parcele	parcele	*parcel*	paasəl	
parcenere	parcenere	*partner*	paatnər	
pardoun	pardoun	*pardon*	paadən	
parlement	parlement	*parliament*	paaləmənt	140
part	part	*part*	paat	
partie	partie	*party*	paati	
scarlet	scarlet	*scarlet*	scaalet	
apparaill	aparail	*apparel*	æpærel	144
baraine	baraine	*barren*	bæren	
barile	barile	*barrel*	bærəl	
baroun	baroun	*baron*	bærən	
carier	carien	*carry*	cæri	148
cariage	cariage	*carriage*	cærej	
carole	carole	*carol*	cærəl	
caruine	caroine	*carrion*	cæriən	
charette	charette	*chariot*	chæriət	152
charite	charite	*charity*	chæriti	

ar (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
clare	clarre	*claret*	clæret	
garauntie	garauntie	*guarantee*	gærəntii	
garnison	garnison	*garrison*	gærisən	156
mariage	mariage	*marriage*	mærej	
paroche	parische	*parish*	pærish	
agard	agard	*award*	əwòəd	
garderobe	warderobe	*wardrobe*	wòədróub	160
quart	quart	*quart*	cwòət	
quarter	quarter	*quarter*	cwòətər	
rewarder	rewarden	*reward*	riwòəd	
garenne	warenne	*warren*	wòren	164
guarant	warant	*warrant*	wòrənt	
quarel	quarel	*quarrel* (*crossbow-bolt*)	cwòrəl	
desclarer	declaren	*declare*	dicléər	
escarcete	scarcete	*scarcity*	scéəsiti	168
parent	parent	*parent*	péərənt	
variance	variance	*variance*	véəriəns	
darce	darce	*dace*	déis	
marchant	marchant	*merchant*	mərchənt	172

as.

amasser	amassen	*amass*	əmæs	
bastard	bastard	*bastard*	bæstərd	
chastete	chastete	*chastity*	chæstiti	
jaspe	jaspre	*jasper*	jæspər	176
vassal	vassal	*vassal*	væsl	
facoun	fasoun	*fashion*	fæshən	
passiun	passioun	*passion*	pæshən	
basme	basme, baume	*balm*	baam	180
passer	passen	*pass*	paas	
plastre	plastre	*plaster*	plaastər	
pastour	pastour	*pastor*	paastər	
pasture	pasture	*pasture*	paastyər	184
rascaylle	rascaile	*rascal*	raascl	

at—ax.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
bataile	bataile	*battle*	bætl	
batre	bateren	*batter*	bætər	
chatel	chatel	*chattels*	chætl(z)	188
matire	matere	*matter*	mætər	
matines	matines	*matins*	mætinz	
stature	stature	*stature*	stætyər	
statut	statut	*statute*	stætyuut	192
gravel	gravel	*gravel*	grævl	
savage	savage	*savage*	sævej	
taverne	taverne	*tavern*	tævərn	
travail	travail	*travail*	trævel	196
traverser	traversen	*traverse*	trævərs	
maxime	maxime	*maxim*	mæxim	
tax	tax, taxe	*tax*	tæx	

ā.

laite	laite	*laity*	léiiti	200
fable	fable	*fable*	féibl	
labur	labour	*labour*	léibər	
table	table	*table*	téibl	
bacin	bacin	*basin*	béisn	204
chace (*s.*)	chace	*chase*	chéis	
embracer	embracen	*embrace*	embréis	
enlacer	enlacen	*enlace*	enléis	
espace	space	*space*	spéis	208
face	face	*face*	féis	
grace	grace	*grace*	gréis	
mace	mace	*mace*	méis	
macun	masoun	*mason*	méisn	212
place	place	*place*	pléis	
trace	trace	*trace*	tréis	
naciun	nacioun	*nation*	néishən	
oblacioun	oblacioun	*oblation*	obléishən	216
patience	patience	*patience*	péishəns	
wafre	wafre	*wafer*	wéifər	
ague	ague	*ague*	éigyu	
aage	aage, age	*age*	éij	220
cage	cage	*cage*	céij	
engager	engagen	*engage*	engéij	
estage	stage	*stage*	stéij	
gage	gage	*gage*	géij	224
page	page	*page*	péij	
rage	rage	*rage*	réij	
wage	wage	*wage*	wéij	
lake	lake	*lake*	léik	228
alien	alien	*alien*	éilien	

ā (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
bale	bale	*bale*	béil	
masle, madle	male	*male*	méil	
val	val	*vale*	véil	232
blamer	blamen	*blame*	bléim	
chambre	chambre	*chamber*	chéimbər	
clame (*s.*)	clame	*claim*	cléim	
dame	dame	*dame*	déim	236
desclamer	disclaimen	*disclaim*	discléim	
fame	fame	*fame*	féim	
flambe	flambe, flamme	*flame*	fléim	
canyn	canin	*canine*	céinain	240
angele	angel	*angel*	éinjel	
estranger (*v.*)	estrangen	*estrange*	estréinj	
chape	chape, cape	*cape*	céip	
chapon	capon	*capon*	céipən	244
eschap (*s.*)	escap	*escape*	escéip	
estaple	staple	*staple*	stéipl	
abasser	abasen	*abase*	əbéis	
bas	base	*base*	béis	248
blasoun	blasoun	*blazon*	bléizn	
cas	cas	*case*	céis	
chasse	casse	*case* (*box*)	céis	
evasioun	evasioun	*evasion*	eveizhən	252
haste	haste	*haste*	héist	
past	paste	*paste*	péist	
taster	tasten	*taste*	téist	
wast	wast	*waste*	wéist	256
abatre	abaten	*abate*	əbéit	
date	date	*date*	déit	
debate	debate	*debate*	dibéit	
estat	estat	*estate*	estéit	260
patente	patent	*patent*	péitent	
plate	plate	*plate*	pléit	
rate	rate	*rate*	réit	
translater	translaten	*translate*	trænsléit	264
matrone	matron	*matron*	méitrən	
patron	patron	*patron*	péitrən	
nature	nature	*nature*	néichər	
cave	cave	*cave*	céiv	268
favour	favour	*favour*	féivər	
mave	mavis	*mavis*	méivis	
navie	navie	*navy*	néivi	
pavement	pavement	*pavement*	péivment	272
saveur	saveour	*saviour*	séiviər	
savourer	savouren	*savour*	séivər	

eb—eg.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
treble	treble	*treble*	trebl	
effect (*s.*)	effect	*effect*	effect	276
peck	pek	*peck*	pec	
record	record	*record*	recòòd	
rectour	rectour	*rector*	rectər	
secund	second	*second*	secənd	280
affection	affection	*affection*	əfecshən	
correctioun	correctioun	*correction*	cərecshən	
electioun	electioun	*election*	elecshən	
flecher	flecher	*fletcher*	flechər	284
creditour	creditour	*creditor*	creditər	
medler	medlen	*meddle*	medl	
nefu	neveu	*nephew*	neviu	
legat	legat	*legate*	leget	288
eglenter	eglentier	*eglantine*	eglæntain	
negligence	negligence	*negligence*	neglijens	
alleger	allegen	*allege*	əlej	
plegge	plegge	*pledge*	plej	292
abregger	abreggen	*abridge*	əbrij	

el.

celle	celle	*cell*	sel	
celer	celer	*cellar*	selər	
compeller	compellen	*compel*	cəmpel	296
deluge	deluge	*deluge*	deliuj	
elefant	elefant	*elephant*	elephənt	
felon	felon	*felon*	felən	
geluse	jelous	*jealous*	jeləs	300
melodie	melodie	*melody*	melədi	
prelat	prelat	*prelate*	prelet	
appel	apel, apeel	*appeal*	əpiil	
pelerin, pelrin	pilgrim	*pilgrim*	pilgrim	304

em.

assembler	asemblen	*assemble*	əsembl	
attempter	atempten	*attempt*	ətemt	
blemir	blemisen	*blemish*	blemish	
contempt	contempt	*contempt*	cəntemt	308
emperur	emperour	*emperor*	empərər	
gemme	gemme	*gem*	jem	
membre	membre	*member*	membər	

em (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
memorie	memorie	*memory*	meməri	312
resembler	resemblen	*resemble*	rizembl	
tempest	tempest	*tempest*	tempest	
temple	temple	*temple*	templ	
temprer	tempren	*temper*	tempər	316
trembler	tremblen	*tremble*	trembl	
emboscher	enbuschen	*ambush*	æmbush	

en.

estendard	standard	*standard*	stændəəd	
renc	renk	*rank*	rænk	320
benefiz	benefet	*benefit*	benefit	
beneicon	bencison	*benison*	benizən	
penance	penance	*penance*	penəns	
tenant	tenant	*tenant*	tenənt	324
tenement	tenement	*tenement*	tenemənt	
tenur	tenour	*tenor*	tenər	
tenure	tenure	*tenure*	tenyər	
comencer	comencen, comsen	*commence*	cəmens	328
defence	defence	*defence*	defens	
contencioun	contencioun	*contention*	cəntenshən	
mencion	mencioun	*mention*	menshən	
pencion	pensioun	*pension*	penshən	332
amender	amenden	*amend*	əmend	
attendre	attenden	*attend*	ətend	
decendre	descenden	*descend*	desend	
despendre	despenden	*spend*	spend	336
vendre	venden	*vend*	vend	
enemite	enmite	*enmity*	enmiti	
engine	engine	*engine*	enjin	
vengance	vengance	*vengeance*	venjəns	340
venison	venison	*venison*	venzən	
penne	penne	*pen*	pen	
censure	censure	*censure*	sensher	
enseigne	enseigne	*ensign*	ensain	344
offense	offence	*offence*	ofens	
sens	sens	*sense*	sens	
tens	tens	*tense*	tens	
apprentiz	aprentis	*apprentice*	əprentis	348
assent	asent	*assent*	æsent	
autentik	autentik	*authentic*	òòthentic	
aventure	aventure	*adventure*	ədvenchər	
consentir	consenten	*consent*	cənsent	352

en (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
entrer	entren	*enter*	entər	
plente	plente	*plenty*	plenti	
sentence	sentence	*sentence*	sentens	
tente	tente	*tent*	tent	356
vente	vente	*vent* (sale)	vent	
envie	envie	*envy*	envi	
denzein	denzein	*denizen*	denizən	
amenuser	amenusen	*minish*	minish	360
encens	encens	*incense*	insens	
menestral	minstral	*minstrel*	minstrəl	
menever	menever	*miniver*	minivər	
arenger	arengen	*arrange*	əréinj	364

ep, eq.

accepter	accepten	*accept*	acsept	
ceptre	ceptre	*sceptre*	septər	
deputee	depute	*deputy*	depyuti	
excepcion	excepcioun	*exception*	ecsepshən	368
lepart	lepard	*leopard*	lepəəd	
lepre	lepre	*leper*	lepər	
trepet	trevet	*trivet*	trivet	
equite	equite	*equity*	equiti	372

es.

desert	desert	*desert*	dezəət	
fesaunt	fesaunt	*pheasant*	fezənt	
present	present	*present*	prezənt	
rescouse	rescous	*rescue*	resciu	376
lescoun	lessoun	*lesson*	lesən	
trespas	trespas	*trespass*	trespəs	
vespre	vespre	*vesper*	vespər	
assessour	assessour	*assessor*	əsesər	380
confesser	confessen	*confess*	cənfes	
destresce (*s.*)	distresse	*distress*	distres	
excesse	excesse	*excess*	exes	
message	message	*message*	mesəj	384
mes	messe	*mess*	mes	
presse	presse	*press*	pres	
redresser	redressen	*redress*	redres	
vessel	vessel	*vessel*	vesəl	388

es (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
depression	depressioun	*depression*	depreshən	
oppressioun	oppressioun	*oppression*	əpreshən	
refreschir	refreschen	*refresh*	rifresh	
session	sessioun	*session*	seshən	392
arest	aresten	*arrest*	ərest	
chestaine	chestaine	*chest(nut)*	chesnət	
destinee	destine	*destiny*	destini	
geste	geste	*jest*	jest	396
molester	molesten	*molest*	molest	
question	questioun	*question*	questyən	
requeste	requeste	*request*	riquest	
revestre	revesten	*revest*	rivest	400
vester	vesten	*vest*	vest	
mesuage	mesuage	*messuage*	mesuej	
mesure	mesure	*measure*	mezhər	
tresor	tresor	*treasure*	trezhər	404
vesz	veche	*vetch*	vech	
descord	discord	*discord*	discòòd	
destaunce	distaunce	*distance*	distəns	
enqueste	enqueste	*inquest*	inquest	408
lesarde	lesarde	*lizard*	lizərd	
meschief	meschief	*mischief*	mischif	
mescreant (*adj.*)	mescreant	*miscreant*	miscriənt	
abesser	abessen	*abase*	əbéis	412

et—ex.

abettement	abetment	*abetment*	əbetmənt	
dette	dette	*debt*	det	
discretion	discrecioun	*discretion*	discreshən	
jeter	jetten	*jet*	jet	416
lettre	lettre	*letter*	letər	
metal	metal	*metal*	metəl	
nette (*adj.*)	net (?)	*neat, net*	niit, net	
brevete	brevete	*brevity*	breviti	420
crevace	crevace	*crevice*	crevis	
evidence	evidence	*evidence*	evidəns	
lever	levien	*levy*	levi	
levere	leveret	*leveret*	levəret	424
severer	severen	*sever*	sevər	
texture	texture	*texture*	textyər	

e (*becoming* ē).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
agreable	agreable	*agreeable*	əgriiəbl	
decre	decree	*decree*	decrii	428
deitet	deite	*deity*	dii.iti	
glebe	glebe	*glebe*	gliib	
precept	precept	*precept*	priisept	
breche	breche	*breach*	briich	432
secrei	secree	*secret*	siicret	
cedre	cedre	*cedar*	siidər	
credence	credence	*credence*	criidəns	
empleder	empleden	*implead*	impliid	436
pleder	pleden	*plead*	pliid	
proceder	proceden	*proceed*	prosiid	
bef	beef	*beef*	biif	
bref	bref	*brief*	briif	440
feffer	feffen	*fief*	fiif	
asseger	assegen	*besiege*	besiij	
egle	egle	*eagle*	iigl	
egre (*adj.*)	egre	*eager*	iigər	444
megre (*adj.*)	megre	*meagre*	miigər	
legioun	legioun	*legion*	liijən	
region	regioun	*region*	riijən	
bek	bek	*beak*	biik	448
conceler	concelen	*conceal*	cənsiil	
reveler	revelen	*reveal*	riviil	
tele	tele	*teal*	tiil	
vel	veel	*veal*	viil	452
femele (*adj.*)	femele	*female*	fiimeil	
seniour	seniour	*seignor*	siinyər	
cesser	cessen	*cease*	siis	
deces	deces	*decease*	disiis	456
descres	decres	*decrease*	dicriis	
demesne	demesne	*demesne*	dimiin	
empescher	apechen	*impeach*	impiich	
reles (*s.*)	reles	*release*	riliis	460
resoun	resoun	*reason*	riizn	
treson	tresoun	*treason*	triizn	
beste	beste	*beast*	biist	
feste	feste	*feast*	fiist	464
encrestre	encresen	*increase*	incriis	
eschete	eschete	*escheat*	eschiit	
fet	feet	*feat*	fiit	
feture	feture	*feature*	fiityər	468
retail (*s.*)	retail	*retail*	riitéil	

e (*becoming* **ē**) (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
retrete	retrete	*retreat*	ritriit	
tretiz	tretis	*treatise*	triitiz	
achever	acheven	*achieve*	əchiiv	472
achevement (*s.*)	achevement	*achievement*	əchiivmənt	
chevetain	cheftain	*chieftain*	chiiftein	
fevre	fever	*fever*	fiivər	
grevaunce	grevaunce	*grievance*	griivəns	476
relever	releven	*relieve*	riliiv	

e (*becoming* **ā**).

arrener	arenen, arainen	*arraign*	əréin	
effreer	afrayen	*affray*	əfréi	
refrener	refreinen	*refrain*	refréin	480
regne	regne	*reign*	réin	
resne	reine	*rein*	réin	
sustenir	sustenen	*sustain*	səstéin	

e (*becoming* **i**).

leonesse	leonesse	*lioness*	laiənes	484
enquere	enqueren	*enquire*	enquair	
requerir	requeren	*require*	riquair	

er.

herbe	herbe	*herb*	həəb	
amerciement	amerciment	*amercement*	əməəsmənt	488
mercerie	mercerie	*mercery*	məəsəri	
merci	merci	*mercy*	məəsi	
perche	perche	*perch*	pəəch	
rehercer	rehercen	*rehearse*	rihəəs	492
sercher	serchen	*search*	səəch	
guerdoun.	guerdoun	*guerdon*	gəədən	
verdur	verdure	*verdure*	vəədyər	
averer	averren	*aver*	əvəə	496
heremite	heremite	*hermit*	həəmit	
nerf	nerf	*nerve*	nəəv	
serf	serf	*serf*	səəf	
clerge	clerge	*clergy*	cləəji	500
verge	verge	*verge*	vəəj	
merle	merle	*merle* (thrush)	məəl	
afermer	affermen	*affirm*	æffəəm	
enfermite	enfermite	*infirmity*	infəəmiti	504
eskermir	skirmisen	*skirmish*	skəəmish	
hermine	ermine	*ermine*	əəmin	
sermoun	sermoun	*sermon*	səəmən	

er (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
terme	terme	*term*	təəm	508
vermine	vermine	*vermin*	vəəmin	
serpent	serpent	*serpent*	səəpənt	
deferrir	deferren	*defer*	defəə	
enterrer	enterren	*inter*	intəə	512
errer	erren	*err*	əə	
adversite	adversite	*adversity*	ədvəəsiti	
persone	persone	*person*	pəəsən	
revers	revers	*reverse*	rivəəs	516
vers	vers	*verse*	vəəs	
certein (*adj.*)	certein	*certain*	səətən	
reverter	reverten	*revert*	rivəət	
vertu	vertu	*virtue*	vəətiu	520
servaunt	servaunt	*servant*	səəvənt	
service	service	*service*	səəvis	
clerk	clerk	*clerk*	claac	
ferme	ferme	*farm*	faam	524
gerlaunde	gerlaunde	*garland*	gaalənd	
gerner	gerner	*garner*	gaanər	
herneis	herneis	*harness*	haanes	
merveille	merveille	*marvel*	maavəl	528
perdriz	pertriche	*partridge*	paatrij	
persone	persone	*parson*	paasən	
serjaunt	serjaunt	*sergeant*	saajənt	
arere	arere	*arrear*	əriir	532
cler	cleer	*clear*	cliir	
chere	chere	*cheer*	chiir	
fers (*adj.*)	fers	*fierce*	fiirs	
per	per	*peer*	piir	536
percer	percen	*pierce*	piirs	
reregarde	reregarde	*rearguard*	riirgaad	
terce	terce	*tierce*	tiirs	
beril	beril	*beryl*	beril	540
cerise	cherise	*cherry*	cheri	
merite	merite	*merit*	merit	
peril	peril	*peril*	peril	
verite	verite	*verity*	veriti	544
ferrour	ferrour	*farrier*	færiər	
querele	querele	*quarrel*	quorəl	
frere	frere	*friar*	fraiər	

ib—iv.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
ribald	ribald	*ribald*	ribəld	548
tribute	tribute	*tribute*	tribyut	
affliccioun	affliccioun	*affliction*	əflicshən	
vicaire	vicaire	*vicar*	vicər	
victor	victor	*victor*	victər	552
adicion	addicion	*addition*	ədishən	
condicion	condicion	*condition*	cəndishən	
enricher	enrichen	*enrich*	enrich	
richesce	richesse	*riches*	riches	556
tricherye	tricherie	*treachery*	trechəri	
dignete	dignete	*dignity*	digniti	
ignorance	ignorance	*ignorance*	ignorəns	
pygoun	pigeon	*pigeon*	pijən	560
vigile	vigile	*vigil*	vijil	
vigur	vigour	*vigour*	vigər	
bille	bille	*bill*	bil	
billette	billette	*billet*	bilet	564
diligence	diligence	*diligence*	dilijens	
piler	piler	*pillar*	pilər	
pillory	pilory	*pillory*	piləri	
vilein	vilein	*villain*	vilən	568
chimenee	chimene	*chimney*	chimni	
image	image	*image*	imej	
limite	limite	*limit*	limit	
simple (*adj.*)	simple	*simple*	simpl	572
affinite	affinite	*affinity*	əfiniti	
continuer	continuen	*continue*	cəntinyu	
injurie	injurie	*injury*	injəri	
instance	instance	*instance*	instəns	576
ministre	ministre	*minister*	ministər	
oppinion	opinioun	*opinion*	əpiniən	
prince	prince	*prince*	prins	
vynter, vineter	vintener	*vintner*	vintnər	580
escripture	scripture	*scripture*	scriptyər	
espirit	spirit	*spirit*	spirit	
miracle	miracle	*miracle*	mirəcl	
mirreur	mirour	*mirror*	mirər	584
issue	issue	*issue*	isyu	
prison	prison	*prison*	prizn	
visage	visage	*visage*	vizej	
visiter	visiten	*visit*	visit	588
commission	commission	*commission*	cəmishən	
omission	omissioun	*omission*	omishən	
avisiun	visioun	*vision*	vizhən	

ib—iv (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
divisiun	divisioun	*division*	divizhən	592
agistement	agistement	*agistment*	əjistment	
cristien	cristien	*Christian*	cristiən	
resister	resisten	*resist*	rezist	
acquiter	aquiten	*acquit*	əquit	596
citezein	citesein	*citizen*	sitizən	
litere	litere	*litter*	litər	
pite, pitee	pite	*pity*	piti	
quite	quite	*quit*	quit	600
quitance	quitance	*quittance*	quitəns	
vitaille	vitaille	*victual*	vitl	
chivalrie	chivalrie	*chivalry*	shivəlri	
deliverer	deliveren	*deliver*	delivər	604
rivere	rivere	*river*	rivər	
cimitere	cimitere	*cemetery*	semetəri	
virgine	virgine	*virgin*	vərjin	

i.

affiaunce	affiaunce	*affiance*	əfaiəns	608
aliaunce	aliaunce	*alliance*	əlaiəns	
cri	cri	*cry*	crai	
frire	frien	*fry*	frai	
gyaunt, geaunt	giaunt, geant	*giant*	jaiənt	612
liun	lioun	*lion*	laiən	
viande	viande	*viand*	vaiənd	
libel	libel	*libel*	laibl	
license	license	*licence*	laisens	616
vice	vice	*vice*	vais	
allie	allie	*ally*	əlai	
client	client	*client*	claiənt	
espier	espien	*espy*	əspai	620
esquier	squier	*squire*	squair	
plier	plien	*ply*	plai	
quiete (*adj.*)	quiete	*quiet*	quaiət	
viele	viole	*viol*	vaiəl	624
estrif	strif	*strife*	straif	
obliger	obligen	*oblige*	oblaij	
assigner	assignen	*assign*	æsain	
signe	signe	*sign*	sain	628
vigne	vigne	*vine*	vain	
tigre	tigre	*tiger*	taigər	
guile	guile	*guile*	gail	
silence	silence	*silence*	sailens	632
prime	prime	*prime*	praim	

ī (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
decline (*s.*)	decline	*decline*	diclain	
deviner	devinen	*divine*	divain	
encliner	enclinen	*incline*	inclain	636
eschine	chine	*chine*	chain	
espine	spine	*spine* (thorn)	spain	
fin (*s.*)	fin	*fine*	fain	
line	line	*line*	lain	640
minour	minour	*miner*	mainər	
criour	criour	*crier*	craiər	
diocise	diocise	*diocese*	daiosez	
fyole	viole	*vial*	vaiəl	644
prior	prior	*prior*	praiər	
riote	riote	*riot*	raiət	
violence	violence	*violence*	vaiələns	
cypresce	cipresse	*cypress*	saipres	648
disciple	disciple	*disciple*	disaipl	
pipe	pipe	*pipe*	paip	
attirer	attiren	*attire*	ətair	
desir	desir	*desire*	dizair	652
environner	environen	*environ*	envairən	
ire	ire	*ire*	air	
sire	sire	*sire*	sair	
tirant	tirant	*tyrant*	tairənt	656
assise	assise	*assize*	əsaiz	
avis	avis	*advice*	ədvais	
degiser	degisen	*disguise*	disgaiz	
despisant (*p. pt.*)	despisen	*despise*	dispaiz	660
devise (*s.*)	devise	*device*	divais	
guise	guise	*guise*	gaiz	
pris	pris	*price*	prais	
prise	prise	*prize*	praiz	664
rys	rice, ryce (?)	*rice*	rais	
disner	dinen	*dine*	dain	
isle	isle	*isle*	ail	
visconte	visconte	*viscount*	vaicaunt	668
delite (*s.*)	delite	*delight*	dilait	
enditer	enditen	*endite*	endait	
mitre	mitre	*mitre*	maitər	
reciter	reciten	*recite*	risait	672
syte, sit	site	*site* (situation)	sait	
title	title	*title*	taitl	
arriver	arriven	*arrive*	əraiv	
ivoire	ivoire	*ivory*	aivəri	676
revivre	reviven	*revive*	rivaiv	
fige	fige	*fig*	fig	

ib—iv (*continued*).

ICH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
	divisioun	*division*	divizhən	592
nt	agistement	*agistment*	əjistment	
	cristien	*Christian*	cristiən	
	resisten	*resist*	rezist	
	aquiten	*acquit*	əquit	596
	citesein	*citizen*	sitizən	
	litere	*litter*	litər	
ee	pite	*pity*	piti	
	quite	*quit*	quit	600
	quitance	*quittance*	quitəns	
	vitaille	*victual*	vitl	
	chivalrie	*chivalry*	shivəlri	
	deliveren	*deliver*	delivər	604
	rivere	*river*	rivər	
	cimitere	*cemetery*	semətəri	
	virgine	*virgin*	vərjin	

ī.

	affiaunce	*affiance*	əfaiəns	608
	aliaunce	*alliance*	əlaiəns	
	cri	*cry*	crai	
	frien	*fry*	frai	
geaunt	giaunt, geant	*giant*	jaiənt	612
	lioun	*lion*	laiən	
	viande	*viand*	vaiənd	
	libel	*libel*	laibl	
	license	*licence*	laisens	616
	vice	*vice*	vais	
	allie	*ally*	əlai	
	client	*client*	claiənt	
	espien	*espy*	espai	620
	squier	*squire*	squair	
	plien	*ply*	plai	
adj.)	quiete	*quiet*	quaiət	
	viole	*viol*	vaiəl	624
	strif	*strife*	straif	
	obligen	*oblige*	oblaij	
	assignen	*assign*	æsain	
	signe	*sign*	sain	628
	vigne	*vine*	vain	
	tigre	*tiger*	taigər	
	guile	*guile*	gail	
	silence	*silence*	sailens	632
	prime	*prime*	praim	

OR.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
divorce	divorce	*divorce*	divòòs (divòəs)	
force	force	*force*	fòòs (fòəs)	
sorcerie	sorcerie	*sorcery*	sòòsəri	724
escorcher	scorchen	*scorch*	scòòch	
porcioun	porcioun	*portion*	pòòshən	
acord (*s.*)	acord	*accord*	əcòòd	
corde	corde	*cord*	còòd	728
ordre	ordre	*order*	òòdər	
forfeit	forfeit	*forfeit*	fòòfet	
forger	forgen	*forge*	fòòj	
glorie	glorie	*glory*	glòòri	732
orient	orient	*orient*	òòriənt	
pork	pork	*pork*	pòòc	
forme	forme	*form*	fòòm	
torment	torment	*torment*	tòòmənt	736
cornere	cornere	*corner*	còònər	
porpeis	porpeis	*porpoise*	pòòpəs	
scorpiun	scorpioun	*scorpion*	scòòpiən	
cors	cors	*corpse*	còòps	74[illegible]
morsel	morsel	*morsel*	mòòsəl	
desport	desport	*disport*	dispòòt	
morter	morter	*mortar*	mòòtər	
portal	portal	*portal*	pòòtəl	74[illegible]
porte	porte	*port*	pòòt	
portour	portour	*porter*	pòòtər	
resortir	resorten	*resort*	rizòòt	
coruner	coroner	*coroner*	coronər	7[illegible]
foreste	foreste	*forest*	forest	
oreison	oreison	*orison*	orizən	

OS—OV.

apostle	apostle	*apostle*	əposəl	
fosse	fosse	*fosse*	fos	75[illegible]
cotun	cotun	*cotton*	cotən	
pot	pot	*pot*	pot	
potage	potage	*pottage*	potej	
potel	potel	*pottle*	potl	756
novel	novel	*novel*	novl	
province	province	*province*	provins	
provost	provost	*provost*	provəst	

o (*becoming* **u**).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
bocher	bocher	*butcher*	buchər	760
robous	robous	*rubbish*	rəbish	
boge (*fur*)	boge	*budge*	bəj	
sodeyne	sodein	*sudden*	sədən	
bokeler	bokeler	*buckler*	bəclər	764
sojourn	sojourn	*sojourn*	səjəən	
colur	colour	*colour*	cələr	
combatir	combaten	*combat*	cəmbət	
compasser	compassen	*compass*	cəmpəs	768
somoundre	somounen	*summon*	səmən	
trompe	trompe	*trump*	trəmp	
conduyt	conduyt	*conduit*	cəndit	
confort	confort	*comfort*	cəmfəət	772
dongoun	dongoun	*dungeon*	dənjən	
moneye	moneye	*money*	məni	
tonel	tonne	*tun*	tən	
sopere	sopere	*supper*	səpər	776
ajorner	ajornen	*adjourn*	ædjəən	
attorne	attorne	*attorney*	ætəəni	
corelue	corlue	*curlew*	cəəliu	
forbir	forbisen	*furbish*	fəəbish	780
fornir	fornisen	*furnish*	fəənish	
forure	fourrure	*fur*	fəə	
jorneie	jorneie	*journey*	jəəni	
norice	norice	*nurse*	nəərs	784
morine	moraine	*murrain*	mərən	
botiller	botiler	*butler*	bətlər	
cotillere	cotilere	*cutler*	cətlər	
reboter	rebuten	*rebut*	ribət	788
moton	motoun	*mutton*	mətən	
sotiltee	sotiltee	*subtlety*	sətlti	
covert	covert	*covert*	cəvəət	
estover (*s.*)	estover	*stover*	stəvər	792
governer	governen	*govern*	gəvəən	
plover	plover	*plover*	pləvər	
recoverer	recoveren	*recover*	ricəvər	
dozeine	dozeine	*dozen*	dəzn	796

o (*becoming* **au**, *etc.*).

conseil	conseil	*counsel*	caunsel	
contesse	contesse	*countess*	cauntes	
contrepleder	contrepleden	*counterplead*	caunterpliid	
corone	corone	*crown*	craun	800

o (*becoming* **au**, *etc.*) (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
monter	mounten	*mount*	maunt	
soner	sounen	*sound*	saund	
voer	vowen	*vow*	vau	
acoster	acosten	*accost*	æcòòst	804
estorer	storen	*store*	stòòr	
estorie	storie	*story*	stòòri	
restorer	restoren	*restore*	ristòòr	
ahoge	huge	*huge*	hiuuj	808
bote	bote	*boot*	buut	
fol	fol	*fool*	fuul	
mover	moven	*move*	muuv	
pover, povre	pouer (pover)	*poor*	puur	812
prover	proven	*prove*	pruuv	
reprover	reproven	*reprove*	ripruuv	
clostre, cloistre	cloistre	*cloister*	cloistər	
troflo	trofle, trufle	*trifle*	traifl	816

ō.

noble	noble	*noble*	nóubl	
robe	robe	*robe*	róub	
abrocher	abrochen	*broach*	bróuch	
abrocour	brocour	*broker*	bróucər	820
aprochier	aprochen	*approach*	æpróuch	
cloche, cloke	cloke	*cloak*	clóuc	
devocion	devocioun	*devotion*	divóushən	
occyane	ocean	*ocean*	óushən	824
reprocher	reprochen	*reproach*	ripróuch	
odur	odour	*odour*	óudər	
estole	stole	*stole*	stóul	
poleter	pulter	*poulterer*	póultərər	828
soldeier	souldier	*soldier*	sóuljər	
moment	moment	*moment*	móumənt	
conyng, conil	coning	*coney*	cóuni	
donour	donour	*donor*	dóunər	832
clos	clos	*close*	clóus	
deposer	deposen	*depose*	dipóuz	
entreposer	entreposen	*interpose*	intərpóuz	
reposer	reposen	*repose*	ripóuz	836
coste	coste	*coast*	cóust	
ost	ost	*host*	hóust	
posterne	posterne	*postern*	póustərn	
rost, roste	rost	*roast*	róust	840

ō (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
cote	cote	*coat*	cóut	
notarie	notarie	*notary*	nóutəri	
note	note	*note*	nóut	
notice	notice	*notice*	nóutis	844

ŭ (*short*).

subgit (*s.*)	subget	*subject*	səbject	
substance	substance	*substance*	səbstəns	
suburbe	suburbe	*suburb*	səbəəb	
trubler	trublen, troublen	*trouble*	trəbl	848
bucle	bocle	*buckle*	bəcl	
succour	succour	*succour*	səcər	
destruccioun	destruccioun	*destruction*	distrəcshən	
duche	duche	*duchy*	dəchi	852
huche	huche	*hutch*	həch	
tuche (*s.*)	touche	*touch*	təch	
buffe	buffet	*buffet*	bəfet	
ajugger	ajuggen	*adjudge*	æjəj	856
juge	juge	*judge*	jəj	
jugleur	juglour	*juggler*	jəglər	
adulterie	adulterie	*adultery*	ədəltəri	
annuller	annullen	*annul*	ænəl	860
hulke	hulke	*hulk*	həlc	
nul	nul	*null*	nəl	
vultur	vultur	*vulture*	vəlchər	
assumpcion	assumpcioun	*assumption*	æsəmpshən	864
autumnal	autumnal	*autumnal*	òòtəmnəl	
cumpainie	companie	*company*	cəmpəni	
encumbrer	encumbren	*encumber*	encəmbər	
humle, umble	humble	*humble*	həmbl, əmbl	868
numbre	numbre	*number*	nəmbər	
summe	summe	*sum*	səm	
tumberel	tumberel	*tumbril*	təmbril	
juncture	junctyre	*juncture*	jənctyur	872
trunc	trunk	*trunk*	trənc	
truncun	trunsoun	*truncheon*	trənshən	
uncle	uncle	*uncle*	əncl	
habundance	habundance	*abundance*	əbəndəns	876
plunger	plungen	*plunge*	plənj	
cuntree	cuntree	*country*	cəntri	
corruptiun	corruptioun	*corruption*	cərəpshən	
cupe	cuppe	*cup*	cəp	880

desturber	desturben	*disturb*	distəəb
turbut	turbut	*turbot*	təəbət
purchas	purchas	*purchase*	pəəches

■ *short* (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MIDL. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
murdre	murdre, murder	*murder*	məədər	884
burgeys	burgeys	*burgess*	bəəjes	
escurge	scurge, scourge	*scourge*	scəəj	
purger	purgen	*purge*	pəəj	
bornir	burnisen	*burnish*	bəənish	888
returner	returnen	*return*	ritəən	
turner	turnen	*turn*	təən	
purport	purport	*purport*	pəəpət	
purpre	purpre	*purple*	pəəpl	892
burse	burse	*purse*	pəəs	
apurtenance	apurtenaunce	*appurtenance*	əpəətenəns	
curteisie	curteisie	*courtesy*	cəətezi	
curtine	cortine, curtine	*curtain*	cəətən	896
hurter	hurten	*hurt*	həət	
nurture	nurture	*nurture*	nəəchər	
turtre	turtle	*turtle*	təətl	
curage	corage	*courage*	cərej	90[illegible]
cusin	cosin	*cousin*	cəzn	
discussioun	discussioun	*discussion*	discəshən	
usser, ussher	usher	*usher*	əshər	
acustumer	acustumen	*accustom*	æcəstəm	9[illegible]4
custume	custome	*custom*	cəstəm	
fustain, fustiane	fustain	*fustian*	fəstiən	
iustice	iustice	*justice*	jəstis	
buter	butten	*butt*	bət	9[illegible]08
butun	botoun	*button*	btən	
glutun	glotoun	*glutton*	glətn	
guttere, goter	gotere	*gutter*	gətər	
luxurie	luxurie	*luxury*	ləcshuri	91[illegible]
zucre	sucre	*sugar*	shugər	
bulle	bulle	*bull* (edict)	bul	
pullet	pullet	*pullet*	pulet	
pulpit	pulpit	*pulpit*	pulpit	91[illegible]
busselle	busselle	*bushel*	bushəl	
acumplisen	acomplisen	*accomplish*	æcomplish	
blund (*adj.*)	blond	*blonde*	blond	
cuvent	covent	*convent*	convənt	92[illegible]
parfurnir	parfournen	*perform*	pəəfòòm	
cust, coust	cost	*cost*	còòst	
turney	tourney	*tourney*	təəni, turni	
rubain	ruban, riban	*ribbon*	ribən	924
butor	bitoure	*bittern*	bitəən	

ū.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
, acrue (*pp.*)	acrue	*accrued*	ækruud	
ıite	annuite	*annuity*	æniuuiti	
lte	cruelte	*cruelty*	cruuelti	928
	duel	*duel*	diuuel	
ıre, eschuer	eschuen	*eschew*	eschuu	
ı	suen	*sue*	siuu	
n	truant	*truant*	truuont	932
	ruby	*ruby*	ruubi	
ifier	crucifien	*crucify*	cruusifai	
	duk	*duke*	diuuc	
gner	repugnen	*repugn*	repiuun	936
ur	humour	*humour*	hiuumər	
ıe	plume	*plume*	pluum	
ɔur	rumour	*rumour*	ruumər	
n	union	*union*	iuuniən	940
ɜ	unite	*unity*	iuuniti	
	cure	*cure*	ciuur	
.rer	enduren	*endure*	endiuur	
ır	jurour	*juror*	juurər	944
ırer	obscuren	*obscure*	obsciuur	
ser	excusen	*excuse*	exciuuz	
nce	nuisance	*nuisance*	niuusəns	
ıs	reclus	*recluse*	recluus	948
ke	musike	*music*	miuuzic	
ıer	refusen	*refuse*	refiuuz	
e	usage	*usage*	iuuzej	
e	usure	*usury*	iuuzhəri	952
lusioun	conclusioun	*conclusion*	cənclauzhən	
ısioun	confusioun	*confusion*	cənfiuuzhən	
ioun	effusioun	*effusion*	efiuuzhən	
ısion	intrusioun	*intrusion*	intruuzhən	956
ıter	desputen	*dispute*	dispiuut	
ɜ	duete	*duty*	diuuti	
	fruit	*fruit*	fruut	
re	future	*future*	fiuuchər	960
: (*adj.*)	mute	*mute*	miuut	
suite	sute	*suit*	siuut	

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l	couard	*coward*	cauərd	
sce	prouesse	*prowess*	praues	964
le	touaille	*towel*	tauel	
(*s.*)	vou	*vow*	vau	
er	couchen	*couch*	cauch	
n	renoun	*renown*	rinaun	968
ncer	renouncen	*renounce*	rinauns	
	ounce, unce	*ounce*	auns	

ū (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
abunder	abounden	*abound*	əbaund	
bunder	bounden	*bound*	baund	972
rebundir	rebounden	*rebound*	ribaund	
cunseil	conseil	*counsel*	caunsl	
acunte (*s.*)	acounte	*account*	əcaunt	
encuntre (*s.*)	encountre	*encounter*	encauntər	976
funteine	fountein	*fountain*	faunten	
recunter	recounten	*recount*	ricaunt	
remunter	remounten	*remount*	rimaunt	
devurer	devouren	*devour*	divaur	980
flur	flour	*flower*	flauər	
espuse	spouse	*spouse*	spauz	
espuser	espousen	*espouse*	espauz	
gute	goute	*gout*	gaut	984
rute	route	*rout*	raut	
ruele	rouel	*rowel*	róuel	

ANGLO-FRENCH DIPHTHONGS.

ai, ay, ae, ao.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
alaye	alaye	*alloy*	əloi	
arayer	arayen	*array*	əréi	988
assai	assai	*assay*	æséi	
brayer	brayen	*bray*	bréi	
convayer	conveien	*convey*	cənvéi	
delay	delay	*delay*	deléi	992
effrai	effray	*fray*	fréi	
jay	jay	*jay*	jéi	
lay	lay	*lay*	léi	
paie	paye	*pay*	péi	996
praier	prayen	*pray*	préi	
praye	preie	*prey*	préi	
rai	ray	*ray*	réi	
aide	aide	*aid*	éid	1000
waif	waif	*waif*	wéif	
assailir	assailen	*assail*	æséil	
bailler	baillen	*bail*	béil	
bailif	bailif	*bailiff*	béilif	1004

ai, ay, ae, ao (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
entraille	entraille	*entrails*	entréils	
faillir	faillen	*fail*	féil	
paele	paile	*pail*	péil	
quaille	quaille	*quail*	cwéil	1008
taile	taile	*entail*	entéil	
taillour	taillour	*tailor*	téilər	
chaine	chaine	*chain*	chéin	
enchaener	enchainen	*chain*, v.	chéin	1012
gain (*s.*)	gain	*gain*	géin	
grain	grain	*grain*	gréin	
payne	peine	*pain*	péin	
plain (*s.*)	plain	*plain*	pléin	1016
afaire	afaire	*affair*	əféir	
aier	aier, air	*air*	éir	
chaiere	chaiere	*chair*	chéir	
raisin	raisin	*raisin*	réisən	1020
agait (*s.*)	agait	*await, wait*	wéit	
caitif	caitif	*caitiff*	céitif	
traitur	traitour	*traitor*	tréitər	
wayte	waite	*wait*, s.	wéit	1024
guaiter	waiten	*wait*, v.	wéit	
gaole	gaole	*gaol*	jeil	
kaie	quay	*quay*	kii	
plait, plai	plee, play	*plea*	plii	1028
traiter	traiten	*treat*	triit	
paisant	(?)	*peasant*	pesənt	
taille	taille	*tally*	tæli	
vaillant	vaillant	*valiant*	væliənt	1032
esplait, exploit	esploit	*exploit*	exploit	

au.

auditour	auditour	*auditor*	òòditər	
augurer	augurer	*augur*	òògər	
avaunt	avaunt	*avaunt*	əvòònt	1036
bawde	baude	*bawd*	bòòd	
braun	braun	*brawn*	bròòn	
cause	cause	*cause*	còòs	
daubour	daubour	*dauber*	dòòbər	1040
hauberc	hauberk	*hauberk*	hòòbərk	
chaucee	causee	*causeway*	còòzwei	

[illegible] (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	hòont	1044
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	lòon	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1048
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1052
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1056
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1060
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1064
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1068
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1072
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1076
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

ei, ey.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
affrei	afray	*affray*	əfréi	
conveier	conveien	*convey*	cənvéi	
fei (feid)	fei, fey	*faith*	féith	1080
obeier	obeien	*obey*	əbéi	
purveier	purveien	*purvey*	pərvéi	
veil	veile	*veil*	véil	
dedeigne (*s.*)	dedaigne	*disdain*	disdéin	1084
demeine	demeine	*domain*	doméin	
destreindre	distreinen	*distrain*	distréin	
feindre	feinen	*feign*	féin	
ordeiner	ordeinen	*ordain*	òòdéin	1088
reines	reines	*reins*	réinz	
remeindre (*s.*)	(?)	*remainder*	reméindər	
restreindre	restreinen	*restrain*	restréin	
veyn	vein	*vain*	véin	1092
veyne	veine	*vein*	véin	
meinprise	meinprise	*mainprise*	méinpraiz	
aqueyntance (*s.*)	aqueintance	*acquaintance*	əcwéintəns	
ateinte	ateinte	*attaint*	ətéint	1096
compleynt	compleint	*complaint*	cəmpléint	
peynt	peint	*paint*	péint	
pleinte	pleinte	*plaint*	pléint	
pleintif	pleintif	*plaintiff*	pléintif	1100
queynt (*adj.*)	queint	*quaint*	cwéint	
seint	seint	*saint*	séint	
eise	eise	*ease*	iiz	
despeir (*s.*)	despeir	*despair*	despeir	1104
empeirer	empeiren	*impair*	impeir	
feire	feire	*fair*	feir	
heire	heire	*heir*	eir	
meire	meire	*mayor*	meir	1108
preiere	preiere	*prayer*	preir	
repeirer	repairen	*repair*	ripeir	
meynour	(?)	*mainour, manner*	mænər	
preiser	preisen	*praise*	préiz	1112
estreit	streit	*strait*	stréit	
deceit	deceit	*deceit*	desiit	
receite	receite	*receipt*	resiit	
seiser	seisen	*seize*	siiz	1116
seisine	seisine	*seisin*	siizin	
seison, sesun	seson	*season*	siizn	

ei, ey, eo (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
leisir	leisir	*leisure*	lezhər	
pleisir	plesure (?)	*pleasure*	plezhər	1120
cheys	chois	*choice*	chois	
peiser	peisen	*poise*	poiz	
veiage	viage	*voyage*	voiej	
veirdit	verdit	*verdict*	vərdict	1124
people	people, peple	*people*	piipl	

eu.

adeu	adeu	*adieu*	ədiu	
beute	beute	*beauty*	biuti	
geu	jew	*Jew*	Ju	1128
ewere	ewere	*ewer*	iuər	
fewaile	fewaile	*fuel*	fiuel	
deuce	deus	*deuce*	dius	
peutre	peutre	*pewter*	piutər	1132
reule	reule	*rule*	ruˈl	
asseurance	assurance (?)	*assurance*	əshuurəns	
seurte	seurte	*surety*	shuurti	
feun	fawn	*fawn*	fòòn	1136

ie.

niece	nece, neice	*niece*	niis	
piece	pece	*piece*	piis	
chief	chief	*chief*	chiif	
grief	grief	*grief*	griif	1140
relief	relief	*relief*	reliif	
siege	siege	*siege*	siij	
piere	pere	*pier*	piiər	

iew, oe.

view	vew	*view*	viuu	1144
oetaves	utas	*utas*	iuutæs	

ei, ey.

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
affrei	afray	*affray*	əfréi	
conveier	conveien	*convey*	cənvéi	
fei (feid)	fei, fey	*faith*	féith	1080
obeier	obeien	*obey*	əbéi	
purveier	purveien	*purvey*	pərvéi	
veil	veile	*veil*	véil	
dedeigne (*s.*)	dedaigne	*disdain*	disdéin	1084
demeine	demeine	*domain*	doméin	
destreindre	distreinen	*distrain*	distréin	
feindre	feinen	*feign*	féin	
ordeiner	ordeinen	*ordain*	òòdéin	1088
reines	reines	*reins*	réinz	
remeindre (*s.*)	(?)	*remainder*	reméindər	
restreindre	restreinen	*restrain*	restréin	
veyn	vein	*vain*	véin	1092
veyne	veine	*vein*	véin	
meinprise	meinprise	*mainprise*	méinpraiz	
aqueyntance (*s.*)	aqueintance	*acquaintance*	əcwéintəns	
ateinte	ateinte	*attaint*	ətéint	1096
compleynt	compleint	*complaint*	cəmpléint	
peynt	peint	*paint*	péint	
pleinte	pleinte	*plaint*	pléint	
pleintif	pleintif	*plaintiff*	pléintif	1100
queynt (*adj.*)	queint	*quaint*	cwéint	
seint	seint	*saint*	séint	
eise	eise	*ease*	iiz	
despeir (*s.*)	despeir	*despair*	despeir	1104
empeirer	empeiren	*impair*	impeir	
feire	feire	*fair*	feir	
heire	heire	*heir*	eir	
meire	meire	*mayor*	meir	1108
preiere	preiere	*prayer*	preir	
repeirer	repairen	*repair*	ripeir	
meynour	(?)	*mainour, manner*	mænər	
preiser	preisen	*praise*	préiz	1112
estreit	streit	*strait*	stréit	
deceit	deceit	*deceit*	desiit	
receite	receite	*receipt*	resiit	
seiser	seisen	*seize*	siiz	1116
seisine	seisine	*seisin*	siizin	
seison, sesun	seson	*season*	siizn	

ei, ey, eo (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
leisir	leisir	*leisure*	lezhər	
pleisir	plesure (?)	*pleasure*	plezhər	1120
cheys	chois	*choice*	chois	
peiser	peisen	*poise*	poiz	
veiage	viage	*voyage*	voiej	
veirdit	verdit	*verdict*	vərdict	1124
people	people, peple	*people*	piipl	

eu.

adeu	adeu	*adieu*	ədiu	
beute	beute	*beauty*	biuti	
geu	jew	*Jew*	Ju	1128
ewere	ewere	*ewer*	iuər	
fewaile	fewaile	*fuel*	fiuel	
deuce	deus	*deuce*	dius	
peutre	peutre	*pewter*	piutər	1132
reule	reule	*rule*	rul	
asseurance	assurance (?)	*assurance*	əshuurəns	
seurte	seurte	*surety*	shuurti	
feun	fawn	*fawn*	fòòn	1136

ie.

niece	nece, neice	*niece*	niis	
piece	pece	*piece*	piis	
chief	chief	*chief*	chiif	
grief	grief	*grief*	griif	1140
relief	relief	*relief*	reliif	
siege	siege	*siege*	siij	
piere	pere	*pier*	piiər	

iew, oe.

view	vew	*view*	viuu	1144
oetaves	utas	*utas*	iuutæs	

oe (*continued*).

FRENCH.	MID. ENGLISH.	MODERN.	PRONUNCIATION.	
remoever, remover	removen	*remove*	remuuv	
coeverfu	courfew	*curfew*	kərfiuu	
soeffrir	suffren	*suffer*	səfər	1148
toelle (*s.*)	toil	*toil*	toil	

oi, oy.

coy	coy	*coy*	coi	
emploier	emploien	*employ*	emploi	
enjoier	enjoien	*enjoy*	enjoi	1152
joie	joye	*joy*	joi	
loial	loyal	*loyal*	loiəl	
voice	vois	*voice*	vois	
voider	voiden	*void*, v.	void	1156
assoile (*pr. s.*)	assoilen	*assoil*	əsoil	
boillir	boilen	*boil*	boil	
despoiller	despoilen	*despoil*	despoil	
foille (*s.*)	foil	*foil*	foil	1160
oille, oile	oile	*oil*	oil	
soyl, soil	soil	*soil*	soil	
adjoindre	adjoinen	*adjoin*	əjoin	
coign, coyng	coin	*coin*	coin	1164
enoint (*pp.*)	enoint	*anointed*	ənointed	
joindre	joinen	*join*	join	
oignement	oinement	*ointment*	ointment	
point	point	*point*	point	1168
noise	noise	*noise*	noiz	
oyster	oistre	*oyster*	oistər	
poiser	poisen	*poise*	poiz	
poison	poison	*poison*	poizn	1172
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APPENDIX V.

ONE WORD MORE ON "ARTICHOKE".

In the third note of my paper "Neo-Latin Names for *Artichoke*", which I had the honour to read before the Philological Society last June, I said that *cacocciula* and *caccociula*, two words used in Sicily for "artichoke", seem to be nothing else than the diminutive form of κάκτος, an original Greek word of Sicily also, and I entered into some details in confirmation of that opinion. I was not, however, aware at that time of the existence of the Sicilian word *carcocciula*, a synonyme of *cacocciula*, although much less in use than the first. *Carcocciula*, in fact, is not to be found even in the second edition of Mortillaro's rather rich Sicilian dictionary, but the still richer dictionary by Traina registers this word, although referring it to *cacocciula*. *Carcocciula* then, preceded by *, ought to be added to my list of Neo-Latin Names immediately after *cacocciula*, and both ought to be followed by the figure 2, as *cacocciula* indeed is followed by it in the first edition of my paper printed in the "Academy", March 15, 1884. The form *carcocciula*, in fact, as Prof. Schuchardt writes me, cannot be separated from *cacocciula* and both (I entirely agree with him) belong to the same type as the Neapolitan *carcioffola*.

Finally I would observe: 1°. That the names of the cardoon, known from the most ancient times, of the thistle, of the chard, both wild and esculent, and their different species or varieties, as well as the name of the wild artichoke (for there are both wild and cultivated artichokes or *Cynaræ Scolymi* of the botanists, as of course no botanist could ever have supposed that any cultivated plant whatever did not necessarily imply the previous existence of a wild one), have been very often confounded under the names of

κάκτος and *cactus*; 2°. That "artichaut sauvage" is found in the last edition of the dictionary of the French Academy at the word "chardonnette", as well as in the dictionary of Trévoux, where it is said at p. 536, col. 2, lin. 31, of the first volume of the edition of 1771 of this celebrated work: "On distingue les *artichauts* en ceux qu'on cultive, et en sauvages", and also in the last edition of the dictionary of the Academy of "La Crusca", which admits "carciofo salvatico" at p. 563, col. 1, lin. 24, of vol. 2; 3°. That, at Poschiavo, a town of Switzerland in the Canton of the Grisons, where the Milanese subdialect of Valtellina is spoken, *articioch* means "artichoke" as well as "thistle", the latter, when is tender, being usually eaten in that town; as may be seen at p. 375 of Monti's excellent "Vocabolario dei dialetti della città e diocesi di Como": *Articiôch. Carcioffo.— Posc. id. e Cardo selvatico. Ivi si mangia anche il selvatico, quando è tenero;* 4°. That nothing proves that *articactus, articoctus, articoccus,* and *articoccalus* (all, as I think, compound words from κάκτος) are latinized names from an hypothetic *articocco* and that they may have not been in existence, in the sense of "wild artichoke", before the introduction of artichokes into Europe as cultivated vegetables. In fact, it seems to me that the absence of proof either of historical use, or of botanistic knowledge, such as might have existed previous to 1548, are not arguments (as being only negative and not of a linguistical nature) sufficient to prove the contrary of what I have stated. How many names of plants have not been added by modern botanists to those which old botanists forgot to register in the floras composed before 1548? and how many words, particularly names of wild plants not yet generally known, were, in spite of their not being found in documents anterior to 1548, still in existence at that time? Historical proofs are certainly valuable, but only when certain intermediate forms can be historically proved, which is not the case with Florio's* *archicioffo*, a word not to be found in any good Italian dictionary either ancient or modern, nor to be heard from any Italian mouth, nor indeed belonging to any Neo-

Latin dialect. Diez (p. 27 of the fourth edition of his "Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen", Bonn, 1878), Devic (p. 12 of his "Supplément au Dictionnaire de Littré"), Scheler (p. 20 of his "Dictionnaire d'étymologie française, d'après les résultats de la science moderne", Paris, 1862), Brachet (p. 60 of his "Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue francaise", Paris), and other very competent modern linguists do not derive *artichaut*, *articioco*, etc., but only *carciofo*, *alcachofa*, etc., from *harshaf*. It is difficult, in fact, to say the least, to admit what is stated at pp. xvii–xviii of the "Monthly Abstract of the Proceedings of the Philological Society, Session 1883–4" (to which paper only these remarks of mine refer), *viz.*, that *articiocco*, etc., derive from *harshaf*. This derivation leaves without explanation the loss of the initial Arabic sound and, what is still worse, the change of the final *f* of the same language into *k*. This change, in fact, would oblige us to admit the intermediate form *archicioffo*, for the existence of which, as I have already said, there is no historical evidence in genuine Italian documents.

Neither do I see that the introduction of the plant into Europe from Arabia in any respects necessitates that the name by which it became known should also be of Arabic origin. Some of its names (those which I have pointed out in my paper) are so certainly, as *carciofo* and *alcachofa*, but others, as *articioco* and *artichaut*, seem not to be so. Thus Italian *cannella* (cinnamon) has nothing to do with the Indian name, but *cinnamon* and *cannella* are of Indian origin. What happened with the cinnamon may have happened with the artichoke, which the Neo-Latins may have looked upon merely as a new species of *cactus* taken in the sense of "cardoon", etc.

* John Florio, *b.* about 1540, attacked Shakspere and was satirised by him as Holofernes (a pedantic schoolmaster), in "Love's Labour's lost", Act 4, Scene 1, and Act 5, Scene 1 and 2. (*See* "Haydn's Universal Index of Biography, edited by J. Bertrand Payne". London, 1870.)

L.-L. Bonaparte.

London, 7 November 1884.

APPENDIX VI.

REMARQUES SUR CERTAINES ASSERTIONS DE *M.* J. VINSON CONCERNANT LA LANGUE BASQUE.

Mr. J. Vinson, Professeur à l'Ecole des Langues Orientales de Paris, à la p. 222 du tome xvii de la "Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie Comparée", après avoir rendu public un vieux texte basque daté de 1584 et découvert par *M.* Communay, s'exprime ainsi : *Si l'on compare la lettre d'Echaux* (l'auteur du texte) *au " Nouveau Testament " de Liçarrague, on en conclut que le premier document se rattache au bas-navarrais oriental ou peut-être au souletin, tandis que le second appartient au bas-navarrais occidental.* Quant au texte d'Echaux, il nous paraît que les mots : *ou peut-être au souletin* devraient être supprimés. En effet, les formes verbales de ce document prouvent assez que son dialecte se rattache presque toujours au bas-navarrais oriental, surtout aux variétés de Cize et de Mixe, et quelquefois, mais bien plus rarement, à celle de l'Arberoue ou même au sous-dialecte de l'Adour, comme *sainduyan*, et non pas *sainduyaz* de la p. 221, où l'intercalation de *y* indique tout aussi bien le langage d'Ayherre et de Briscous que le vieux souletin du temps de Liçarrague, dont quelques mots sont comparés par cet auteur à ceux de son vieux labourdin. De toutes les formes verbales données par *M.* Vinson aux pp. 218–220, il n'y en a pas une seule, excepté *zaituen* (*çatueen* dans le manuscrit), qui n'appartienne au bas-navarrais oriental, soit exclusivement soit en commun avec le souletin. Il n'y a donc que les premières qui puissent servir à prouver la nature du dialecte. C'est ainsi, en effet, que 1°. *dikezi* (tu l'auras), fut. resp. 2e pers. sing., et

non pas, comme pense *M.* Vinson (vous pouvez l'avoir, aor. resp. 2e. pers.), est en souletin "dikezu"; 2°. *darautzudala* (corrigez: *darauzudala*), soul. "deizudala"; 3°. *eztizit*, "eztizut"; 4°. *baitut*, "beitut"; 5°. *dirauztazu*, "deiztatzu"; 6°. *baititut*, "beitutut"; 7°. *enizi*, "enizu"; 8°. *derakozut*, "diozut"; 9°. *dirautazu*, "ditazu"; 10°. *daraudala*, "deitala"; 11°. *eztizi*, "eztizu"; 12°. *zitut*, "zutut"; 13°. *daramena*, "daramana"; 14°. *darautzut* (je les ai à toi), et non pas (je l'ai à vous), "deitzut"; 15°. *eztarautzut* (je ne les ai pas à toi), et non pas (je ne l'ai pas à vous), "ezteitzut"; 16°. *dizit*, "dizut"; 17°. *darakodala*, "deyodala"; 18°. *dutana*, "dudana"; 19°. *nukezu* (*tu m'auras*), pour (je serai), et non pas (vous pouvez m'avoir) pour (je puis être), en soul. aussi "nukezu", mais seulement dans le sens de (je serai), car pour (tu m'auras) ce dialecte a "naikezu"; 20°. *itzazu*, "etzatzu, itzatzu"; 21°. *nitien*, "nutian".

Quant à la nature du dialecte du Nouveau Testament, nous croyons avoir parfaitement bien démontré que c'est un sous-dialecte labourdin éteint, quoique mêlé de souletin et de bas-navarrais. Il était probablement en usage à Briscous, patrie de Liçarrague, bien que cette localité appartienne maintenant au sous-dialecte bas-navarrais oriental de l'Adour. Il diffère aussi du bas-navarrais occidental, même de celui d'Ustaritz, qui représente la variété la plus rapprochée du labourdin. Ses formes verbales et nominales les plus caractéristiques, contrairement à ce que pense *M.* Vinson, le rattachent au labourdin, comme on peut le voir par le tableau suivant, que nous pourrions facilement augmenter.

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* Les formes allocutives sont imprimées en italiques.

† La forme causative *baitaye*, pour *baitzaye*, dérive de *daye*, synonyme de *zaye* "il est à eux", dans le basque de *Liçarrague*. Elle est précieuse, car elle confirme, selon nous, la permutation en *d* du *z* des terminatifs à régime indirect; et, quoique nous ne soyons qu'un simple collecteur de faits matériels, incapable de les analyser, d'en rechercher la valeur et de leur donner une conclusion naturelle, telle du moins est l'opinion de *M.* Vinson (*voyez* p. 252), nous nous permettrons de conclure que puisque *zaye* équivaut à *daye*, *da* aussi doit equivaloir à *za* sa forme primitive, se rattachant à *iz*, *itz*, *iza*, *itza*, et *izan*, "été" et "eu" en même temps dans cinq sur huit dialectes basques.

Liçarrague.	*Labourdin.*	*Ustaritz.*	*Briscous.*
—ua :	—ua :	—uya :	—uya :
burua, etc. ...	burua, etc. ...	buruya, etc. ...	buruya, etc.
naiz ...	naiz ...	niz ...	niz
zara ; aiz ...	zare, zara ; haiz ...	zia ; hiz ...	zia ; hiz
gara, garade ...	gare, gara ...	gia ...	gia
zarete ...	zarete, zaizte ...	ziizte ...	ziizte
dira, dirade ...	dire ...	dia ...	dia
zaite ; adi ...	zaite ; hadi ...	zite ; hai ...	zite ; hadi
bedi ...	bedi ...	bei ...	bedi
zaitezte ...	zaitezte ...	ziizte ...	ziizte
bitez ...	beitez ...	bite ...	bite
duzue ...	duzuo ...	duzüi ...	duzii
dute ; *die** ...	dute ; *ditek* ...	dute ; *die* ...	dute ; *die*
nuen ...	nuen ...	niin ...	niin
zenduen ...	zinuen, zinduen ...	zinüin ...	zinüin
zuten ; *ziteau* ...	zuen ; *ziteau* ...	zuten ; *ziteyan* ...	zuten ; *ziteyan*
duke ; *dikek* ...	duke ; *zikek, dikek* ...	duke ; *zikek, dikek* ...	duke ; *dikek*
dukeite ; *dikee* ...	dukete ; *ziketek* ...	dukete ; *ziketeye, diketeye* ...	dukete ; *dikeye*
ezazu ...	zazu ...	zazu ...	zazu
nau, nu ; *niauk* ...	nau ; *nauk, naik* ...	nu ; *nik* ...	nu ; *nik*
zaitu ; au ...	zaitu ; hau ...	zitu ; hu ...	zitu ; hu
gaitu ; *giaitik* ...	gaitu ; *gaitik* ...	gitu ; *gitik* ...	gitu ; *gitik*
drant ; *dirautak* ...	dant ; *ziautak* ...	dant ; *zautak* ...	dant ; *dautak*
drauzkit ...	dauzkit ...	dait ...	dait
draukа ; *diraukak* ...	dio ; *ziok* ...	dio ; *ziok* ...	dako ; *dakok*
drautza, drauzka, drauzkio	diotza, diozka ...	diotzi ...	daizko
drane, deraue ...	diote ...	diote ...	daye
drauzte ...	diotzate, diozkate ...	diotzite ...	daizte
zayo ; *ziayok* ...	zayo ; *zayok, ziayok* ...	zako, *zakok* ...	zako ; *zakok*
zaye, dayet ; *ziayek* ...	zayote ; *zayotek, ziayotek*	zakote ; *zakoteye* ...	zaye ; *zayek*

Voilà deux phrases du Nouveau Testament de Liçarrague, qui prouvent que *baitzaye*, causatif de *zaye*, et *baitaye*, causatif de *daye*, sont parfaitement synonymes entre eux : 1°. *Matth.* 9-15. *edequiren baitzaye ezcondua* "que le nouveau marié leur sera ôté"; 2°. *Jud.* -13. *ceinéy apprestatua baitaye tenebretaco ilhumbean* " auxquelles est réservée l'obscurité des ténèbres

Mr. Vinson, à la p. 253 du même volume de sa " Revue", se plait à répéter, en pure perte de temps, ses objections contre ma théorie verbale. Nous ne l'imiterons pas en répétant nos réponses, que nous persistons à regarder comme plus que suffisantes pour prouver qu'il a tort.

Aux pp. 285-286 du même volume de sa " Revue", il critique ainsi la

phrase basque *egurraldia gaïztoa ?*, citée par Victor Hugo au §v de la première partie des " Travailleurs": *Ces deux mots sont basques, en effet : mais il aurait fallu enlever l'article final de egurraldia devant le qualificatif* gaiztoa *qui est lui-même déterminé. De plus,* egurraldi *ou plutôt* eguraldi (*cf. le Souletin* egünaldi) *a proprement le sens de " beau temps", témoin le proverbe* Goitz (*Goiz,* dans " le Folklore", *est seul correct*) gorrik euri daïdi, arrats gorrik eguraldi " *Matin rouge fait pluie, soir rouge beau temps* (*cf.* le Folklore du pays basque, *par Julien Vinson, 1838, p. 306*). *Il s'associe donc mal avec le mot* gaizto " *méchant, mauvais*".

Nous observerons à ce sujet que *eguraldia gaiztoa ?* est une phrase interrogative pouvant être employée dans la conversation d'une manière elliptique pour *eguraldia gaiztoa da ?* De semblables ellipses ont plus ou moins lieu en toutes les langues dans le discours negligé ; de sorte que si, d'une part, " le mauvais temps" ne peut être traduit que par *eguraldi gaiztoa*, d'autre part " le temps est-il mauvais ?" est rendu par *eguraldia gaiztoa da ?* et, elliptiquement, même par *eguraldia gaiztoa ?* tout court. (Cf. le proverbe 101 d'Oihenart : *Bihozaren beharguile mihia* " la langue est l'ouuriere du cœur", et autres ellipses de la sorte, où ne figure aucun terminatif verbal).

Quant à l'association de *eguraldi* avec *gaiztoa*, elle est on ne peut plus correcte ; car, si le sens de " beau temps" est donné à *eguraldi* dans le " Folklore" cité par M. Vinson, c'est là une exception qui n'appartient qu'au langage des proverbes et qui n'a absolument aucune valeur pour infirmer l'usage constant des Basques et de leurs écrivains en général, ainsi que l'autorité des lexicographes, tels que 1°. Larramendi, qui dans son dictionnaire espagnol-basque traduit " temporal, bueno ó mal tiempo" par *eguraldi ona edo gaiztoa* ; 2°. Aizquibel, qui dans son dictionnaire basque espagnol rend *eguraldia* par " el temporal bueno ó malo"; 3°. Zavala, qui dans son dictionnaire manuscrit, dont nous sommes l'heureux possesseur, explique " temporal, tiempo bueno ó malo" par *egualdia*, forme définie qui a l'avantage de nous permettre de considérer le *r* de *eguraldia* ni plus ni moins euphonique que le *r* de *bururik*, pour *buruik*, et qui nous dispense d'admettre, avec *M.* van Eys, la rare permutation de *n* en *r* en *egunaldi*, car nous admettons que *egu* pourrait bien être la forme primitive de *egun*, puisque *egu* se trouve associé à *aldi* en biscaïen et qu'en aezcoan il signifie " aujourd'hui"; 4°. Enfin, et par simple surérogation, même *M.* van Eys, qui dans son très-fautif et très-incomplet dictionnaire basque-français traduit *eguraldi*, *egunaldi* par " temps". De même, au xvie siècle (*voyez* p. 635 du " Memorial Histórico Español". Madrid, 1854), Garibay traduisait ainsi son proverbe 14 : *Eguzqui eta euri, Marti eguraldi* " Sol y agua tiempo de Março." Ce n'est donc que le qualificatif *on* ou *gaizto* qui indique si " le temps" *eguraldia*, *egualdia*, *egunaldia*, *egünaldia*, selon les dialectes, est bon ou mauvais. Nous croyons, par conséquent, que Hugo, à l'exception de *egurraldia*, incorrect, et qui doit être remplacé par *eguraldia*, ne mérite aucun reproche quant à la phrase interrogative, elliptique et toute familière : *eguraldia gaiztoa ?*

L.-L. Bonaparte.

Londres, le 28 Octobre 1884.

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TO THE

PHILOLOGICAL TRANSACTIONS,

1882–3–4.

(By W. M. Wood.)

***** In this Index the names of the authors of articles are printed in SMALL CAPITALS. The titles of articles are placed between "inverted commas" (" "). The titles of books criticised or mentioned are placed in 'single inverted commas' (' '). Words explained, or their derivation treated of, are printed in *italics*. The *Proceedings* of the two Sessions contained in this volume are referred to the Sessions, thus: "*Proc.* '82-3, i, ii, iii, etc." Where papers, which are noticed in the *Proceedings*, are printed in full in the *Transactions*, the reference to the pages of the *Proceedings* is omitted. The stars, daggers, etc., attached to the folios of the various Appendixes (which should be bound up in the volume immediately preceding this Index), are also used here.**

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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, November 3, 1882.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *Prezident*, in the Chair.

The paper red was "On English Words in the Anglesea Dialect," by Mr. William Jones, of Anglesea. In this paper (which wil shortly apear in the Society's Transactions) Mr. Jones gave an acount of the forms of English words adopted into the Anglesea dialect of Welsh, and the changes they hav undergon, showing that in many cases they prezerv the Midl English forms almost unchanged.

In the discussion Mr. ELLIS remarkt on the strongly dialectal (West-Midland) character of many of the words. Mr. SWEET exprest a hope that Mr. Jones would ad the gender of the borrowd words, remarking that the general principl was that they took the genders of the Welsh words they displaced.

Friday, November 17, 1882.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *Prezident*, in the Chair.

The paper red was "On the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary," by Mr. James Platt the yunger.

He pointed out the mistake of reprinting the errors of the infant Anglo-Saxon filology of Bosworth's time as food for a generation that has advanced so far beyond it. Unfortunately, as no scholar would link his name to such a work, the editing had had to be entrusted to an untried hand, and the rezult was that even the matter under Prof. Toller's control was almost as bad as the erly part which had been "finaly revized" at Bosworth's deth, rendering it a work of considerabl difficulty to alter it except slightly. The unscientific and chaotic basis on which the dictionary is built up, the treatment of the vowel *æ* as *ae* (between *ad* and *af*) and of the consonant *þ* as *th* (between *te* and *ti*), the jumbling together of short and long vowels, the catchwords spelt anyhow, and many of them in various ways, with full references to each, and no indication of their respectiv valu, age, or dialect, the introduction of mere inflections

and frazes as catchwords, and even of words that do *not* ocur in Anglo-Saxon, solely in order to tell us so! the contradictions and false references—wer all criticized and exemplified. The ignorance shown by the dictionary in Anglo-Saxon grammar and the cognate Germanic languages—in fact, in comparativ filology generaly—was illustrated by a number of amazing exampls. [These ar not givn here, as the paper wil shortly be printed in full.] The reading for the dictionary had also been very ineficient, many words being givn with no reference, and many others omitted altogether.

Mr. PLATT remarkt that the dictionary was right in omitting the eroneous mark of length on the prefix *a-* (*arisan*, etc.) stil retained by sum who oght to know better. He stated his reazons for considering it short, giving an explanation of the laws governing the accentuation of prefixes, suggested a derivation of *gese* (yes) from *geá* and *swá*, and pointed out the existence of a feminin ending *-icge*, together with sum minor details.

Dr. MURRAY exprest his entire agreement with Mr. Platt's criticizms. He had himself repeatedly reprezented the worthlessness of Bosworth's part of the work to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, and had even advized them to cancel it, and begin again at the beginning. With regard to the law of prefix-accentuation in Germanic, he pointed out the interesting fact that to the influence of this habit is due the distinction between the members of such pairs as *rebel* noun and *rebel* verb. He saw in Mr. Platt with much plezure a rizing yung scholar, and exprest his thanks for much valuabl help aforded by him to the Anglo-Saxon portions of the Society's English Dictionary. Mr. SWEET said that as a criticizm the paper was not quite satisfactory. In the first place, he mist any atempt to discriminate between Bosworth's and Toller's share of the work, most of Mr. Platt's exampls being taken from the erly part of the dictionary which was printed off befor Mr. Toller began to work at it. [Here both Mr. PLATT and Dr. MURRAY stated that they coud not discuver any difference between the two.] He also thoght Mr. Platt wrong in insisting on the separation of long and short vowels, and sum other details of arangement. Mr. Sweet gave the history of the dictionary from his personal knowledg, saying that the strongest proof of incompetency that any one coud giv was to undertake such a work at all. Til the ground has been prepared by accurate text-editions and special investigations, the utmost that can be atempted is a short dictionary, which, without aiming at fullness of quotation, wil refrain from repeating traditional blunders. He remarkt that the realy important rezult of the paper was that a yung scholar had arizen who was not only able to point out defects but was likely to remedy them himself. As regards the prefixes, Mr. Sweet said that tho he agreed in the main with the German scholars whose views Mr. Platt had expounded, he differed from them in considering the evidence of the MS. accents and the form *ácumba*=*oakum*, whose *á-* for *ǽ-* has evidently been taken from sum such verb as **ácemban*, to proov the length of the vowel.

Friday, December 1, 1882.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *Prezident*, in the Chair, and

Friday, December 15, 1882.

A. J. ELLIS, B.A., *Vice-Prezident*, in the Chair.

PRINCE L.-L. BONAPARTE red a paper on "Initial Mutations in the Living Celtic, Basque, Sardinian, and Italian Dialects." The Prince gave a complete survey of all the changes of a first letter in a word or its supression, or of aditions made to it, under the influence of a preceding word, which ar wel known to exist in Welsh and Gaelic, but which the Prince traced thru all the living Celtic languages; and he then showd that exactly similar fenomena existed in Basque and the Sardinian and Italian dialects. The hole was illustrated with fifteen elaborate tables, containing complete lists of all kinds of mutation, and a new classification of the Celtic languages. At the concluzion of the second part of the paper, the Prince red a paper on the names of "Roncesvalles and Juniper in Basque-Latin and Neo-Latin, and the successors of Latin *j*," in which he showd that the proper name of the place is the Basque *Orre-aga*, 'a place full of junipers;' and he proceeded to trace the name juniper thru fifteen classes of languages and their multifarious dialects, showing that the Latin letter *j* assumed seventeen different forms in these derived languages, every case being illustrated by the name givn to the 'juniper.'

Friday, January 19, 1883.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *Prezident*, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting wer red and confirmd.

The Rev. FREDERICK W. RAGG, Vicar of Masworth, Tring, was propozed as a member of the Society by Mr. A. J. Ellis, from personal knowledg.

The HON. SEC. stated that Mr. Cayley had undertaken to make an Index to the last volume of the Society's *Transactions*, and that Mr. Elworthy had promist that his wife and daughters would continue the Index to the hole of the Society's *Proceedings* and *Transactions* to the end of 1881.

Dr. MURRAY stated the condition of the Society's *New English Dictionary*. It was not til last May (insted of March) that copy coud be got to press: the reading and correcting of the proofs had taken much longer time than had been anticipated; the corrections wer very hevy indeed; it was not til an articl was in type that one coud judg of the right sequence of the meanings, etc., that one coud determin which quotations coud best be sacrificed to keep the Dictionary within the prescribed limits; also, being short took time. Mr. H. Hucks Gibbs, Mr. Fitz-Edward Hall, and Mr. Platt lookt

thru the sheets, and supplied illustrations and valuabl criticizms. Mr. Martineau, Mr. Britten (in Botany), Mr. Watts and Prof. Roscoe (in Chemistry), and Mr. Pollock (in Law) had givn valuabl help. Often, articls had to be largely corrected, and in one case (in which Mr. Furnivall and others had helpt), that of *Adjutator*, the stereotype plates had to be cut up. *Agitator* in its erly sense of 'agent' or 'attorney' was alterd by the soldiers of Fairfax's and Cromwell's Army into *Adjutator* (under the influence of *Adjutor* and *Adjutant*).

Now, the printers ar at *Alert*, proofs ar out to *Albacore*, finals ar at *Age*, 176 pages, about half Part I. (350 pages). In Littré *Age* runs only to page 75. Part I. ought to go to *App*. As to the reading of books: the bulk of it stopt about a year ago; but 100 readers stil work on. Nearly every day brings its parcel of slips. After the articl was cast, a new sense of *Admiral* came in, as the title of the first man who came to the Northern Sea fishing each seazon, and he, with the second and third as Rear Admiral and Vice Admiral, formd a court for the trial of all cauzes. Among the helpers wer: Mr. Thos. Austen, jun., Mr. F. J. Furnivall, Miss Edith Thompson, Rev. N. Lees, Mr. Chas. Grey (sub-editor of part of S. He supplied constructions of prepozitions, etc., as 'A picture *after* Rafael'), Mr. Lyell, Mrs. W. Browne, Miss Brown, Mr. Henderson (Hed Master of Bedford Grammar School), Dr. Blandford, Dr. Brushfield (30 or 40,000 quotations), Mr. Doble, Mr. Hailston, Mr. Kingsmill, Mr. G. H. White, Mr. E. S. Jackson, Miss Southwell, several Americans, Dr. Pierson, Dr. B. Talbot, and others. Miss Toulmin Smith has lookt up words in the Muzeum. Mons. Paul Meyer, tho il, has helpt much in Old French; Prof. Gaston Paris too. Also Prof. Skeat in amendment of his etymologies. 30 sub-editors wer now at work. Justice, said Dr. Murray, was hardly done to their able quiet work. *Au—Az* (done), Mr. Erlebach; *Ba—Bea* (done), Rev. A. P. Fayers; *Bui—Bus*, Mr. G. L. Apperson; *Bus—Bz*, Mr. T. Henderson (done to *Busy*); *Cha* (done), Mr. Apperson; *Che*, Rev. C. B. Mount, M.A.; *Chl—Chry* (arranging), Mrs. Pope; *Chu* to *Chz*, Mr. E. C. Hulme (*Commonweal* to *Cz* done); *De—Deca* (done), Mr. F. T. Elworthy; *Del—Der*, Miss J. E. A. Brown; *Did*, Rev. W. E. Smith; *E* (done), Mr. P. W. Jacob; *G—Gr* (done to Goose), Rev. G. B. R. Bousfield; *Group—*, Rev. T. D. Morris; *Ha*, Mr. G. A. Schrumpf; *He*, Captain Fitzgibbon; *Hi*, Mr. R. J. Lloyd, *Ho* (arranged by) Mr. S. Taylor; *Hu* (arranging), Mr. Longden; *J*, Rev. Walter Gregor (done to *Jiz*); *Lu—Lz*, Mr. E. Warren; *Ma* (done to *Manu*), Mr. J. Brown; *Mi*, Rev. J. J. Smith; *Na*, Rev. A. P. Fayers; *O* (sorting), Miss M. Haig; *Oo—Ou*, Rev. W. J. Löwenberg; *Pa* (old slips lost in Ireland, largely replaced by Mr. E. S. Jackson), Miss J. E. A. Brown (done to *Parte*); *Pea—Pel*, Mr. J. Britten, F.L.S.; *Per—Poz* (done to *Piny*), Mr. W. J. Anderson; *Q* (done), Mr. Jacob; *S* (done to *Super*), Mr. Jacob (aged 83, wunderful man!); *S*, partly arranged by Mr. W. Brown; partly arranged and sub-edited by Mr. C. Gray; *Ta—Thorax* (done), Rev. W. B. R. Wilson; *Ti*, Mr. T. Wilson; *To* (arranging), Miss Westmacott; *Tra*, Mr. A. Sweeting; *Tro—Tsy*, Mr. A. Welch; *Tu—*, Mr. A. Lyall; *U* (done to *Unlute*), Rev. T.

Sheppard (Exeter Coll.); *V* (done), Rev. T. Sheppard; *W* (arranged by) Mrs. Walkey; *Wo*, Mr. H. S. Tabor; *W* (part), Rev. W. H. Beckett; *Y* (done to *Yiz*); *Z* (done to *Ziz*), Rev. T. Smallpeice. To these add the large parts of *C*, and *K* done in former times by Mr. H. H. Gibbs; *F*, by Mr. Wheelwright; *R*, by Rev. W. W. Skeat, to which the recent additions have not been added. Prof. Rieu had helpt with Semitic words.

Yet, after sub-editors had done their best with the quotations themselvs, the history of a word had often to be sought outside the extracts from English books—in French, Latin, etc. 3149 words are treated in the part done; ther ar 300 subsidiary articls besides, as *beforehand* under *before*; 651 cross-references: altogether 4100 words to *Age*; 1867 in Webster, etc., in his Supplement 156, together 2023. Weev mor than dubl Webster's number of words. 2128 forms ar to be added: altogether 5577, including words like *ayen* and *agen*. Of the 3149 (+) 994 ar obsolete: 2155 in modern use: 153 are denizens (||), travelers' names of shrubs, French words like *abandon*, *abattoir*, Ital. like *acciaccatura*, Sp. like *alcarraza*, etc. (*Exparte*, *nisi prius*, must be treated as English words), 2022 fully naturalized English words.

Of aboriginal English words there ar 187 only in 2155; 1420 ar holely of forein extraction, like *abstersive*.

531 ar English formations on forein roots in *ed*, *ing*, and *ness*. Only 17 ar hybrids, like *acknowledgment*, *abearance*, forein endings on English roots. The editor has to prevent the slips running away with him. Thus the slips showed a quotation of the 16th century for *agnostic*, tho Prof. Huxley invented it in 1859, and R. H. Hutton introduced it to the public. Mr. Martineau found that the 16th century word was a misprint for *Agonistic*, a set of agonizing monks.

Airount, "ymped with plumes of this airount." ? 'swallow,' OFr. *aronde*; 'arrow,' OFr. *arionde*. Mr. Furnivall lookt it up in the MS., and it turnd out to be what Dr. Murray suspected, a modern misprint of '*account*.'

Compounds: The first enormous group was under *after*. Mr. Ellis gave very valuabl suggestions as to arrangement. The hyfen was not to be treated as of *lexical* valu, but only of *grammatical*, as 'After consideration, I rezolvd,' etc.; but 'after-consideration has shown my mistake,' shows only that the *grammatical* valu of *after* is changed. 'Adam's appl' is a *word*, 'tempest-tost' is not a word, but *tempest* is only in an instrumental relation to *tost*. So these so-cald compounds ar only noted: as 'air-breathing,' 'air-borne,' 'air-clear,' 'air-castles,' 'air-current.' In 'air-drain' there is a nearer approach to a compound. Those which hav a history, like *ale-bench* (English from Beowulf), ar treated separately (an erly instance of *air-tight* is wanted[1]). Aged (21, or so), 'of such an age' had no quotations at all. After a long serch, Mrs. Murray found it

[1] Mr. Furnivall has since found an instance in 1766, and Miss Teena Rochfort Smith an erlier one in 1760.

soon after 1600, on a brass in Kendal Church. Great difficulty was experienced in ascertaining usage for the pronunciation of less common words, as *alarum*, *alcove*, *allod*. In the majority of scientific words, esp. chemical words like *acetamide*, *acetonamine*, *acetyl*, there was no settled usage at all. Many of these words Dr. Murray said had 6 pronunciations known to him, and perhaps as many more unknown.

Dr. MURRAY then red his articls on *aesthetic* (philosophic sense 1800, current sense 1831), on *ae-*, on *-ade* (all prefixes and suffixes being treated as separate words), and on *agnail*.

Mr. FURNIVALL propozed, Mr. ELLIS seconded, a vote of thanks to Dr. Murray for his Address, and to him, and his Sub-editors, and Readers for the admirabl work they had done, and the very great service they had renderd to the Society, and the cauze it had at hart. This was past unanimously, and Dr. MURRAY returnd thanks expressing his gratitude to all his Helpers. He wanted now a fresh paid assistant, beside his prezent helpers, Mr. A. Erlebach, B.A., Mr. Mitchell, and Miss Skipper. Another Mr. Erlebach would be an enormous help to the Dictionary.

Friday, February 2, 1883.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *Prezident*, in the Chair.

The papers red wer 1) "English etymologies," by Mr. H. Sweet. The current derivation of *hive* from the O.E. *hīw* of *hīwræden* is inconsistent with the O.E. form, which is *hȳfe*, pointing to Arian *kūpiō*, cognate with Latin *cūpa* and O.E. *hūfe* 'hood.' The original sense is 'round vessel,' the root being **cu* 'swel.' Cp. Welsh *cwch*='boat' and 'beehive,' from the same root. *wīcing* is not a Norse word, for it occurs not only in Alfred's Orosius, but also in the stil older Epinal glossary, so that it is quite possibl that the Norsemen lernt it from the English pirates of the *littus Saxonicum*. The derivation from Norse *vīk* 'bay' becums therefor stil mor improbabl. *wīcing* may be related to a hypothetical **wīging* like *sūcan* to *sūgan*, in which case it would hav originaly ment simply 'warrior.' Cp. Norse *hildingr* from *hild*.

2) "Origin of English *it*," by Mr. H. Sweet.

The erly loss of the *h* of *it* (even Orm showing *itt*) is opozed not only to *he*, *her*, etc., but also to the oblique cases (*his*, *him*) of *it* itself. In Mod. E. we hav a distinction between emfatic *he*, *him*, etc., and unemfatic (enclitic) *'e*, *'im*, which is always obzervd in natural speech. The dropping of unaccented *h* is proovd for O.E. by such forms as *Ælfere*, *Byrhtelm* for *Ælfhere*, *Byrhthelm*, etc. Even in O.E. there must hav been unemfatic forms such as *ine*, *it* parallel to the emfatic *hine*, *hit*. In the case of *hē*, *hine* the emfatic forms wer writn everywhere, while the emfatic *hit*, being much rarer than the unemfatic *it*, was at last entirely suplanted by it, in speech as wel as writing.

In the discussion Dr. MURRAY remarkt that the distinction be-

tween the emfatic '*hit* is good' and the unemfatic '*it* rains' was stil prezervd in Scotch.

3) "History of *g* in English," by Mr. H. Sweet. The current view in Germany is that O.E. *g* reprezented an open cons. ('spirant') not only medialy, but also initialy, palatal (=*j*) in *gefan*, etc., guttural (=gh) in *gold*, etc.

The evidence both of the cognates and of O.E. itself bears out this view for medial and final *g*, but not for initial *g*. The only language which has init. (gh) is Dutch, but there is no evidence of this being old. Midl Flemish *gh-* in *gheren* does not, as is generaly assumed, denote this sound, but is simply a Romance spelling to show that the *g* had not the French sound which it had in borowd words such as *gentel*. The O.E. evidence is also against initial (gh) and (j). There is a law in O.E. by which *d*+z, ȝ or *v* becomes *t*+*s*, etc., both being unvoiced, as in *bletsian* from **blōdizōn*. In the Northumbrian Liber Vitae this law is carried out regularly in compounds, such as *altfriȝ* (=*aldfriȝ*), *eatȝryȝ*, *eatfrith*. But we do not find **eat(c)har*, but only *eadgar*, *aldgisl*, etc., showing that the *g* cannot hav been an open cons. Again, the West-Saxon change of *ge-* into *gie-*, as in *giefan*, is perfectly parallel to that of *ce-* into *cie-*, as in *ciest* (chest), and can only be explaind as the introduction of an *i*-glide after a palatal stop, (ȷevan) becoming (ȷjevan) just as (cest) became (cjest). We can understand (gaadn) becuming (gjaadn), but not (jaad) becuming (jjaad)—except on paper.

Original *j* as in *gēong* (young) having also becum stopt in O.E., the palatal stop was exprest indifferently by *i*, *g* or *ge*, as was the case in the contemporary Romance spelling. An O.E. *iecaes* for *geacaes* no mor proovs (j) than French *jamais* does.

In Midl E. initial (c) became (tsh), while initial (ȷ) became not (dzh) but (j). So also in Swedish initial *k* and *g* before front vowels, which in Icelandic ar stil perfectly parallel (k*j*, g*j*), hav diverged into (cjh) [nearly=(tsh)] and (j), as in *kenna*, *göra*.

The supozed O.E. initial (gh) has been carried back by German scholars to the prehistoric period of the first Germanic consonant-shift ("Grimm's Law"). They assume that Arian *g'* (commonly writn *gh*) passed thru the stage of (gh). Verner's law has no dout proovd that the *g* which alternates with *h*, as in *slægen*, *slēan* (=*sleahan*) must onse hav been (gh), but there is no such evidence for Paul's theory that *g'* past into *g* thru (gh). Arian *g'* was a purely vocal sound—an emfasized (g) and coud be modified only in two ways: 1) by simpl dropping of the ('), or 2) its devocalization, giving (g'), whense (k'), as in Old Greek, and open (kh), as in Mod. Greek. The parallel *gh*:ȝ::*kh*:*x* holds good only on paper.

There is besides a law of prehistoric Germanic by which *n* before (x) is dropt after nazalizing the preceding vowel, which nazalization was afterwards lost. Thus the aj. *lihto* (Germ. *leicht*) cums from **linhto*, *linktó*, *leng'tó* from √ *lang'*. If the aj. *lango* from the same root had had (ȝ), the rezulting combination (nȝ) oght to hav been treated in the same way, giving **lōg* in Old English, insted of *lang*. It is clear that at the time when this law was working all *g*s, from

original *k* as wel as from *g'*, must hav been stops, the latter having been so from the beginning. The following wer, therefor, the stages of the first consonant-shift:

k	g	g'
x; ʒ		
x (h—); g	k	g

The change of *g* between vowels into (ʒ) was then carried out separately in the different languages.

Friday, February 16, 1883.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *Prezident*, in the Chair.

The paper red was "On Intonation in Spoken English," by Mr. H. Sweet.

Mr. Sweet said that the prezent paper was a continuation of erlier papers red by him befor the Society on stress in compounds and sentence-stress in English, and that it, together with them, would form part of a treatiz on English pronunciation he had in preparation.

He sketcht the history of the study from Steele and Rush down to Bell, who was the first to giv a general survey of the various forms and meanings of the tones in English, and Ellis, whose paper on *Accent and Emphasis* has laid the foundation of historical and comparative tonology, and insisted on the necessity of basing it not, as hitherto has been generaly done, on the artificial declamation of literary passages, but on coloquial speech. After discussing the methods of determining the intervals of the rizes and falls which constitute intonation, nl. by converting the glide into a leap (that is, *singing* the tones insted of speaking them), and by associating each interval with a definit expressivness, he proceeded to enumerate the different tones and the logical and emotional ideas they express. Mr. Sweet said that for the prezent he contented himself with enumerating the various directions and combinations of the tones, leaving the very difficult question of the exact determination of the intervals for future investigation.

Among the points specialy investigated by Mr. Sweet wer the use of the rize in non-interrogativ sentences to express apeal, remonstrance, softened contradiction, comand, and refuzal, and in conection with predicates of feebl intensity. Also the use of the level tone to express emotional neutrality, and of level+rize or fall, fall or rize+level tone, which hav not hitherto been investigated.

In the discussion Mr. ELLIS and Mr. LECKY remarkt on the difficulty of accurately mezuring the intervals of speech by those of the ordinary muzical scale, which apear not to correspond. Mr. Ellis gave sum details about the scales of different nations, such as that of the Javanese, who divide the octave into five equal parts. Mr. Sweet thoght that the peculiar scales of oriental nations wer partly due to peculiarities of the instruments uzed and had no necessary conection with the intervals employed by those nations in speech. A general opinion was exprest of the dezirability of investigating the intervals of speech.

Friday, March 2, 1883.

Dr. R. MORRIS, V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, V.P., read his paper on the Dialects of the North of England, deferring his consideration of those of Lowland Scotch till next session. He first drew attention to the four districts he had proposed in his last paper 21 April 1882, the Southern or that of *sŭm house*, the Midland or that of *sŏŏm house*, the Northern or that of *sŏŏm hoose*, and the Lowland or that of *sŭm hoose*, and the lines separating them. The Southernmost gave only the northern limits of *sŭm*, but there was an indefinite Southern limit near the bottom of Worcestershire Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, to which Mr. Hallam's recent researches added another half way through Cambridge and into Norfolk coming up to the East of King's Lynn. The second, or *oo*, *ow*, line was nearly distinct throughout but it did not sufficiently define the Northern dialects, the Southern limit of which was a line north of the Filde district in North Lancashire, running up the Ribble and crossing to Ilkley in Yorkshire, then proceeding along the *oo*, *ow* line to the Lincolnshire border and along that to the Humber. The Northern dialects lie north of this line which is also the northern limit of the use of *the* as the definite article, which north of this becomes *t'* exclusively. The Southern limit of *t'* was a line through the southern boundary of Lancashire the north of Derbyshire and south of the West Riding of Yorkshire, after which it joins the northern limit of *the*. Between these lines the definite article was in the west normally *th*, as in *thin*, without a vowel, but *t'* and *the* were also both used, and in the eastern part *t'* was the commoner. There was also a northern *t'*, *the* line which was quite sharp through north Cumberland and the middle of Durham. Between this line and the northern boundary of *the*, Mr. Ellis placed the South-Northern dialect, occupying almost the whole of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, and the Mid Northern dialect including within these limits the rest of Yorkshire, North Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland. The next line to determine was the Northern *sŭm sŏŏm* boundary. The northern limit of *sŏŏm* is a line south of Longtown on the Solway, south of Bewcastle, along the base of the Cheviots in Northumberland, just west of Bellingham and Harbottle to the Cheviot Hill itself, and then across Northumberland just south of Wooler to Bamborough. As far as the Cheviot this was also the line separating Northern English and Lowland Scotch pronunciation, afterwards this boundary followed that of Northumberland to the Tweed, and then that river to the liberties of Berwick which it skirted to the sea. The southern limit of *sŭm* agreed with the northern limit of *sŏŏm* through Cumberland and then followed nearly the southern boundary of Northumberland. Between the northern *t' the* line and the Northern and Lowland

boundary, lay the North-Northern English dialect. Mr. Ellis then proceeded to shew the sub-divisions of the South Mid and North Northern dialects and gave their characteristics, but this is impossible to reproduce in a brief abstract.

After explaining his great obligations for materials for this investigation to Mr. C. Clough Robinson for South Northern, to Mr. J. G. Goodchild for Mid Northern and Mr. T. Hallam for North Lancashire, and to Mr. J. G. Goodchild and numerous informants in North Cumberland Durham and Northumberland for the North-Northern dialects, Mr. Ellis said he hoped to complete his examination of the Lowland dialects, (in which he should only attempt a little addition to Dr. Murray's book, originally a paper read to this Society on the Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, adopting the same divisions,) in time to begin his book on the Phonology of Existing English Dialects, (forming the fifth part of his Early English Pronunciation, for which this and his two previous papers were merely preparations,) by about June in this year, but he was quite unable to say when it would be concluded, although it would be persevered in steadily, as he was anxious to get it finished during his lifetime.

Friday, March 16, 1883.

A. J. ELLIS, V.P., in the Chair.

1). Prince L.-L. Bonaparte read a postscript to his paper on "Neuter Neo-Latin Substantives" in reference to some remarks made upon it in Romania vol. xi. p. 60, shewing that the cases quoted by M. Paul Meyer and presumed to have been overlooked by the Prince when denying the existence of neuter plurals in *a* in "Spanish, Portuguese, Occitanian, Catalonian, Modern Occitanian of France, Franco Occitanian (Ascoli's Franco-Provenzale) French and Wallachian," did not come within the scope of his paper, for the French forms *mille, charre, paire* though derived from Latin neuter plurals in *a* as *millia, carra, paria,* are not in French neuter substantives ending in *a*, and the Provençal forms *vestimenta, ossa, brassa,* are probably not plurals but collective singular nouns, which may agree with a verb in the singular, as is certainly the case for *ossa.*

2). A paper was red by H. Sweet, M.A., on "Spoken Portugueze." The following ar the vowels acording to the Lisbon pronunciation:

1. ɐ	(a)	amámos (*we luvd*)		ä·mamuʃs.
2. I	(i)	desejoso (*dezirous*)		dïzï·ʒozu
3. ɨ	(ë).	*See* 19.		
4. ɨ̃	(ën).	*See* 20.		
5. ɐ	(*ä*)	amamos (*we luv*)		ä·mämuʃs.

6. ɪʃ	(*än*)	irmã (*sister*)	ir·m*ä*n.
7. ɪ	(i)	si (*himself*)	si.
8. ɪʃ	(i*n*)	sim (*yes*)	si*n*.
9. ɛ	(e)	vê (*see!*)	ve.
10. ɛʃ	(e*n*)	vento (*wind*)	ve*n*tu.
11. ɐ	(æ)	pé (*foot*)	pæ.
12. ɨ	(u)	chuva (*rain*)	ʃuv*ä*.
13. ɨʃ	(u*n*)	um (*one*)	u*n*.
14. ɵ	(o)	boa (*good* fem.)	bo*ä*.
15. ɵʃ	(o*n*)	bom (*good* masc.)	bo*n*.
16. ɞ	(*o*)	pó (*dust*)	p*o*.

and diphthongs:

17. ɪɾ	(ai)	mais (*mor*)	mai*ʃs*.
18. ɪɨ	(au)	mau (*bad*)	mau.
19. ɛɾ	(ëi)	tenho (*I hav*)	tëiñu.
20. ɛʃɾ	(ë*n*i*n*)	tem (*has*)	të*n*i*n*.
21. ɪɾ	(*ä*i)	maior (*greater*)	m*ä*i·or.
22. ɪʃɾ	(*ä*n*i*n)	mãe (*mother*)	m*ä*n*in*.
23. ɪɨ	(*ä*u)	ao (*to the*)	*ä*u.
24. ɪʃɨ	(*ä*n*u*n)	irmão (*brother*)	ir·m*ä*n*un*.
25. ɪɨ	(iu)	viu (*he saw*)	viu
26. ɛɾ	(ei)	reis (*kings*)	rrei*ʃs*.
27. ɛɨ	(eu)	eu (*I*)	eu.
28. ɐɾ	(æi)	réis (*reals*)	rræi*ʃs*.
29. ɐɨ	(æu)	céo (*sky*)	sæu.
30. ɨɾ	(ui)	fui (*I was*)	fui.
31. ɨʃɾ	(u*n*i*n*)	muito (*much*)	mu*n*i*n*tu.
32. ɵɾ	(oi)	boi (*ox*)	boi.
33. ɵʃɾ	(o*n*i*n*)	põe (*puts*)	po*n*i*n*.
34. ɞɾ	(*o*i)	jóia (*jewel*)	ʒo*i*ä.

The following consonants require special notice:

35. ɹ, ɹʰ	(r, rr)	caro (*dear*); carro (*cart*)	karu; karru.
36. ɫ	(l*x*)	alto (*high*)	altu.
37. ɫ	(*l*)	filho (*sun*)	fi*l*u
38. ʒʃ	(*ʃs*)	justo (*just*)	ʒu*ʃs*tu.
39. ʒʃ	(*ʒs*)	desde (*sinse*)	de *s*dï
40. ɲ	(ñ)	banho (*bath*)	bañu

Mr. Sweet said that the rezults of his analysis differd in sum respects from those of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte in his paper on Portuguese Sounds publisht in these Transactions, and also from those of Deus, whom the Prince had followd in most cases. Mr. Sweet questiond the Prince's identification of the unaccented *a* (No. 5) with the English *a* in *man* (æ); Deus's and the Prince's nazality of vowels befor *n* and *m* followd by another vowel, as in *amo*; and was doutful about Deus's distribution of close and open *e*, and his distinction of the latter into two varieties.

Mr. Sweet calld atention to the frequent dropping of obscure *e* (No. 2) and the complex consonant-groups which rezulted therefrom, *vistes-tu* (coloquial for *viste-tu*) becuming (viʃtʃtu) etc. Also to the whispering of vowels following the stress-syllabl. especialy final (u) after stops, (rraʒgu pánnu) = *rasgo panno* 'I tear cloth' being thus distinguisht from (rraʒgu pánnu) = *rasgo o panno* 'I tear the cloth,' where the (u) from (u u) retains its ful vocality. He also gave an acount of the alternation of close and open *e* and *o* in inflection, based on ful lists.

The following specimen may be compard with that givn by the Prince:

As filhas do Mondego a morte escura
longo tempo chorando memoráram;
e por memoria eterna, em fonte pura
as lagrimas choradas transformáram:
o nome lhe puzeram que inda dura,
dos amores de Ignez, que alli passáram.
Véde que fresca fonte rega as flores,
que lagrimas são agua, e o nome amores.

Camões.

-ɪʃ ɔ]ɪɔʃɪɔɪɔʃɪ ɔ[ɔʃɪ ʃɪɔʃɪ ʃɪɔʃɪ ɔʃɪɔʃ

ɔ]ɪ ʃɪɔʃɪ ʃɪɔʃɪ ɔʃɪɔʃɪ ɔʃɪɔʃɪ ʃɪɔʃɪ ʃɪɔʃɪ

-ɔʃ ʃɪɔʃɪ.

In the discussion Prince L. L. BONAPARTE said he coud coroborate his apreciation by ear of all the sounds with the authority of several Portugueze fonetists besides Deus, who had anlyzed only sum of the sounds.

Friday, April 20, 1883.

Dr. MURRAY, Prezident, in the Chair.

Mr. H. SWEET moved that the following changes, together with sum minor ones, be omitted from the partial corections of English spellings aproved of by the Philological Society, in order that the remaining changes may be accepted as the basis of a scheme of partial reform of English spelling to be put forth by the Philological Society and the American Philological Association jointly, in acordance with the sugestion of the comittee on the reform of English spelling apointed by the latter body:

1) *hight* for *height*.
2) *cheef* for *chief*, etc.
3) *moov* for *move*, etc.
4) *conqer*, *arabesq* for *conquer*, *arabesque*, etc.
5) *h* for *gh* in *hih* for *high*, etc.

The motion was past unanimously, after sum remarks had been made by Mr. Sweet and Dr. Murray on the importance of the two Societies acting in unity.

A paper by the Rev. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A., on "The decay of a language as ilustrated by Cornish," was then red.

The deth of a language is an interesting subject to filologists as wel as historians and ethnologists, and may be traced very accurately in the case of the old Celtic Cornish, having been broght about very gradualy and by purely peaceful cauzes. Cornish and Old Prussian aford rare exampls of the extinction of civilized European languages within comparativly recent periods.

The pozition that a Celtic language was onse spoken by the Cornish does not require to be proved at length. But the idea, stil prevalent in sum minds, that it was a mere dialect of Welsh, calls for protest. Cornish was not only a distinct language, but it had a literature of its own, which the Philological Society has done its share in publishing. A few Cornish MSS., however, stil remain unprinted. Cornish literature is mainly poetic and dramatic, the finest of the Cornish dramas being, perhaps, the *Ascension*.

Cornish apears to hav originaly been the vernacular of most of the Western peninsula of Britain between the two Channels; it extended over most of the rural parts of Devon til after the Norman conquest.

The history of its extinction may be divided into the following periods:

1) Extinction in Devon, except in a few remote western parts, which probably brings us to the end of the 13th century.

2) Extinction in the towns and among the upper classes, bringing us to about the period of the *Beunans Meriasek*, 1504.

3) Down to the rebellion of 1549, when it was stil the only vernacular of the mass of the peple.

4) Later Tudor period, when we ar told that "but few ar ignorant of English."

5) 1611–1678, when it was stil uzed in preaching in sum churches.

6) Period of confinement to a few villages, 1678–1710.

7) Period of use among a few individuals. In a few sentences and numerals the language may be said to liv even now.

The literary use of Cornish seems to hav ceast about 1611.

The survival of the language is chiefly seen in trade terms, names of rarer animals and plants, in slang and idiomatic frazes, and, abuv all, in the Cornish accent.

Dr. MURRAY then made sum remarks on the survival of the Midl E. forms *segge*, etc. [Issued with Prof. Skeat's paper.]

Friday, May 4, 1883.

J. A. H. Murray, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The papers red wer:

1) "On the English name of the letter *y*," by Mr. C. B. Cayley.

He proposed three alternative views. Supposing the diphthongal "i" in the name to have been once a simple French "i," 1) this "wi" might have come from the old sound of *y* considered as *ü*; or if that mutation were unexampled, 2) *y* might have had a sound between *u* and *ü*, from which "wi" arises more easily. But, 3) "y" may have appropriated the corrupted name of the Anglo-Saxon character for "w," though this name seems to have been originally "wen." Under the first head Mr. Cayley observed that *u* was easily corrupted into "yu," and that in the movements by which it is articulated "ü" resembled "wi" as much as it did "yu." Under the second, that *y* had no history closely resembling that of German *u* or French "u," but rather one like that of the Russian ы, of which letter an occasional sound, and apparently the most primitive, lies between *u* and *ü*, and among learners is often replaced by "wi" or the like. Under the third head he showed how the old characters for "y" and "w" had been confounded by Bullokar, the oldest grammarian in whom he could find the name of the letter *y* distinctly referred to; and he argued that a more general error of this kind might have led to a general misapplication of a name formed from "wen."

A letter from Mr. Danby P. Fry was then red, calling attention to a passage in Baret's *Alvearie* of 1573, in which *y* in its original Greek form is said to be "compounded of *u* and *i*, which both sounded togither soundeth as we write *wy*." Mr. Fry's view was that *y* originally denoted the labial sound, and afterwards became palato-labial (as in German *ü*), the labial element being finaly dropt, the palatal only remaining.

In the discussion it was generaly agreed that the problem had not been solvd.

2) "On final *m* in Latin," by H. Sweet, M.A.

The view set forth by Mr. Ellis in his *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, that final *m* was totaly silent and acted only as an energizer or dubler of a following consonant, *regum timendorum*, for instance, being pronounced *reguttimendoru*, was adversely criticized, the first part of it having alredy been dismist as untenabl by Corssen (I. 271).

The meter proves that final *m* was a consonant only befor another cons. We know from Cicero and Quintilian that *cum nobis*, *cum notis* wer pronounced *cun nobis*, *cun notis*, just as *com-* becums *con-* before *n* in *connotare*, etc. This analogy leads us to infer that the treatment of final *m* followd by a consonant beginning the next word was the same as that of *com-*, etc., in compozition, the rules being that it was holely assimilated to the nazals and liquids: *cun notis*=*connotare*, *tam magnus*=*committere*, *cum regibus*(=kurrēgibus) =*corrigere*, *tam levis*(=tallewis)=*colligere;* partialy to the stops: *qvum tibi*=*contingere*, *per decen dies* (so in an inscription) =*tandem*, *tum pater*=*componere*, *cun* (=kuŋ) *caris amicis* (so in an inscription) =*concremare*. Befor *f* and *v* we do not find *m* kept as befor the other labials, but *n* is writn as in *conficere*, *convertere*. We ar told by Cicero that the first *i* in *infelix*, *insanus* was long, against the short *i* in *indoctus*. The only explanation that can be givn of this is that the *in* of the first two words reprezented a long nazal *i*, and this explains also the *con-* not only of *conficere* and *convertere*, but also of *consistere*, *conjungere*. *m* therefor before the hisses and semivowels (s, f, j, w) reprezented a nazal lengthening of the preceding vowel: *cum filio* (=kū*n* fīliō), etc.

When not followd by a cons., that is, befor a pauz or a vowel, *m* cannot ever hav been pronounced as a cons., for in the latter pozition the vowel that precedes it is regularly elided. In the post-classical inscriptions final *m* is not only omitted but wrongly added, especialy in the abl. sg., showing that it was entirely silent, but befor the third cent. it is never added wrongly and only ocazionaly omitted. This fluctuation points clearly to its value as a nazalizer. The supozition that *m* was treated like *s* in erly Latin—that it was sumtimes (befor certain sounds) kept as a consonantal *m*, sumtimes dropt, is untenabl, for, if so, it would certainly hav been kept befor a vowel (like internal *m* in *amo*), which the meter shows it never was (for hiatus after vowel + *m* proves no mor than after a simpl vowel), and the poets would at any rate hav availd themselvs freely of the various metrical forms which would thus hav been open to them. The evidence of the compounds fully confirms that of the meter. Such forms as *circuitus*, *coalescere*, can only be explained from (kirku*n*-itus), etc. The regular dropping of the *m* points to a loss of nazality befor another vowel; just as, on the contrary, the fluctuation between *conjux*, *cojux*, *consul*, *cosul* points to its retention.

It is only the prejudice against nazal vowels that has prevented their recognition in Latin. The words of Quintilian ar convincing.

He says of *m*: "etiamsi scribitur, tamen parum exprimitur, adeo ut paene cujusdam novae litterae sonum reddat." The last remark is enough to show that *parum exprimitur* is by no means to be taken, as Mr. Ellis assumes, as a cautious way of saying that it is absolutely silent, and Quintilian himself expressly warns against such an interpretation of his words by adding: "neque enim eximitur, sed obscuratur." Elsewhere he calls *m* a 'lowing' letter, an epithet which is especialy applicabl to a nazal vowel.

3) "The etymology of *surround*" by Prof. Skeat. [Issued with these Proceedings.]

Dr. Murray remarks: "The Dictionary slips, whose evidence Prof. Skeat desiderates (sum of which ar givn below), show that his etymology is quite right. Mr. Jacob, who subedited S, has put down 'to overflow, inundate,' as the first sense. This in no way detracts from Prof. Skeat's independent identification, while it is satisfactory as showing that 'The Dictionary' has not mist the point. I dout whether Dr. Johnson's (really Bailey's) Fr. *surronder* is a fiction: it seems to be the very word Prof. Skeat has rediscuverd, only spelt as common at the time with two *rs*. I hav no dout instances of it so spelt ocur in late Anglo-French, whense the English with its sb. *surrounder* must hav been taken: it seems to hav been the technical term for sea-flooding of the flat lands. I find that it was confuzed with *round* a good while befor Milton, and that Phillips, Milton's nephew, apears to hav had no hand in spreding it, as I find it only in the edition done after his deth by Kersey. His own (5th) of 1696 does not contain the word.

Surround v. 1. To overflow, inundate. 1592 WARNER, Alb. Eng. VIII. xli. 197 Streams if stopt, surround. 1611 COTGR. *Outre couler*, To surround or overflow. 1633 FLETCHER, Eliza xxii. My heart surround with grief is swoln so high it will not sink till I alone unfold it. 1610 Act 7 Jas. 1. xx. The Sea hath broken in at every Tide . . . and hath decayed, surrounded and drowned vp much hard grounds. **Surrounded** ppl. a. Overflowed, inundated. 1622 R. COLLIS, *Statute of Sewers* (1647), 9 In the surrounded grounds there be most commonly the greatest use of Bridges, Culuys, Passages and Ways. **Surrounder** sb. overflow, inundation. Fr. infin. *suronder*, cf. rejoinder, dinner, etc. 1622 COLLIS, *Statute of Sewers*, 83 What grounds lye within the hurt or danger of waters, either within the surrounder by the sea, or the inundation of fresh water. **Surroundry** (connected with *Round*) = circuit, round 1621 MOUNTAGUE, *Diatribe* 128 All this Iland within the surroundry of the foure Seas. 1642 MONTAGUE, *Acts and Mon.* 71 Shut up within surroundry of no one country. **Surrounding.** Circling. 1657 PURCHAS, *Theatre of Pol. Fl. Ins.* 16 to expatiate and dance the Hay in surrounding vagaries."

Friday, May 18, 1883.—Anniversary Meeting.

Dr. MURRAY, *Prezident*, in the Chair.

Lieut. Temple was elected a Member.

The following Members wer elected Officers for the Session 1883–4:—*Prezident*—Dr. J. A. H. Murray. *Vice-Prezidents*—The Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. W. Stokes, Rev. R. Morris, A. J. Ellis, H. Sweet, and Prof. A. G. Bell. *Ordinary Members of Council*—Very Rev. Dean Blakesley, E. L. Brandreth, W. R. Browne, Prof. Cassal, C. B. Cayley, R. N. Cust, F. T. Elworthy, H. H. Gibbs, Dr. J. Greenwood, E. R. Horton, H. Jenner, Prof. R. Martineau, A. J. Paterson, Prof. J. P. Postgate, Prof. C. Rieu, Rev. A. H. Sayce, Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, Dr. E. B. Tylor, H. Wedgwood, and Dr. R. F. Weymouth. *Trezurer*—B. Dawson. *Hon. Sec.*—F. J. Furnivall.

The Trezurer's cash acount was adopted.

The thanks of the Society wer voted to the Auditors, D. P. Fry and H. B. Wheatley, and to the Council of University College for the use of the College Rooms for the Society's meetings.

Dr. MURRAY made his annual statement as to the condition of the Society's Dictionary. Finals were deliverd to "alternate;" all "am-" was in type, and part of "an-;" the editor and his assistants were now working at about one-third thru "an-." By the end of June "an-" should be done; "ao-" was short; erly in "ap-" would finish Part I. in July, tho its publication would probably be put off til October. Up to "alternate," there wer 4,768 main articls in the Dictionary, 484 subordinate ones (like "altar-bread"), 915 cross-references; altogether, 6,167 entries, as against 2,967 in Webster's Dictionary and Supplement. Of the 4,768 main words, 1,477 (nearly one-third) wer obsolete, 3,279 in actual use, 231 imperfectly naturalized (like "alma-mater," used by Trevisa in 1398, but first applied to a university in Pope's *Dunciad*). Words wer divided into four classes: (1) *Naturals*, nativ words, and those fully naturalized (like "bishop"); (2) *Denizens*, forein names of English things (like "aide-de-camp"); (3) *Aliens*, forein names of forein things (like "plébiscite"); (4) *Casuals*, chance, or travelers' names of forein things (like "dâk"). Of the 4,768 words to "alternate," only 231 wer denizens, aliens, or cazuals. In the whole Dictionary would be at least 183,329 main words, making, with cross-references, 237,127 entries. There ar about 120 quotations in each page, so that there would be 1,100,000 quotations in the full Dictionary out of the three millions sent in. Some words had givn great trubl to define; over "altar," theological helpers had disputed greatly, and its meaning had now been reduced to inoffensiveness. Of "ambrotype," seemingly a fotograf on glass in the United States, no certain explanation coud be got. Of "American" *adj.* and *sb.* erlier instances wer wanted. It was first pronounst "amereecan," and ment a savage. The histories

TREZURER'S CASH ACOUNT, 1882.

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Jan. 1.						
To Balance	52	14	3			
Depozited at Interest	52	8	11			
				105	3	2
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
To Sums receivd in 1882—						
For Arears	9	9	0			
,, Entrance Fees	6	6	0			
,, Subscriptions, 1882	90	6	0			
,, ,, in advance	1	1	0			
,, Life Compozitions	21	0	0			
				128	2	0
Interest on Depozit				2	7	8
				£235	12	10

1882 CASH PAID.	£	s.	d	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
By Printing—Austin & Sons Transactions, Proceedings, and Sundries				74	19	7
,, Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				15	19	10
,, Hon. Secretary's Clerk				2	2	0
,, Banker's Charges on Irish and Scotch Cheques				0	3	0
,, Postage, Stationery, etc.				1	0	9
,, Balance at Bankers	87	3	7			
Due to Trezurer	0	12	6			
				86	11	1
Depozited at Interest				54	16	1
				£235	12	10

We hav examind this Acount with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is corect.

MAY 8, 1883.

(Signd) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

of "aloof," "aloe," "almanac," "allow," "alligator," "all-hallow," "alloy," "allege," and the *all-* compounds wer then given. *All* took up ten columns: 13 Anglo-Saxon words in the Dictionary had *eal-* prefixes, of which only *eal-mihtig* and *eal-wealdand* survived the Conquest. A few like compounds wer made later, *al-witty* (Christ) being one of the first. But about 1600 a perfect flood of these words came in.

A vote of thanks was past to Dr. Murray for his Report, and for his services to the Society in so admirably editing its Dictionary.

Dr. Weymouth objected to the derivation of *altare* from *altus*, because, with the exception of *talis*, *qualis*, he believd all these *-ali-*, *-ari-* words cum from nouns. Dr. Murray cited *equalis* from *æquus*, *vernalis* from *vernus*, *diurnalis* from *diurnus*, and several like forms, thus removing Dr. Weymouth's objection.

Friday, June 1, 1883.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *Prezident*, in the Chair.

The papers red wer:

1) 'Sum notes on the study of Latin authors as bearing on Romance,' by Prof. J. P. Postgate.

The illustrations wer drawn chiefly from Propertius, with ocazional reference to Livy, both nativs of North Italy. The points illustrated wer: the use of the reflexiv for the passiv, as in *qua gradibus domus alta Remi se sustulit*; the Romance perifrastic passiv; the interchange of functions in adjj. and past participls, as in *laxatis corymbis* 'loose-flowing,' *caeso moenia firma* (=firmata) *Remo*, which explains the Italian use of *-o* for *-ato*, as in *adorno*, *lacero*, etc.; the intensiv use of the superlativ; *magis* in the sense of French *mais* in *quem non lucra magis Pero formosa coegit* (not gain, *but* Pero); the use of the rare adj. *jejunus*. Finaly Diez's conection of Italian *cecero* (swan) with Lat. *cicer* was condemnd, and its true derivation from Greek *kúknos* pointed out; and insted of Prof. Skeat's conection of Spenser's *grail* 'dust' with the French adj. *grêle*, the derivation from the Fr. subst. *grêle* 'hail' was sugested.

In the discussion Dr. Ulrich recapitulated Prof. Postgate's views on Italian *adorno*, etc., and on the derivation of *cecero*, and said that the intensiv use of the subj. had been fully treated of in Germany.

2) 'On the Myth of the Week,' by Prof. Hodgetts.

Prof. Hodgetts, after making sum general remarks on the important part playd by symbolic uses of numbers and letters in old mythologies, proceeded to giv an analysis of the Völuspá, which, he contended, was not a mere creation-myth, but rather an allegorical sketch of man's development. Sunday, the first day, is Number One, one being the simplest number, and therefor typical of the innocence of childhood, whose sinless splendor is typified by the Sun, to whom the first day is dedicated. On Monday our yung frend cums under the stern disciplin of the Moon, the

mezurer, and begins to qualify himself for a perfect life, typified by the number two. The third day brings him into the prezence of divinity. The fourth is the day of perfect maturity (number four). The fifth day is a hard fight. The sixth day is dedicated to softer emotions.

In the discussion the PREZIDENT remarkt that sum of Prof. Hodgetts' views apeard sumwhat fantastic, and aluded to the views of Prof. Bugge and others on Norse mythology. Mr. SWEET said that altho many of these views wer stil disputed, there coud be no dout that the Völuspá was a mere adaptation of the Christian Sibylline oracls, and therefor not a safe guide for the older period. He also objected to Prof. Hodgetts' conecting *Odin* with *odd* and Russian *odin* 'one,' *fimbultýr* with *fimm* 'five,' *holly-tree* with *holy*, etc. Dr. MORRIS said that Prof. Hodgetts was carrying back nineteenth century ideas into a totaly different period.

3) 'On a lately discuverd Oscan inscription,' by Dr. Schrumpf.

The inscription was discuverd at Capua in 1876, and was first publisht and partialy translated by Bücheler, followed by Bugge, and, mor independantly, by Huschke, who stil follows the principls of explaining the Old Italic dialects from Greek. The rezults of their interpretations ar divergent, and only partialy satisfactory. They agree that the inscription is a curse and dedication to the infernal deities of sum man by a woman, becauz he had deprivd her of her daughter or of a cup, or sum other articl of value.

Friday, June 15, 1883.

Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, Prezident, in the Chair.

The Rev. J. MacDiarmid was elected a Member of the Society.

H.I.H. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte read a paper on the "Names of European Reptiles in the Living Neo-Latin Languages." This was the result of collections made in the last forty years from printed works (often rare and out of print), from MSS. (often unique), and from his own herpetological notes. He had studied and read a paper on "The Venom of Vipers" at Florence in 1843, having been an herpetological amateur under the guidance of his elder brother, the second Prince of Canino, C.-L. Bonaparte, a well-known zoologist. The paper was arranged under the four orders of Chelonians, Saurians, Ophidians, and Batrachians, distributed into thirty-four species. The names were given in thirteen Neo-Latin languages, viz., Italian, Sardinian, Spanish, Portuguese, Genoese, Gallo-Italic, Frioulan, Romanese, Catalan, Modern Occitanian, Franco-Occitanian, French and Wallachian, and their various dialects so far as could be ascertained, and numerous observations were inserted on the etymologies and analogies of some of the names. The paper will appear at length in the Transactions, but it is impossible to give anything like a satisfactory abstract.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MONTHLY ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, SESSION 1883–4.

Friday, Nov. 2, 1883.

J. A. H. Murray, LL.D., in the Chair.

The papers red wer:

1) "On the Homeric πέλωρ, πέλωρος, and πελώριος," by R. F. Weymouth, D. Lit.

2) "Portuguese Vowels according to Mr. R. G. Vianna, Mr. Hy. Sweet, and myself," by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte.

Friday, Nov. 16, 1883.

J. A. H. Murray, LL.D., in the Chair.

J. Lecky was elected a Member of the Society.

Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., *V.P.*, read the first part of his paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland. There were two languages in Scotland, the Highland and the Lowland. The Highland is Celtic of the Gaelic form. The Lowland is a form of English, and was called English by its writers down to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Murray, "Dial. of South. Counties of Scotland," p. 50). It is the Highland that is especially Scotch. Hence Mr. E. used Lowland as the distinctive name of the English portion. The boundary between Highland and Lowland was laid down by Dr. Murray (*ibid.* p. 232). In this paper the division of the dialectal districts was assumed from Dr. Murray's work, except as regards the separation of Northern English from Southern Lowland, Mr. E. placing the line in England proper, from just below Longtown, sweeping past Bewcastle (both in North Cumberland), and then on to the southern foot of the Cheviots, up to the Cheviot Hill itself, and afterwards by the border of Northumberland to

the Tweed, along which it ran till it passed North of the liberties of Berwick-upon-Tweed to the sea. As Dr. Murray had confined himself especially to Southern Lowland, it was Mr. E.'s object to complete his description of the pronunciation of the other districts. Mr. E. found as a single characteristic by which Lowland was distinguished from present English, the treatment of the words *some house* as *sum hoos*, the *oo* being of medium length, that is, the treatment of Anglo-Saxon short and long *u* before consonants. Every part of the Lowlands uses the forms *sum hoos*, and the extreme part of Northumberland, north of a line through Wooler and Holy Isle, does so likewise, but no other part of England. Two other characteristics of Lowland, a strongly trilled *r*, and an easy habitual use of the guttural (which Germans and Lowlanders represent by *ch*), neither known in North Northumberland, complete the distinction. There are three Lowland dialects, which Mr. E. distinguishes as South Lowland (pronouncing *he how* almost as English *hay how*), North Lowland (using *f* for initial *wh*), and Mid Lowland (doing neither). The South Lowland is undivided. The Mid Lowland is split by Dr. Murray into four forms, Eastern (in Fife and the Lothians, the language of Scott), Western (in Lanark and North Ayrshire, the language of Burns), Southern (in South Ayrshire, Wigton, and Kirkcudbrightshire, which was Highland up to the sixteenth century), and Northern (on the Highland Border, and still encroaching on it). The first three, according to Mr. E., were rather slight varieties of the oldest or Eastern form, but the last differed from the three others by its North Lowland characters. The North Lowland had also three divisions. Of all of these Mr. E. gave the characteristics from his own collections. The Orkneys and Shetlands were reserved for the second part of the paper. These papers had taken up much more time than had been anticipated, but as they are written out at full, Mr. E. hoped to commence Part V. of his *Early English Pronunciation* on the following Monday, 19th November.

Friday, Dec. 7, 1883.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The Rev. E. Maclure, and Mr. A. D. G. Burribell wer elected members of the Society.

The paper red was:

"On the origin of certain technical terms, chiefly in Engineering," by Walter R. Browne, M.A. Part I. (*see below*).

Friday, Dec. 21, 1883.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *Prezident*, in the Chair.

The papers red wer:

1) "Titín, a study of child-language," by Sr. D. Machado y Álvarez.

This paper started from the change of *Joaquin* into *Titin* in the language of the writer's yungest sun. In the first few months of their life infants apear to produce only gutturals. Then follow simpl, detacht monosyllabls, such as *pa, pe, ma*; *ta*, &c. not cuming til the teeth ar formd. Then these monosyllabls ar repeated by joining them together. Another sun of the writer at the age of twenty months spoke the following words: *papa, mama, tete* (= tio Pepe), *tata* (= bota), *eche, omo, ocha* (= Concha), *fá, fo* (= flor), *osa, oncha* (= Concha), *pá, má, apa, uchacha* (= muchacha), *aba* (= agua). The other child at the age of nineteen months was able to pronounce thirty words.

2) "Engineering terms," by Walter R. Browne, M.A. Part II.

The words here discussed have been invented or applied, chiefly in recent times, on no definite principles and by ignorant men. They have the advantage, however, of showing language in the process of formation, and illustrating the instinctive modes by which names are given to things. Four of such modes may be traced: (1) the appropriation of foreign words from the language in which the art has already been described, *e.g.* words referring to masonry are nearly all adaptations from French; (2) applying personal nicknames to things, *e.g.* spinning-jenny; (3) taking words from one art to fill a gap in another, *e.g.* web of a girder; (4) taking the name of some familiar object having a likeness, often quaint and fanciful, to the thing to be named, *e.g.* "Monkey," see below. A few selected specimens may be given.

Arris = joint or dressed edge of a stone, from Fr. areste, now arête, edge.

Batten, derived by Skeat from Baton, by Wedgwood from bat, but in scutching and weaving we have in Fr. battant, from which the word would more naturally be corrupted.

Bick-iron = small anvil, Fr. bigorne. Does the English mean beak-iron, or the Fr. come from bicornis?

Bench-mark = mark cut by surveyors on a wall, etc., to serve as a datum. Possibly from small board with legs driven into the ground, to rest the level staff upon.

Bloom = hammered lump of iron. [Mr. Sweet said that *blōma* occurred in O.E. in the sense of a lump of metal, translating L. *massa*, and that it probably was connected with 'blow.']

Bogie, lorry, and *trolly*, all words for trucks used in works. Trolly is also written rolly and probably comes from troll or roll. Bogie perhaps allied with buggy and this with bug. Cp. fly for carriage.

Bosh = widest part of blast furnace, from bouche, Fr. mouth. Also tub for holding water in forges, probably from bouche d'eau.

Breast-summer, from Belgian Bret-sommier; hence from Bret = board, and sommier, old word for beast of burden.

Chasing of metals. Not connected with caisse and chassis, but taken from the chasing-lathe in screw-cutting, where the workman *follows* with the point of his tool the thread already marked upon the shaft to be cut.

Cock, not connected with Italian cocca, notch, but from the shape of a gun-cock. Of this the striking part is still called the tail and the thumb-piece the comb.

Crane, from supposed likeness to bird. Cp. spider, another kind of crane; crab and capstan, from capra, goat; ram, as in battering-ram, etc.

Dog (spike used on railways), from form of head which resembles a dog's.

Frog, used in America for a crossing-point on railways. From likeness to the diverging hind legs of a frog; similarly frog in horse's hoof. German Frosch.

Gob, an abandoned hole in mining, from Keltic gob = mouth.

Gusset-plate, in girder-work, from gusset in needlework.

Hade, the dip of a seam, from Head, as in the phrase, "The fox headed in such a direction," hence heading, gallery driven along seam.

Jack, from John, used in O.E. (1) as servant, (2) as boy; from (1) spit-jack, screw-jack, jack-plane, jack-knife, jack on a key-board; from (2) jack-snipe, jack at bowls, jack-daw.

Jenny (spinning), instance of a nickname applied to a machine. Cp. burglar's "jemmy," "slubbing-billy," and "Billy-fairplay," machine for checking amounts of coals.

Mitre = angle of 45°, as in mitre-wheel, mitre-square, from angle at top of Bishop's mitre. Carpenter's cap still called a mitre.

Monkey, falling weight in pile-driving, from likeness, when being raised, of a monkey climbing a pole. Fr. singe, Ger. Bär.

Nut, perhaps originally a nut-shaped cap screwed on to the end of a bolt but not pierced through.

Sleeper, said to = slab, but also used for frame of door. Cp. Fr. dormant, for the bearer of a floor.

Soul (the wooden core round which a mass of wool is wound). Fr. âme, Ger. Seele. Cp. also the "soul" of a violin.

Tilt-hammer, said to be hammer which is tilted, but corruption from tail-hammer, because lifted by lowering the hind end. Fr. marteau à queue. Ger. Schwanzhammer.

Friday, Jan. 18, 1884.

ANNUAL DICTIONARY EVENING.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

Three copies of Part I. of the Society's new English Dictionary, edited by Dr. Murray, were laid on the table. The Society began collecting materials for the Dictionary in 1858, and the first fruit of many years of labour now appears. More sub-editors are wanted to help in arranging the collections of material and to work out the logical history of the meanings of the words to be treated, which is the hardest part of the dictionary-work. Dr. Murray read part of his Introduction to the Dictionary, explaining its scope, method, and arrangement, its limits as to classes of words, and as to time, the stricter scientific method which he had introduced into the exhibition of the Etymology, his account of the relations of Middle English to Anglo-French, and of the latter to the Old French dialects of the continent. He replied to questions, and gave explanations on numerous points raised by members present. He then took from the current sheets of Part II. the following words, upon which the Dictionary would give new light. (1) "Archipelago" (from Italian, first found in 1268, a purely Ital. formation on *arci-*, chief, arch-, and *pelago*, which survived in the Romance languages, as a deep pool, fish-pond, deep hole in a river, lagoon, gulf, abyss; the immense difference in size between any of these and the Ægean Sea or *Egeopelago* was expressed by calling it the *arci-pelago*); (2) "arbour" (Mr. Wedgwood was right in deriving it from French *herbere*, Latin *herbarium*, a garden of herbs; its meaning passed into a garden of trees, trees trained on espaliers, a bower covered with leafage: Mr. Wedgwood holds that the Italian "*arborata*, an arbor or bowre of trees," was mixed up with *erbere*); (3) "archil" or "orchil" (used for dying, Ital. *oricello*, erroneously derived by Littré from the name of its discoverer; the converse was the fact); (4) "appal" (history difficult: there was also a verb *appale;* their relations to each other and to Fr. *appalir* are not clear); (5) "impostume" (French *apostume*, properly *apostème*, Greek ἀπόστημα abscess); (6) "appose," "pose," "posal" (resulting in *puzzle*); (7) "apple" (is its special sense or the general one of "fruit" the primary one?); (8) "apply" with its fifteen or more senses; (9) "appoint;" (10) "apparent" (*a*, conspicuous; *b*, unreal: the heir-apparent is the manifest or certain heir, who must inherit if he lives, while the heir-presumptive is only heir till the heir-apparent appears); (11) "apothecary" (at first a store-keeper, then a dealer in stored goods, preserves, pickles, spices, drugs); (12) "apology" (*a*, a defence; *b*, an offer of an excuse; *c*, an expression of regret with no defence at all); (13) "animal spirits" (in 1543 their seat was in the brain, and they worked by sinews, they were the nerves, then nerve, courage, merriment); (14) "city Arab" ("*Arab* of the city," a figurative phrase of Rev. Dr. Guthrie, in his *Plea*, 1848); (15) "aquarium" (invented by Gosse in 1854); (16)

"ape" (who could explain the phrase "to lead apes in hell" used of old maids?); (17) "antler" (properly, the lowest prong of a deer's horn; erroneously the horn itself, in this sense found first in Sir Walter Scott, in 1820); (18) "apostrophe" (which was Latin *apostrophus* till the last century, and ought to be *apostroph*, but is ignorantly confused with ἀποστροφή, a figure of rhetoric); (19) "antipodes," which should be pronounced "antipods," and actually has singular *antipod*, *-pode*, in good use; (20) "affray," "afraid" (Mr. Henry Nicol gave the true etymology of these (Old French *esfrei*) from German *frid* peace, as against the erroneous derivation from *frigidus*, *froid*, cold; it may be pointed out that French *Godfrey* is a cognate word—*Gottfried*, Mod. French *Godefroi*). Time was the thing most needed to complete the Dictionary. Part I. was but a twenty-fourth of the whole book, and its preparation had taken eighteen months. Now the work would go somewhat faster, but more sub-editors were urgently needed to get the material into shape for the editor's final use.

Mr. Furnivall congratulated the Society on the appearance of the first part of the Dictionary. The Society alone had rendered the existence of the Dictionary possible. He looked back twenty-four years to the little room in Somerset House where the Dictionary Committee was first appointed, and thought of the dead friends who were with him then—Herbert Coleridge, his fellow-editor (afterwards sole editor), Thomas Watts, Prof. Key, and others; Mr. Wedgwood was, he thought, the only survivor besides himself. He thanked Dr. Murray for bringing the Dictionary to a head in a way that he (Mr. Furnivall) had failed to accomplish; and he asked the oldest member present, Mr. Danby P. Fry, to second the vote of thanks which he proposed the Society should return to the President for the admirable work he had done. This Mr. Fry did, and, the vote having been carried with applause, Dr. Murray acknowledged it. He said that in looking through the letters of Herbert Coleridge, and realizing his zeal and enthusiasm, he had often sighed to think that he and others were not spared to see the fruit of their labours. He might however say that it was better for the Dictionary that it was not done then. (Hear, hear.) English and Old French Philology had been positively *made* during the last fifteen years, and if the Dictionary had been done then, it was certain that they would all by this time have been ashamed of it, and agitating to do it over again. Would their actual work be equally obsolete in twenty years? He thought not. We were far from knowing everything yet of the history of English words, but what we knew was *real knowledge*, and we knew at least enough to know where we were ignorant, so as not to venture upon crude and unscientific guesswork. There was a period in the history of every science during which permanent progress was made, and results acquired never to be surrendered, for they were of the nature of actual discovery of *fact*. This stage English Philology had now passed through, and now for the first time was it possible to bring its results to bear upon English lexicography, in the form presented to the Society this evening.

Friday, Feb. 1, 1884.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

Dr. W. Brackebusch was elected a member of the Society.

The paper red was: "On difficult and corupt words in the Epinal glossary," by HENRY SWEET, M.A.

39 *auriculum* : *dros*, 'dirt, ear-wax.' The Latin word not recorded in this sense. 45 *auriola* : *stigu*, 'pig-stye.' *hara* = pigstye [suggested by Prof. Skeat]. 70 *arbatae* : *sibaed*. The E. word aparently means 'siftings'; cp. 428. 116 *anate* : *cladersticca*. The E. word seems to mean 'rattle.' 122 *bothonicula* : *stappa*. Read *stoppa*, 'vessel, cup.' 143 *bucina* : *begir*. Read *bacina*: bēgir, 'berries'; aparently cognate with Latin *baca*. 597 *lacunar*: *flodae*. Read *lacuna*, 'channel, drain.' 605 *lectidiclatum* (= lac tudiclum, Wr. Gl. (Wülcker) 280. 28) : *githuornae fleti* = 'beaten cream.' 653 *mordacius* : *clofae* = 'clasp, brooch.' Cp. M.H.G. klobe. 744 *per seudoterum* (=pseudothyrum) : *ludgaet*. Hense our 'Ludgate.' *ludgæt* was perhaps originaly a wicker gate : *lud* = 'shoot, twig' (?). 837 *perstromata* (=peristr.), *ornamenta* : *stefad brun*. The E. words aparently mean 'striped (brown) cloth.' 841 *quadripertitum* : *cocunung*. The E. word possibly stands for (*a*)*ceocung*, 'choking up, rumination,' the Lat. word referring to the four-fold division of the ruminating stomac; but the later glosses *quadripertitum* : *cocormete* and *condito* : *gecocanade* point to the sense of 'cookery, seasoning.' 925 *sualdam* : *durhere*. Read *valvam*. 950 *sandix* : *uueard*. Read *uuād*, 'woad,' with the later glossaries. 968 *senon* : *cearruccae*. Probably sum plant-name = *selinon* or *senecio*. Cp. Ep. 23*c* 35 *seon* : *germen inutile*, etc. This would give the meaning 'twig' or 'slip.' 969 *sinus* : *uuellyrgae*. Cp. Ep. 25*b* 15 *sinum* : *vas quo buterum conficitur*. 993 *tortum* : *coecil* = 'litl cake.' Cp. Germ. *kuchen*. 1067 *unibrellas* (= umbrellas): *stalu to fuglum* = 'shady places for birds.' 1075 *verberatrum*: *fleti* = 'cream.'

There ar, besides, a large number of obscure words which ar at onse cleared up by a comparison with the other MSS., such as 479 *aedilra* for *unaedilra*. 437 *smitor* for *smiton*. 444 *þoot* for *wooþ*.

Sumtimes there is no real conection between the Latin and E. words in a gloss, as in 645 *manticum*: *handful beouuaes* (handful of corn). The two successive glosses, Ep. 15*e* 17, 8—

manua : *manipula*.
mantica : *bis acuta*.

make it probabl that the E. words wer originaly added to *manipula*, perhaps below the line, and wer then transferd to *mantica*, which according to Ducange is a 'vestis species.' The glos 914 *sullus* (= suillus, 'litl pig'): *otor* is probably due to a similar shifting, or transposition of two E. names of animals.

Friday, Feb. 15, 1884.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. F. D. Mocatta, Rev. R. Lovett, Mr. R. Laishley, junr., and Mr. J. G. E. Sibbald wer elected Members of the Society.

Mr. F. T. ELWORTHY read a paper on further unnoted grammatical peculiarities in the Dialect of Somerset and Devon. He began by saying that in the nine or ten years since he first introduced the subject to this Society, he had discovered nothing to correct or unsay, but much that had been overlooked. It was impossible for any one observer to exhaust even his own particular district, and that when the present English Dialect Society shall have completed its work to its own satisfaction, it will be a good time to start a new society for the purpose of gathering up the fragments that remain.

The stress or contraction of the possessive pronoun *his* in the absence of all context marks the person referred to. If contracted to a mere sibilant, its effect is reflective—*break-s head* would imply break the speaker's own head, while *break hees head* would convey the ordinary transitive force.

Stress also distinguishes the *two* meanings of *too*. Unlike literary English the stress is placed on the adjective not on the adverb. *tŏ good*—*tŏ bad* conveying the sense of excess; but it is distinctly accented in its other meaning of also or likewise—*bad too right too*. Stress on or contraction of demonstratives, mark wide differences in sense—'*out be reddy a-week*' means 'for a week or more to come,' but '*thee-us week*' would mean 'the current week ending on Saturday next. Other instances of stress on pronouns changing meanings were given.

The conjunction *as* was much dwelt upon and its use contrasted with that in literary English. *As* is never used as a relative. *Though* is pronounced *thoff* or *off*, while *trough* is always *trow*.

Adjectives often duplicate the comparative and superlative inflections—'*the most beautifulestest place;*' '*the most uglieatest old fellow*, '*sparahly* (especially) *when's drunk*.' Duplication of the irregular adjectives is the ordinary form, *bestest*, *worstest*, *mostest* (the latter when used alone).

There are *six* fixed conditions under which the prep. *of* retains or drops its consonant, quite independently of neighbouring vowels. In four out of six the consonant is lost, and always when *of* stands at the end of a clause.

Of generally follows *about*, as '*about of a deum*.' *To laugh* and *to touch* take *of* after them, '*What hee larfin o'?*' '*I never did's touch o' un*.'

To is frequently omitted before the infinitive, particularly before the infinitive of purpose, which latter always requires *for* as in French. '*Maister 's gwain same purpose vor spake to the justices vor me*.' '*Did'n go vor do it*,' *i.e.* intend to do &c.

To takes the place of *at, in,* and sometimes *on.* '*Her lived to Taunton to service;*' '*I'll do it to once;*' '*Car-n to your back,*' i.e. 'upon your back.'

To is often redundant, '*where's the gimlet to?*' *To* with the gerundive has the force of *doing* or *for the purpose of*—'*took the grass to cutting.*'

Before cardinal nnmbers the dialect retains the article, but only now, when *about* or *more than* renders the number indefinite—'there was about *of a dree or four and twenty;*' 'more than a *forty*' (comp. Luke ix. 28). The same form occurs with nouns of time, '*about of a Friday,*' '*about of a dinner-time,*' '*about of a one o'clock.*'

At does not occur, except the *phrase at all,* which is probably a modernism.

Upon and *on,* as prepositions, are unknown, except in the occasional form of '*pon:* '*put the money down tap the table;*' '*tap the wall.*' See Nathan Hogg's 'Gooda Vriday' and 'Bouttha Balune.' '*Top*' is all that is left of '*upon the top of.*'

The subsidiary verbs *let* and *help* not having in the dialect any past inflection, instead of the infinitive of the principal verb, the past participle is used to form a past construction. '*I let her had'n,*' '*let'n zeed the house,*' '*help her do'd it,*' '*help mounted-n.*' This shows how grammar is formed from speech, and not speech from grammar.

The tendency of the dialect to retain a vowel before another (as in the invariable use of *a,* not *an*), but also to drop one of two neighbouring vowels even more than in lit. Eng., e.g. *g'out, g'up, g'in,* etc., with many other illustrations, was dwelt upon.

A list of words ending in *y,* which drop the termination, was given, with examples of each.

Dr. MURRAY then made sum remarks on the etymology of *arrant,* which he said was a mere variant of *errant* in *knight-errant,* extended first to *thief; thief arrant* or *arrant thief,* being uzed in the sense of "notorious thief," and then to *traitor, rebel,* etc. After 1575 it was widely uzed as a term of abuse.

Friday, March 7, 1884.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

A paper was read by the Rev. E. MACLURE upon "Personal and Place Names."

The reader maintained, with Fick, that the ancient normal form of personal name in use among all Aryan peoples, with the exception of the Latin, was that of a compound of two stems, joined together according to the rules of composition. He illustrated this by instances taken from Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, Old High German, and Anglo-Saxon. This compound name was shortened in familiar use by dropping one of the stems. Thus, alongside the Anglo-Saxon names Wulfred, Beornfrith, Folcwine, we have Wulf, Beorn, and Folk. These contracted names received usually a further development by the applications of different suffixes. The following Anglo-Saxon instances are to be regarded as such developed forms:—Ead-a [Eâd-gar], Bad-a, Bæd-a, Bed-a [Beado-wulf], Bot-a [Botwine], Ecg-a [Ecg-laf], Drem-ka [Dreám-wulf], Bryn-ca [Brynhelm = Beorn-helm], Beodu-ca [Beado-wulf], Cudd-i [Cuth-berht], Tyd-i [Tidwine], etc. Such contracted forms explain many of the Anglo-Saxon patronymics in -ing [ingas]—*e.g.* Ald-ingas [*cf.* Aldred and Alda], Ælf-ingas [*cf.* Ælfweard], Bead-ingas [*cf.* Beado-heard], Billingas [*cf.* Bill-noth], Beorht-ingas [*cf.* Beorht-red], etc., etc. The reader considered that a large number of the place-names involving seeming patronymics in -ing were to be otherwise explained. Thus, just as the Norse Hrafngil-ingr, Northlend-ingr, Northmannd-ingr, Orkney-ingar, Vik-ingr, represented respectively the man [or men] from Hrafngil, Northland, Normandy, Orkneys, or the fiords, so such forms as Æceringas, Æscingas, Bircingas, Buccingas, Fearningas, Thorningas, Steaningas, Wealdingas, denoted the men from the cultivated lands [Æcyr], the Ashes, the Birches, the Beeches, the Ferns, the Thorny districts, the Stony districts, or the uncultivated wastes respectively. Such place-names as Dartington above the Dart, Torrington on the Torridge, Leamington on the Leam, Ermington in the valley of the Erme, Tavistock (anciently Tafingstock) on the Tavy, showed that the tribes settled in these regions took their names from the rivers, and not from certain ancestors. The reader illustrated the normal process of "consonantal decay" by the ancient and modern forms of such place-names as involve old personal appellations. As instances of the disguises which ancient Celtic personal names have assumed in certain surnames the reader adduced the following:—(1) Instances of the survival in existing surnames of the final consonant of Mac—the Manx names Kneale, Collister, Clucas, Costain, Caskill, containing respectively the well-known personal names Nial, Allister, Lucas, Eystein, Askill (= Osketel); the Scottish name Kinlay

(representing MacFinnlaogh); and the Irish Guinness (representing MacAongusa). *Cf.* Price, Bevan, Bethel, originally Map-Rhys Map Evan, Map Iudgual. (2) Disguises through the influence of Mac upon names compounded of Giolla = Servant, MacLeish and M'Aleese = Mac Giolla Iosa (Iosa = Jesus), MacClean = Mac Giolla-Ean (Ean = John). As instances of names compounded of words similar to Giolla the following were adduced: Maol (= tonsured; servant) in Malone, Mulloy, Mulready, Gwas (*cf.* Vassal) in Gwas Meir (servant of Mary), and Gwas Patric = Gospatric, *cf.* Scandinavian Sveinn Petr = swain of St. Peter.

Friday, March 21, 1884.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. H. Wells, of Chicago, U.S.A., was elected a member of the Society.

The paper red was on "The Norwegian Dialects," by HENRY SWEET, M.A., and was an acount of a jurney made last summer in Norway, together with Prof. J. Storm, of Christiania, who receivd a stipend from the Norwegian guvernment to enable him to investigate on the spot the dialects of the West of Norway.

Prof. Storm workt mainly by means of a carefuly prepared list of words exemplifying the different sounds and forms, in the *landsmaal* or standard Norwegian of Ivar Aasen. Befor starting on the main expedition, two camps wer visited, where many of the soldiers who wer examind showd great interest in the investigation: one of them said he would like to go on at it all day. The districts traversed wer Western Thelemarken, Hardanger, Voss, and Sogn (these three on the west coast), and Valders. At Hamar, on lake Miösen, speakers of the dialects of Guldbrandsdal, Österdal, Solör and other eastern dialects wer also examind.

Literary East Norwegian bears much the same relation to Danish as Edinburgh Scotch does to Southern English, and may be rufly described as Danish spoken with a Swedish accent, and with a vocabulary full of dialectal words. West Norwegian differs from East mainly in prezerving the old diphthongs in such words as *stein* 'stone' (E. N. *stēn*), *droum* 'dream' (E. N. *drōm*), etc. The peculiar inverted or 'thick' *l* (almost *r*) of the Eastern dialects is quite unknown in the West. In Telemarken the long vowels in *sōl* 'sun,' *maane* 'moon,' *hūs* 'house,' hav the ordinary European sounds in Germ. *sohn*, Engl. *law* and Germ. *thun* respectivly, insted of the peculiar intermediate ones which East Norwegian has in common with Swedish.

The change from Telemarken to Hardanger and the west coast generaly is very striking, in climate, the apearance of the peple, and in their language, which, in acordance with their temperament, is lively and quick. The main characteristic of the dialects of the west coast is the number of diphthongs they develop out of the old long vowels. Thus *sol* becums *soul*, nearly as in E. *soul*, *maane* becums *maune* with Germ. *au*, as in the prezent Icelandic. Many of the diphthongs of these litl-explord dialects offerd great difficulties in their analysis. *ll* becums *dl*, as in Icelandic, *kalla* 'call' becuming *kadla*, which in Telemarken is further changed to *kadda*.

Mr. Sweet gave an acount of the *maalstræv*, or movement for replacing the prezent Dano-Norwegian by one of the nativ dialects, or rather, by a mixture of several of them, and exprest his agreement with those reformers who would simply write the prezent educated speech as it is spoken, alowing the dialects to influence it freely, as they ar actually doing. The *maalstræv* has been partly degraded into an instrument of political agitation (of which Mr. Sweet gave several curious instances from his own experience) by the Norwegian radicals, and the propagation of the artificial *landsmaal* has had a bad influence on scientific dialectology, but on the other hand, the movement has had the good efect of teaching the peazants to take a pride in their dialects, and to sympathize with their investigation.

Norway may be calld the ideal country for dialect study. Its dialects ar sharply markt off, and yet there is perfect unity; and they ar perfectly accessibl to observation. Mr. Sweet said that he coud bear the fullest testimony to the thuro accuracy and reliability of Prof. Storm's observations, having had every opportunity of putting them to the fullest test.

In concluzion, Mr. Sweet said that English dialectology had much to lern from Norway, far mor, unfortunately, than we seemd to hav much chance of carrying out. The fact that we hav a Dialect Society of sum years' standing is apt to blind us to the fact that our dialects ar perishing fast, and ar being only partialy recorded in a mostly unfonetic and therefor nearly useless form—in spite of the realy good work that has been done by individuals. Dialectology can never be carried on satisfactorily without an organized system of training in fonetics and the science of practical linguistics, which would also giv the much-needed foundation for the practical study of forein languages.

Dr. MURRAY and other speakers fully concurd with Mr. Sweet in regretting that the Dialect Society did not do mor to encurage fonetics in conection with dialectology.

Friday, April 4, 1884.

J. A. H. Murray, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., read a paper "On the Insular Scotch Lowland Dialect, and the Border Mid-Northern Dialect of the Isle of Man." The Orkney and Shetland groups, so far as their present speech was concerned, shewed Lowland Scotch spoken by Norsemen. The two groups of islands had in common a peculiar treatment of *th*, which generally became *t*, as in *at'wart* athwart, *ert* earth, *lent'* length, *t'oom* thumb, etc., or *d* as *de dee* the thee, *dem* them, *der* their, *dan* than, *dis* this, etc., but was occasionally preserved. In Orkney distinctively *ch* initial was preserved, in Shetland it became *sh*. In O. the pronoun "it" became *hid*, in S. it remained *it* generally. In O. ags. open *Æ* short generally became *ee* as *teel*, *neem*, *sheem* for tale, name, shame, but occasionally became short *a* closed, as *wad*, *sam*, *quack*, for wade, same, quake. In S. however they say *lem*, *nem*, *tem* for lame, name, tame. Mr. Ellis developed the full characters of each dialect, and read specimens, which for S. had been written for him by Mr. A. Laurenson, and read by Miss Malcolmson, both natives. Of Fair Isle speech he had as yet only learned that it was slightly different from that of the mainland, and of Foula he had learned nothing.

The Dialect of the Isle of Man presents some analogies to the O. and S. dialects. In the north of the island Mr. Ellis found *ting* for thing, *tree* for three, *timble* for thimble, with very dental *t*. In the south of M. on the contrary, *sthreit* (sthrɛ'it) is used for *straight*. The north and south are different in physical and anthropological characters. Both regions however use the Midland deep (u_1) as in (u_1p), and thus clearly belong to the Midland Division. Mr. Ellis was indebted to the careful work of Mr. Hallam for a "dialect test" from the south and another from the north of M., palaeotyped from the dictation of natives. The only other islands where English is spoken, are Wight and the Scilly Isles. Wight must be regarded as part of Hampshire and has the same dialect. As far as Mr. Ellis has been able to learn, the small population of the Scilly Isle speak "pure" or, as he terms it, "book" English. The Channel Islands are Norman French still, and do not come into consideration.

This completes Mr. Ellis's survey of English dialects in separate papers. Since 19 November 1883 he has been engaged on the preliminary work necessary for his account of each district with the illustrations for which he is indebted to several hundred informants. The work proceeds slowly but steadily, and he hopes in about a year to report very considerable progress.

Friday, April 18, 1884.

A. J. ELLIS, F.R.S., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The SECRETARY stated that the Council had made a grant of £5 to Mr. Thomas Hallam, in recognition of the help he had given to Mr. Ellis in investigating the English dialects.

The papers read were by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte:—

1) Italian and Uralic Possessive Suffixes compared.

2) Albanian in Terra d'Otranto.

Both of these papers are printed in the Society's *Transactions*.

Friday, May 2, 1884.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

The paper, which, in the absence of the author, was read by Mr. H. Sweet and Dr. R. Morris, was "On some Points of Relation between English and the Keltic Languages, with reference to Prof. Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*," by Prof. T. Powell, of University College, Cardiff.

The writer said that in employing the Keltic languages for the illustration of English derivations Prof. Skeat had kept clear of the extravagances of his predecessors, and that his use of them was distinguished by good sense and discrimination. The writer criticised a few of Prof. Skeat's etymologies; but his Paper consisted chiefly of additions of words related to the Keltic analogs or roots noted by Prof. Skeat. In the discussion several speakers expressed the opinion that the paper was highly satisfactory as a criticism, while such of the additional illustrations from the Keltic languages were interesting.

Friday, May 16, 1884.—ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

J. A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

After the confirmation of the Minutes the President read his Annual Address. He first analyzed the contents of the Reports in his address; the Dictionary has taken up his time. He then noted the Members who had died since the last Anniversary (Rev. Henry Lincoln Tristram, J. J. Bastian, and J. L. Horton) who had been both the Members. Next he reviewed the work of the Society during the year, the Papers by Messrs. Sweet, Paul, Skeat, Murray, A. J. Ellis, J. L. Elworthy, V. Jones, Powell, Wentworth Higgins, Schumann, Lady Brown, and Logeman.

He then red extracts from Reports by W. R. Morfill on the Slavonic Languages; by Paul Hunfalvy and A. J. Patterson on Hungarian sinse 1873; by E. Granville Browne on the Turkish Language; and by R. N. Cust on the Hamitic Languages of North Africa.

Mr. H. Sweet then red hiz Report on the "Practical Study of Language," in which he gave a skech of the history of the moovment for reform on the basis of fonetics and psychology, giving an acount of hiz own practical experiense, and criticizing the vews of Storm and various German writers, with whom he exprest his agreement on the hole, and expressing a hope that sumthing would soon be dun in England to carry out the reform.

The Prezident then continued his Adress, and gave an acount of the progress of the Society's Dictionary. He then dwelt on the difficulty of setling the etymologies and history of Midl-English wurds, and the making-out of the logical development of wurds like *above*, *art*, etc.; also on the necessity of following out the etymology of compounds: thus, *asleep* is an adverb (a prepozition and a noun); *awake* is a past participl; so probably *aslope* and *slope* are past participls. He delt with *asquint*, *articl* (to nouns), *ass*, ets. He complaind of the incompleteness of the Dictionary material; yet the method pursued by Readers for the Dictionary was the only practicabl one: men coudn't make an extract for evry word in their books, tho this would often hav been welcum. Stil, sum Readers had wizely continued their wurk by lately making extracts for the common wurds which they had befor neglected. Mr. Henderson had sent a splendid list of wurds. Messrs. Austin, E. S. Jackson, Helwig, Furnivall, Doble, Miss E. Thompson, and many uthers, had helpt too.

61 Revews of *Part I.* of the Dictionary had apeard in England, and at least 12 in America. All had aproovd of the general plan of it and the Editor's wurk, tho sum had taken objections to details, certain of which the Prezident proceeded to answer. Az to how many 'books' or 'wurks' had been red for the Dictionary, he coudn't say, az no one coud define a 'book' or 'wurk.' Az to a rule for the admission and excluzion of technical wurds, he showd that no such rule coud be laid down: the matter must be left to the Editor's discretion. Then he justified the quotation of Newspapers az authorities. Hiz rule was, to take that quotation which best broght out the meaning of the wurd, whensesoever it came. Az to folk-etymologies, the limits of space compeld the excluzion of them. The Prezident then thankt the Reporters to hiz Adress, and the Society, for their help to him.

On the propozal of Mr. Furnivall, seconded by Dr. Morris, a unanimous vote of thanks was past to Dr. Murray for hiz Adress, and for hiz great servises to the Society az its Prezident and az Editor of its Dictionary. The thanks of the Society wer then voted to Mesrs. Danby P. Fry and H. B. Wheatley, the Auditors of the Trezurer's Cash Acount, which was taken az red; to the Counsil of University College for the gratuitous use of the College

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MAY 10, 1884.

(Signd) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

rooms for the Society's Meetings; and to the Writers of the Reports in the Prezident's Adress.

On the propozal of Mr. Furnivall (who first aplied to Mr. Gladstone for a Pension for Dr. Murray, az editor of the Society's Dictionary), and the seconding of Dr. Weymouth (to whom Mr. Gladstone first referd), a unanimous vote of thanks was past to Mr. Gladstone for hiz grant of a Pension of £250 to Dr. Murray.

The following Members of the Society wer then elected its Officers for the ensuing year:—*Prezident*: The Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat, LL.D., M.A.—*Vice-Prezidents:* The Archbishop of Dublin; Whitley Stokes, LL.D., M.A.; Alexander John Ellis, B.A., F.R.S.; The Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., M.A.; Henry Sweet, M.A.; Jas. A. H. Murray, LL.D., B.A.; Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte. —*Ordinary Members of Counsil:* Prof. Alex. Graham Bell, M.A.; Hy. Bradshaw, M.A.; E. L. Brandreth, Esq.; Walter R. Browne, M.A.; Prof. C. Cassal, LL.D.; R. N. Cust, Esq.; Sir J. F. Davis, Bart.; F. T. Elworthy, Esq.; Hy. Hucks Gibbs, M.A.; H. Jenner, Esq.; E. L. Lushington, LL.D.; Prof. R. Martineau, M.A.; A. J. Patterson, M.A.; J. Peile, M.A.; Prof. J. P. Postgate, M.A.; Prof. C. Rieu, Ph.D.; The Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.; E. B. Tylor, LL.D., Ph.D.; H. Wedgwood, M.A.; R. F. Weymouth, D.Litt.—*Trezurer:* Benjamin Dawson, B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.—*Hon. Secretary:* F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Dr. Murray then vacated the Prezident's Chair, and it was taken by Professor Skeat. After a few wurds of greeting to him from Mr. Furnivall, the new Prezident thankt the Society for the honor they had conferd on him, and stated that yesterday the Grace for the establishment of the Tripos for Modern Languages at Cambridge was unanimously past.

Mr. Edward Granville Browne, B.A., Pembroke College, Cambridge, was propozed az a Candidate for admission into the Society, by his cuzin, Mr. Walter R. Browne, from personal noledg.

Friday, June 6, 1884.

The Rev. Prof. Skeat, LL.D., *Prezident*, in the Chair.

Mr. Edward Granville Browne, B.A., Pembroke College, Cambridge, was duly elected a Member of the Society.—Mr. Furnivall reported that Mr. Gladstone had exprest hiz gratification that hiz grant of a Pension of £250 to Dr. Murray had met with the Society's aprooval.—The Papers red wer, I. On simple Tenses in Modern Basque and Old Basque; II. The Neo-Latin Names of the Artichoke; both by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, and both printed for the Society's *Tranzactions*.

Dr. Murray contested much of the Prince's argument, and gave the historical facts about the artichoke, into which he had enquired

very closely, and with the help of many botanists and Arabic scholars. He said that the artichoke waz first introduced into Italy about 1470 A.D., into France about 1500, into England about 1540. The artichoke is not a wild plant, but a cultivated form of the cardoon, a nativ of Barbary, Sicily, ets. All the names of it ar derived from the Arabic *kharshuf*, stil in use in Algiers. *Articocus*, ets., wer mere modern Latinized names from It. *articocco*; they apear about 1530 A.D. The modern Egyptian name is the European arabized. *Al Kharshuf* (*Karshof* in the Eastern provinses of Arabia) is the original from whense all cum, and they wer got from Spain, thru Italy, etc. Popular Etymology has run wild over the wurd, *hartichoke* (becauz it chokes the hart), *hortichocke* (becauz, like sin, it chokes the garden of man's soul), being Jacobite preachers' versions of it.

Friday, June 20, 1884.

The Rev. PROF. SKEAT, LL.D., *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. JAMES LECKY read a paper on "Irish Gaelic Sounds."

Previous accounts of the subject had been published by:—(1) the Irish Grammarians; (2) Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who had noted the distinctions of the open and the close *é* and *ó*; and (3) "Clann Conchobhair," a writer in the "Gaelic Journal," who had pointed out differences between Irish and English sounds formerly identified.

Mr. Lecky read and analyzed 116 keywords containing the elementary sounds and some of their combinations. He gave the Visible Speech symbols by which he proposed to represent these sounds, and a Roman notation. Specimens of prose and verse, printed phonetically, were read. The dialect described was that spoken by Mr. Thomas Flannery, a Keltic scholar resident in London, but a native of Connaught. The list of sounds recognized by him was fuller than any given by previous writers. Further distinctions had been noted by Mr. Lecky, and others probably remained still unobserved.

Of twenty sounds already discovered, new analyses were proposed. Thus, the vowels in '*tiugh* 'thick,' *long* 'a ship,' and *cos* 'a foot,' seemed to belong not to the back, but to the mixed series. The 'slender' *ch* in *mo cheól*, and the other consonants in the same position, were not front, but outer back. The 'broad' *t* and *d* had often been described as 'interdental.' But Mr. Lecky had found that the peculiar quality of these consonants could be preserved in the inverted position, and seemed therefore to have no necessary connexion with the teeth: it was, perhaps, due to sideward spreading of the tongue like a fan. A similar formation was found in the 'slender' *t* and *d*, which were not point but outer front consonants. Also in the 'broad' *ll* and *nn*, but combined in these two cases

with subsidiary action of the back of the tongue. In the 'slender' *ll* and *nn* the front and point actions were equally strong and practically simultaneous.

About forty of the sounds were described in the paper for the first time. The vowel in (spal) *speal* 'a scythe' or (*t*ax) *teach* 'a house' was distinct from that in (bæn) *bean* 'a woman,' or (fær) *fear* 'a man.' Both of these also occur long, as in (slaan) *sleaghan* 'a turfspade,' (mææn) *meadhon* 'middle'; but neither (aa) nor (*æ*) was the same as the vowels in the English words *farm* or *farrier*. There were three different vowels in the final syllables of *fáinne* 'a ring,' *lé fána* 'headlong,' and *fánach* 'wandering': they had hitherto been described as identical, probably owing to their being all short, unstressed and obscure. A remarkable effect, similar to the 'acciaccatura' in music, was caused by the glide vowel between the voiceless and the open voiced consonant in *crios* 'a belt.' To avoid a false syllabic notation, it was proposed to write *j* for the glide, thus (cj*r*is). A similar effect was found in (yii) *aoi* 'a liver,' (ɵ*el*aan) *oileán* 'an island,' and (bʊ*vl*ə) *baile* 'a town.' This last word, *baile*, does not contain the open rounded vowel (ɔ) which is the commonest value of short stressed *a*. The three unround, mixed vowels (y, ɵ, ʊ) just referred to, also occurred independently, and with normal stress in (y*lle*) *uille* 'greater,' (ɵʃiin) *Oisín* 'Ossian,' and (wʊhæ) *uatha* 'from them.' The number of diphthongs described was large. There were three of the form unround to round, one of them closely resembling that heard in a received pronunciation of English *how*.

Among the consonants, two weaker forms of aspirate were found, as in (kɔh) *cath* 'a battle,' and in (-*er* bi*h*) *air bith* 'at all.' Also a second form of the 'slender' *s*, intermediate to (s) and (ʃ) as in (ci*st*e) *ciste* 'a chest.' Point open and point divided consonants beginning without voice and ending with it, were recognized in *mo shrian* 'my bridle,' *air shliabh* 'on a mountain,' and in other cases. A distinction existed between 'smooth' *r* as in *mo rós* 'my rose,' and 'rough' *r* as in *rós* 'a rose.' In addition to the 'slender' *ll* and *nn*, described above, there was a divided and a nasal point consonant each with subsidiary front modification as in *liom* 'with me,' *buain* 'touch.' The same slight degree of front action was found among the lip consonants as in (kʊ*f*imee) *caithfidh mé* 'I must.' Nasality of oral sounds was much weaker than in French. It was applied to at least seven vowels, three diphthongs, and two consonants. Stress was on the first syllable, except in a few words.

To spell correctly and conveniently such an extensive system of sounds as that of Modern Irish was only possible in Shorthand. The twenty-eight Roman types were insufficient. But by using doubled letters for long vowels, a few arbitrary but familiar digraphs, turned letters, and, as a last resource, diacritics, an endurable Roman notation might be formed. On this plan, about twenty types would be assigned to the vowels, and about thirty-five to the consonants.

Though the Irish language required an unusually large alphabet, it was actually furnished with an extremely meagre one. Of its eighteen letters, nine were dotted in one of the mutations, but when the dots were not available in printing, an *h* was inserted instead. This fluctuation hindered the eye from quickly forming a distinct image of the appearance of the letter-groups. Quantity was usually marked by an acute accent, but this was not always provided in type, especially in capitals; and, in its absence, long vowels and short were often confounded. The trouble of working these diacritics constantly led to their omission, even in the best printing. The question whether a modern or a black-letter form of the Roman alphabet should be adopted for printing and writing, was still debated in Ireland.

Owing to the poverty of letters, some of the distinctions in the consonants could only be shown by inserting or retaining silent vowel-letters before or after the consonant-letters; a device expressed in the well-known rule 'slender with slender, broad with broad.' This rule, however, existed in the orthography only. In the spoken language 'slender' was often joined with 'broad,' as in (fis) *fios* 'knowledge,' (ʃool) *seól* 'a sail.' These silent letters could not be dropped until each elementary sound, whether 'slender' or 'broad,' was provided with a proper and distinct symbol. At present it was frequently impossible to guess beforehand which would turn out to be the phonetic and which the silent letter.

Besides the irregularities of spelling which were due to a defective alphabet, a great number more were gratuitous. Many different sounds were read for the same symbol, many different symbols were written for the same sound. What represented a vowel here might represent a consonant there. Silent and useless letters crowded every page. Agreement on such a basis was, of course, impossible, and the confusion of theory and practice among native orthographers was great. But even the best current form of Irish spelling presented only a blurred and distorted image of the real language. The spelling was in fact an artificial mode of literary communication, almost unrelated to any natural speech. It was too difficult to be learnt by the peasantry. It could not be used to record the dialects, much less to keep them alive. It must be reckoned among the causes which had hastened and were hastening the extinction of Irish. Nor were the practical disadvantages balanced by any theoretic benefits. For philological purposes it was necessary in every language to have a phonetic orthography, regularly modified in harmony with each successive stage of the development of spoken words, and always preserving the original sounds of the letters: without this, history and etymology were impossible. The present Irish spelling had no scientific value. Its reform on a phonetic basis urgently called for the attention of all students of the language.

Mr. Sweet, who was then in Germany, sent the following remarks: "Mr. Lecky's is the first attempt to grapple seriously with a language which is almost unique in the extreme delicacy of its

phonetic structure, and which shows us many of the sound-changes which have built up such languages as English and French in their early and transparent stage. Living Irish is, besides, the natural key to Old Irish, and until all the dialects of this fast dying language have been recorded in the same minutely accurate way in which Mr. Lecky is recording one of them, there will always be the danger of some word, inflexion, or phonetic law of the dead language losing its only means of interpretation."

Mr. Ellis said there could be no doubt as to the importance of having a phonetic analysis of Irish, especially as the native orthography was so very inconsistent with the spoken language. Irish spelling appeared to him even worse than English. He regretted that Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who had made a close examination of Irish sounds, was unable to be present that evening. Mr. Ellis thought the distinctions of spoken Irish extremely hard to catch. He had found a like difficulty even in his explorations of English dialects, in which, however, the general system of sounds was naturally familiar to him. The Visible Speech symbols might not be understood by many readers of the Society's Transactions. To make the formation of the Irish sounds more widely intelligible, Mr. Ellis recommended that they should be compared with those of the Scandinavian and Slavonic languages. Even without this, however, the present contribution would be useful. If we had inherited any such analysis of Old Greek speech, how greatly we should value it now! Our habit of reading Greek according to the present English values of the letters, was as bad as to say (spiil) for the Irish (spal) *speal*, merely because it was spelt like the English *seal, peal*. He hoped Mr. Lecky would persevere with the study of the Irish dialects, and would succeed in getting others, especially native speakers, to join in the work.

Prof. Rhŷs said he had listened to the paper with great interest. Hitherto Keltic philologists had too much neglected the earliest and the latest stages of Irish, the ancient inscriptions and the modern dialects. During last year he had been for two months in the south of Ireland, and had tried to induce his Irish friends to work at the dialects, but hitherto without success. Antiquarian and literary work seemed to them more attractive and ambitious. Still he hoped that speakers of Irish might yet be found in different parts of the country who would be willing and able to analyze and record their provincial varieties of Gaelic. For this kind of work, however, they would have to educate themselves in phonetics. Pronunciation was the chief difficulty a Welshman would encounter in learning Irish, owing to the large number of *mouillé* or 'slender' consonants which existed in Gaelic but not in Kymric. The idioms of the two languages were similar enough, and so were a great many of the words. In Old Irish, however, the vocabulary was of enormous extent, and a good deal of it had no cognates in Modern Welsh.

Mr. Flannery said he was acquainted with nearly all the works of the Irish grammarians, and considered that the account of Irish

sounds to which they had listened was more detailed and exact than any before published. He believed that his dialect, which was the subject of the paper, was tolerably normal, though the language did undoubtedly vary throughout the Gaelic-speaking districts. The new and interesting distinction of 'slender' and 'broad' in the lip consonants was, he thought, correct.

Mr. Furnivall said that the Philological Society would be glad to receive as members all workers at Keltic phonetics or literature. He hoped they would have a historical paper from Mr. Flannery at some future meeting. He himself would be curious to know how such an eccentric spelling as *croidhe*, for instance, ever came to be associated with the word (krii).

Mr. Lecky said that, in conclusion, he wished to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Sweet for constant encouragement and instruction in phonetics, notation and other branches of the study of language, for several years past. In analyzing and symbolising the Irish sounds, Mr. Sweet's suggestions and criticisms had been of the greatest value. Prof. Storm also, during a recent visit to London, had gone through Mr. Lecky's lists, and had kindly helped to clear up difficult points. The present paper was, however, only a preliminary sketch, soon, he hoped, to be superseded by a much fuller description.

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(MEETING AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, W.C.)

1884.

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1882-3-4.

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